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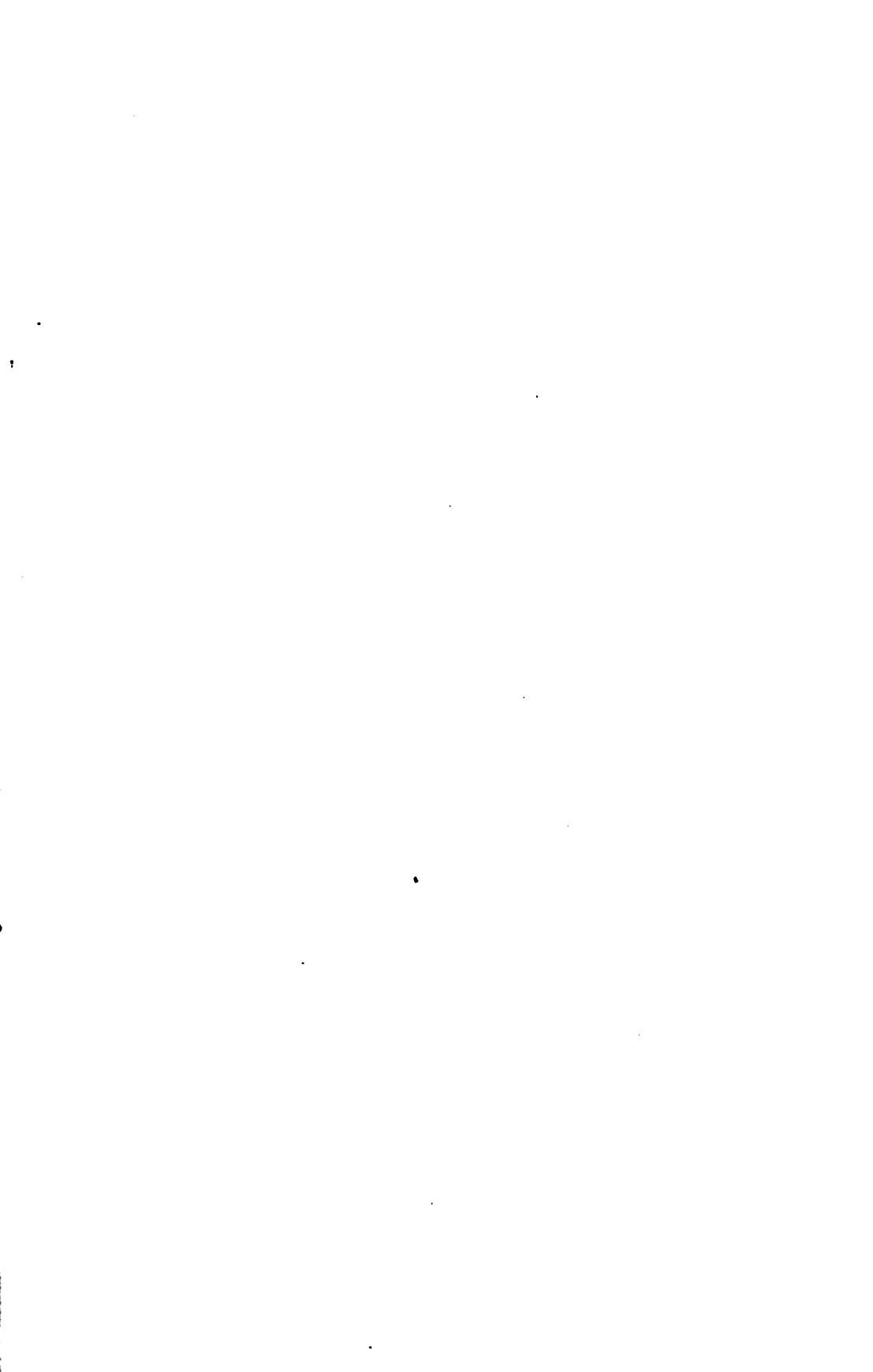
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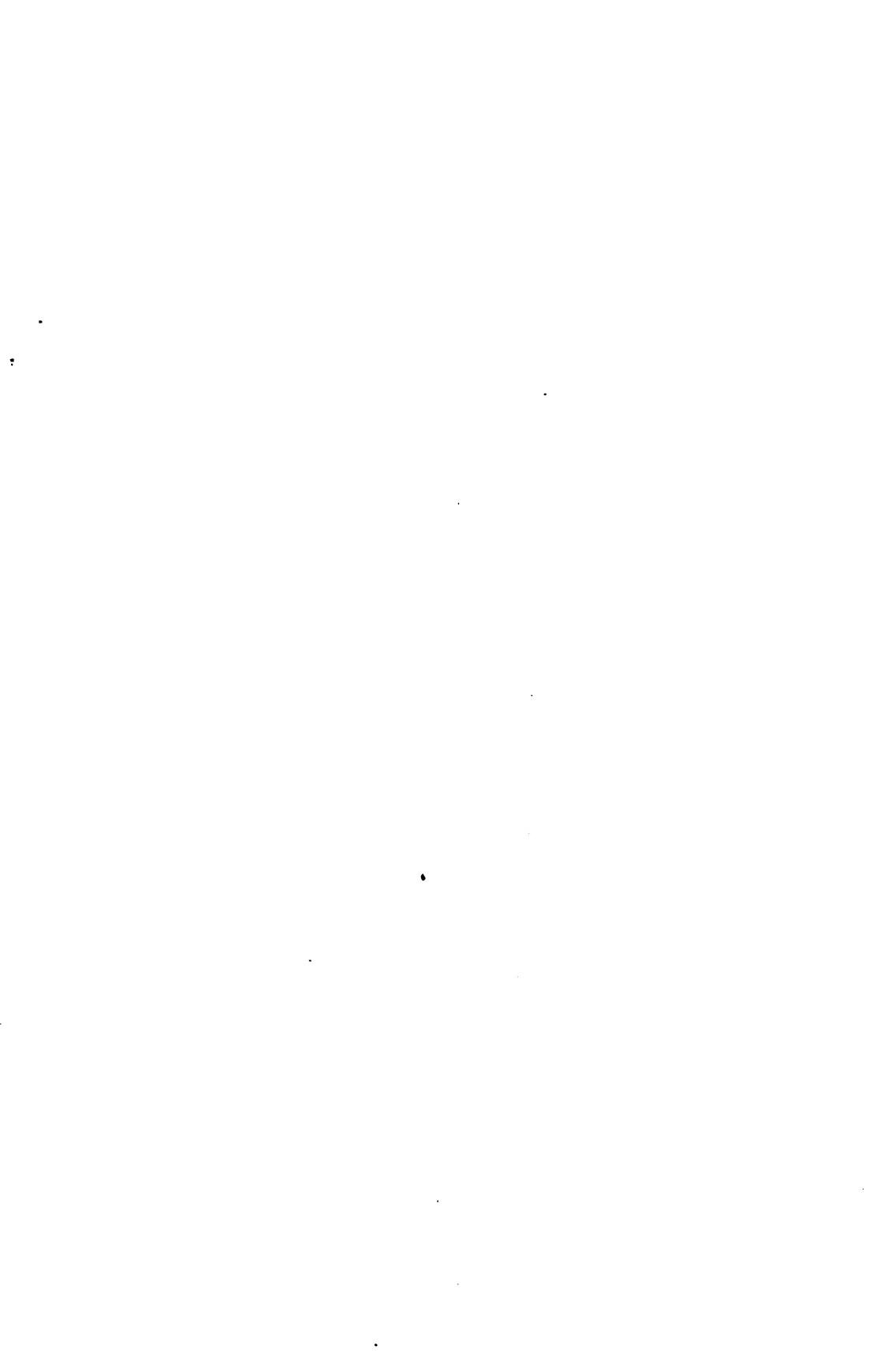
JONATHAN BROWN BRIGHT

of Waltham, Mass., with one half the income of this Legacy. Such descendants failing, other persons are eligible to the scholarships. The will requires that this announcement shall be made in every book added to the Library under its provisions.

Received 11 May 1904









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PUBLICATIONS OF THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOLUME VI

EDITED BY
FRANK H. SEVERANCE
SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY

BUFFALO, NEW YORK:
PUBLISHED BY THE
 BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY
1903





GEORGE STARR HAZARD,
PRESIDENT BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1890 AND 1892. DIED AUG. 7, 1903.
SEE APPENDIX B.

PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

BUFFALO

HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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1966

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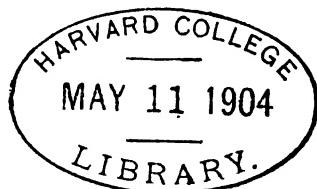
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BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

1903

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The Mayor of Buffalo, the Corporation Counsel, the Comptroller, Superintendent of Education, President of the Board of Park Commissioners, and President of the Common Council, are also *ex-officio* members of the Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society.

* Succeeds George W. Townsend, died Oct. 24, 1902.

† Succeeds Hon. Wilson S. Bissell, died Oct. 6, 1903.



THE day of the great Ho-de-noh-sau-nee is now far spent. The last rays of the setting sun have cast their light upon the gaudy feathers of their head-dresses, upon their bright necklaces and their buckskin suits. The ancient music is hushed; the tam-tams and the rattles are no more heard. The laughter of the children does not ring through the silent forest; the voices of the wild animals do not resound. The howl of the wolf, the hoot of the owl, the croaking of the frog in the swamp and the tree-toad among the leaves, the call of the squirrel—all these native voices that the Indian so well loved, all are still, they are part of the silent past.

No more is there a Keeper of the Wampum, for the Confederacy of the Great League is broken; the council fires are kindled no more; the runners have delivered their last message. The only traces of them left are what Mother Earth revealeth.

Here, at the Western Door, and on the banks of the Sken-dyuh-gwa-dih, the people of the Great League gave up their worldly customs to join their now spiritual forefathers. It is to their memory—to the memory of the Ho-de-noh-sau-nee—that the tablet is en-

graved above the entrance to the grand hall of the Buffalo Historical Society:

NEH-KO, GAH-GIS-DAH-YEN-DUK.
OTHER COUNCIL FIRES WERE HERE BEFORE OURS.

Few and scattered are the remnants of the once-powerful confederacy; fewer still they who know of its customs. "A few more suns, and my people will only live in history." This saying of one of our great chieftains is now fulfilled.

HA-NON'-DA-A'-SUH,
(“Keeper of the Hill,” whose English
name is Moses Shongo.)

PREFACE

IN OFFERING to its members and the public Volume Six in its Publication Series the Buffalo Historical Society believes that in interest and value it will be found fully equal to the preceding volumes. The Society was fortunate in securing for publication the group of papers by Mr. Henry R. Howland. (Pp. 17-161.) Drawn in large part from unpublished sources, dealing with men and episodes of first importance in the history of our region, and written in an exceptionally attractive style, these studies form a notable addition to the annals of the field which it is the function of the Buffalo Historical Society to explore.

Closely related to a part of Mr. Howland's contributions, are the group of missionary narratives and journals which follow. Some of these are printed from manuscripts which have long been in the possession of the Society. The journals of the Rev. Thompson S. Harris are a recent acquisition, the gift of the Rev. Lewis M. Lawrence, late of Iroquois, N. Y.; they were secured for the Society archives through the good offices of Mr. Henry R. Howland. While it is unlikely that the subject of early Protestant missions to the Indians or the white settlers in Western New York is ex-



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HON. JAMES O. PUTNAM,
DIED APRIL 24, 1903. SEE APPENDIX B

FROM LAKE ERIE TO MOROCCO.

THE DIPLOMATIC CONTROVERSY OCCASIONED BY
THE VISIT OF A VESSEL FROM THE GREAT
LAKES, WITH A BUFFALO CAPTAIN, TO
MEDITERRANEAN PORTS IN 1859.

BY GEORGE V. BROWN,
Former United States Consul at Tangier.

In the year 1859, the schooner Republican, owned by J. W. Sprague & Co. of Huron, Ohio, and commanded by Capt. Coville,* now a resident of Buffalo,† and living at Cold Spring, cleared from the port of Huron with a cargo of staves, and after passing through the Welland Canal into Lake Ontario, the River St. Lawrence, thence into the ocean, sped across the broad Atlantic and anchored in the beautiful and picturesque bay of Cadiz.

Shortly after casting anchor the health boat, a lateen manned by 12 sailors and containing three officers, paid a visit to the Republican. The officers were protected from the rays of the sun by a canopy which extended more than one-third the length of the craft, and, as they neared the vessel, the principal demanded, in broken English, the papers and letters of the American skipper. These were accordingly handed over the ship's side to one of the crew of the

*Capt. Stephen Coville; died at Huntsburgh, O., October 1, 1866, aged 46 years.

†In 1862, when this paper was written.

lateen who received them with a pair of tongs, and then, with the utmost composure, dipped up a bucket of salt water, into which the ship's papers were thrown. After undergoing for a few moments this pickling process, they were taken out and handed to the junior officer, who passed them to the principal. By him they were carefully examined, so carefully that they were discovered to be informal, and being handed back to Capt. Coville, that gentleman was informed that the Republican could not be admitted to pratique and must leave the port.

In vain did Capt. Coville assure the sanitary officer that he and his crew were in the enjoyment of perfect health; that he had sailed from a healthy port, and by the blessing of God they had experienced no sickness on board; that his voyage had been a long one, and that if ordered away from Cadiz—the market for his cargo—he knew not where to go or how to better his condition.

The huge mustachios and enormous spectacles, which were all that could be recognized of the power under the canopy, remained inexorable, and with a polite salutation, which a Spanish gentleman never omits, and a regret that he could be of no further service to El Señor Capitan Americano, the lateen, with its precious freight, gracefully moved off toward the quaint old city, a short quarter of a mile in the distance, leaving our poor countryman from Buffalo, some 4,000 miles from home, with a fair prospect of being obliged to return to America with no other benefit than the knowledge derived from an experience of the stringent sanitary regulations of Spain, and the gratification, not enjoyed by all our lake captains, it is true, of having it in his power hereafter to say that he had made a sea-voyage and seen Cadiz, and in the language of Byron, to describe it as

“A pretty town, I recollect it well.”

Within sight of the lofty domes, of the beautiful edifices, with their walls of purest white and balconies and verandas of the brightest green, adorned with flowering shrubs of the deepest and richest verdure, the fragrance of which seemed to impregnate the very air itself; of brilliant uniforms,

bristling bayonets and frowning battlements, with now and then a dashing cavalry curveting his graceful Andalusian steed and bowing low to passers-by; and within hearing of the rumbling of wheels, the cracking of whips, the martial calls of the bugle, and the sweet-toned bells of the Cathedral and other churches, the skipper of the Republican, as he turned to catch a last view of that orb, his faithful guide o'er the vast waste of water, then sinking in the west, felt all that desolation of heart and foreboding of the future, which are invariably experienced by the friendless and homeless of a great and bustling metropolis.

From the American Consul, Capt. Coville could obtain no consolation. The Consul said, and said truly, that Capt. Coville's owners ought to have known better than to have sent him out to Europe, and particularly to Spain, without the necessary papers, and that under the circumstances, it was out of his power to aid him.

Not knowing what to do, Capt. Coville remained at anchor until the third day, when he was notified that his departure must no longer be delayed.

"Where am I to go?" said the poor man to the officer who communicated to him this order. "I am a stranger to the customs, language and people of this part of the world, and I am anxious to do everything in my power to extricate myself from a dilemma in which an unforseen omission has placed me. Do advise me, I pray you."

"Well," said the sanitary officer, who was no less a personage than the President of the Board of Health of Cadiz, and whose sympathies, as the sequel will show, were really, and to my own surprise when I learned it, enlisted in behalf of the American, "Be governed by my advice. Proceed, without delay, to Tangier, Morocco. Your Consul there is one of the Sanitary Board of that empire. Endeavor to procure an interview with him; he may possibly extricate you so that you can return here and discharge your cargo. I know of no other mode. *Vaya con Dios.*"* And again was the usual salutation made, and again, as before, did the boat gracefully glide off toward the town.

*God be with you."

Capt. Coville thanked the officer for his kindness, and after returning his salutation, gave orders for immediately getting under way for the "Land of the Moor."

Whilst on his way to the port of Tangier, Capt. Coville is battling with the currents and chop seas of the Straits of Gibraltar, which are not unlike those in the English Channel, permit me to give you an extract from a despatch of our Consul at Cadiz, and also an extract from one of my own despatches to the Department of State:

"The quarantine regulations, although subject to the Central Board at Madrid, '*La Suprema Junta da Sanidad*,' are, at most, entirely under the control of the Local Board of Cadiz, who, by their arbitrary measures, greatly inconvenience and embarrass navigation, causing very frequently unnecessary detentions, and the incurring of heavy expenses, ordering vessels off to lazarettos—as only a quarantine of observation can be performed here—in the face of clean bills of health, upon mere reports, without any official information to warrant such extraordinary measures. Vessels clearing from ports having no quarantine communication with Cadiz are either ordered off or subjected to great annoyance and expense."

Although somewhat irrelative, I deem it my duty to record the following: An important provision, which is to be found in no other commercial law of the world, exists in the Spanish Commercial Code. It is often criticized, although good reasons are alleged in its favor. It provides that foreign vessels anchored in Spanish ports shall not be detained for debts which have not been contracted within the Spanish dominions, and for the benefit of the said vessel; therefore a bottomry bond, signed by a master of an American or other foreign vessel going to a Spanish port, can only be enforced upon the freight she may have earned, and in no case against the vessel herself.

The following is an extract from my own despatch: "The quarantine regulations of the empire of Morocco are framed and carried into execution by the Consular corps, who are invested by the Sultan with all the attributes of a regularly constituted Board of Health, each Consul, in alphabetical

order, assuming the powers and performing the duties of President of the Month. In order that commercial relations between the ports of Morocco, Cadiz and Gibraltar may not be interrupted, the decisions of the Health Board of the latter ports, when applicable to Morocco, are invariably adopted at Tangier."

I shall now have to digress a little in order to make plain the main point in this sketch. In the year 1856, the U. S. sloop-of-war Jamestown, the flagship of the African squadron, shortly after her arrival out to the coast of Africa, unfortunately touched at Madeira, where the cholera was prevailing, and was thus, in consequence of having a foul bill of health, debarred from entering Teneriffe or any of the ports of the Canary Islands, or, in fact, any other port in that part of the hemisphere. On that station, particularly, where it was so necessary, in consequence of the pestiferous miasma of the low lands lying along the coast, to keep off, after sunset, three miles from the shore, and even to have the principal portion of the labor performed by the natives, instead of by the seamen; and where, for the preservation of life, it was found so necessary occasionally to run over to some healthy port, this state of things was a subject of great consternation. Long did the officers of the ship ponder over it, but the dread prospect of being compelled to remain tabooed, until relieved at the expiration of their term of service on the station, still presented itself.

Some months subsequent to their visit to Madeira, and when all suggestions and plans to enable them to see their way out of the difficulty had failed, a young lieutenant who happened, some years previously, to touch at Tangier in the U. S. Steamer Mississippi, remarked to his brother officers of the wardroom, that he believed the U. S. Consul at Tangier, on the Mediterranean station, was a member of the Sanitary Board of the empire of Morocco; that if the Jamestown ran up to Tangier he was of opinion the Consul could in some measure help them out of their dilemma. This suggestion not only met the approval of Capt. Bell, but of the Commodore, and the Jamestown was soon afterward on her way to Tangier. On her arrival at that port, the Commo-

dore declined holding communication with the sanitary officer farther than to say that he had merely touched at Tangier for the purpose of communicating with the American Consul. He asked the sanitary officer to be kind enough to say to the Consul that for particular reasons, he begged him to do him the favor to dispense with the usual courtesy enjoined on commanders of men-of-war, of sending a boat on shore to invite the Consul on board, and that, in order to communicate to him personally some important intelligence, he hoped to have the pleasure of receiving a visit from him.

On receipt of this verbal message, I hastened to comply with the wishes of the Commodore, and on entering his cabin, the foul bill of health was exhibited to me. It so happened that I was then President of the Month, and the Jamestown being a man-of-war, I had a right, in accordance with the custom pursued by other members of the corps, to give her a clean bill of health, as American Consul, *visé* it as President of the Sanitary Board, and that without going through the form of submitting the matter to my colleagues. But this was not all. To enter a Spanish port, it was necessary to have the *visa* of the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires attached to the bill of health. With Don Carlos de España, the Spanish Chargé, I was on very intimate terms. I felt pretty sure I could depend on him. Therefore, when I was asked by the Commodore whether it was possible for me to aid him, I replied I thought it was. Capt. Bell, now in command of the Pacific Squadron, and Dr. Clymer, son-in-law of Admiral Shubrick, and the oldest surgeon in the Navy, were called into the cabin, and the good news announced to them. This soon reached the wardroom, then the forecastle, when the men, as I afterwards learned from Capt. Bell, asked permission to give three hearty cheers. The cheers were being given as I descended from the Commodore's cabin to the wardroom, and when I left the ship a salute of thirteen guns was given instead of eleven, as is customary in a harbor of the Barbary powers. In short, a clean bill of health was made out, the Board of Health *visa* attached, and I carried it to my Spanish colleague, told him exactly how I was situated, and how much I depended on his aid.

Without a word he took from me the document, and adding his *visa* and official seal, he said, as he returned it :

"*Señor mio*, there is much to object to in the quarantine regulations of Spain and Italy. We are here to give aid to our countrymen, as well as for other objects, and I deem it a privilege to aid a colleague either in forwarding the interests of commerce or in assisting men like your countrymen of the Jamestown, who at the peril of their lives are endeavoring to check an abominable traffic."

This was the feeling that then, and with one single exception since, pervaded the Consular Corps of Tangier. They were a little body of Christians in a semi-barbarous country, who, socially or officially, seemed more like a band of brothers than of men representing different nations; and they had only to be approached in a proper spirit to be induced to interest themselves in any reasonable object desired to be accomplished.

I relate the foregoing by way of preparation for what is to follow in reference to the American schooner *Republican*, and which will be found in striking contrast with the courtesy evinced toward the Jamestown; my friend *Señor Don Carlos de España*, a partisan of *Espirtero*, having, in the meantime, been superseded by *Señor Don Juan Blanco del Valle*, a partisan of O'Donnell,* and a deputy of the *Cortes* from Algeciras, a town in Spain directly opposite Gibraltar.

On ascending, one morning, to the terrace of the consulate, which commanded a view of the bay of Tangier, I perceived, to my surprise, an American merchantman, lying at anchor in the most dangerous part of the bay, her position being so hazardous that I well knew that at low water she must inevitably be dashed to pieces on the rocks. At the same time I perceived the sanitary boat near her, and I wondered why the sanitary officer did not direct her to safe

*Leopold O'Donnell, count of Lucena, duke of Tetuan, Spanish general and statesman, who in his earlier years had championed the fortunes of the queen-mother, Marie Christine. At the period of Mr. Brown's sketch, O'Donnell was at the height of his picturesque political career, having formed, the year before (1858), a new Cabinet for Spain, in which he was both President of the Council and Minister of War. When Spain declared war against Morocco, Oct. 22, 1859, O'Donnell became commander in chief of the army, winning glory and a new title, "Duke of Tetuan," from the campaign. He died in 1867.

anchorage. It would soon be ebb-tide, and I became very uneasy. It appeared to me the sanitary officer was trifling with time in order to render destruction to the vessel certain. I became so uneasy that I did what is never done for a merchant vessel, and only on the arrival of a man-of-war; I raised the American flag. This had the desired effect. The sanitary boat hastened to the shore, and the sanitary officer made his appearance at the consulate.

"What is the matter?" I asked.

"I do not know," he replied. "I cannot exactly understand the captain, but I believe he is in trouble about a Spanish *visa* to his bill of health. I have given him pratique, subject to your and the President's orders, but directed him not to come on shore under an hour."

"Why did you not pilot the vessel to a safe anchorage?" I demanded. "You know very well she must go to pieces within an hour if she remains in her present position. Go out to her, without delay, pilot the vessel to safe anchorage ground, tell the captain I will examine his papers and do what I can for him, and you shall be compensated for your trouble."

The sanitary officer departed, and I returned to the terrace, still uneasy for the safety of the vessel. There I remained looking out on the bay, but no sanitary boat appeared on the way to the apparently doomed vessel. I waited so long, that making up my mind there was foul play going on, I started on a run to the beach, where I found the sanitary officer and his crew, not taking a siesta, it is true, but seated with their backs against the Custom House, smoking cigarettes, and listening with evident attention and pleasure, to one of the itinerant Arabian storytellers who gain a livelihood by wandering through the country recounting many of the wonderful stories which are to be found in the "Arabian Nights," of caliphs, viziers, enchantment and much that in our schoolboy days possessed for us such fascination and interest.

It is, perhaps, superfluous to say that the sanitary officer and his crew were not permitted, on that occasion, to hear the conclusion of the wonderful tale which had so interested

them. The tide was running out and we were soon alongside of the Republican. Knowing there was no time to lose, I took the responsibility of boarding the vessel and directing the captain where to safely anchor her.

This being attended to, Capt. Coville opened his case. It was no worse than I anticipated, and inasmuch as the sanitary officer of Cadiz had kindly advised him to run over to Tangier, I thought perhaps he had added to his kindness by writing favorably to Don Juan Blanco del Valle, the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires. But this was not so. Don Juan and the sanitary officer of Cadiz were not friends, and Don Juan, who had lately been appointed to Tangier, had repelled our advances with all the hauteur of a Spanish hidalgo, so that not one of the chiefs of the corps was on intimate terms with him. This was unfortunate, for being avoided by all the corps, with the exception of a French attaché, also lately arrived, and who, in the absence of his chief, was left in temporary charge of the French mission, Don Juan became soured and determined to have his revenge. The arrival of the Republican, with informal papers, afforded him the opportunity.

On my return to the town I found that Señor Blanco had addressed a letter to the President of the Month, denying the right of the Republican to obtain pratique, and insisting on her being ordered off. The contents of this letter were communicated in a circular to the Consular Corps. I endeavored to conciliate my Spanish colleague as did the President of the Month, by informing him that the Spanish *visa* required by the laws of Spain before entering a Spanish port was not necessary on entering a Moorish port; that with the exception of said *visa*, which could not be obtained either at Huron or at Montreal in consequence of no Spanish consuls residing at either of those ports, the Republican's papers were all in order; that through the kindness of the Belgian Consul I was permitted to give an extract from a letter received that day from the President of the Board of Health of Cadiz, which corroborated all that had been already said, and which, in addition, expressed a hope that the Board of Health of Morocco, and the Spanish Chargé in particular,

would facilitate the poor American to get his papers in such a shape as would enable him to return to Cadiz and discharge his cargo.

All efforts at conciliation were unavailing. Blanco had the power to annoy, and he was not magnanimous enough to forego it.

The Neapolitan, Swedish and Belgian consuls were kind enough to call on him in order to explain what had been the usage at Tangier, and to appeal to his sympathies in behalf of the master of a vessel so far from his own country, and whose cargo had been shipped for a Spanish market. These gentlemen met with no success. Blanco persisted in his demand, and also for the dismissal of the sanitary officer. The Board decided against his demands, and he sent in his resignation as a member of that body. Pending the acceptance of his resignation, he called on the President of the Board, Mr. Reade (a son of the late Gen. Sir Thomas Reade, second in command at the Island of St. Helena when Napoleon was a prisoner there), and expressed his profound regret at the course he had pursued towards the Republican. He said he was satisfied the papers of the Republican entitled her to pratique; that he had been led into error through a letter received from Cadiz; that by his resignation as a member of the Board he had placed himself in a false position, not only with the Board itself, but with his own Government; that he had to express his gratification for the courtesy extended toward him, and that if a little path ("*un caminito*") could be opened for him, he would most cheerfully withdraw his resignation. The President then called on me, and said:

"Mr. Brown, we have carried our point—our courtesy, which Blanco referred to, has floored the Don. He admits his folly, he will of course grant his *visa*, and it devolves on you to open the way for his return."

I cheerfully consented to do it. I expressed in the circular the pain I had experienced at the announcement that we were to lose the valuable counsels of our honored colleague of Spain, and the regret that the arrival of a vessel from my own country should have been the cause; that I trusted he would be induced to reconsider his resolution and reflect that

in his resignation not only would the Board be deprived of the aid and assistance of an important member, but that the Government of Her Catholic Majesty would learn with regret that Spanish influence in the sanitary regulations of the empire of Morocco, a near neighbor, had been materially weakened by the resignation referred to of the diplomatic agent of Spain.

This was all gammon, of course, for Don Juan had but lately arrived; had had no experience, and was far more likely to obstruct than assist us in regulating the sanitary affairs of the empire. But I wanted his *visa*, and my colleagues wanted it quite as much as I did, for I had always cheerfully aided them in extricating from similar difficulties the vessels of their countrymen, and this was the first occasion they had been afforded to reciprocate. They therefore followed me in the circular, in the same eulogistic strain, and the Swedish Consul issued invitations for a soirée that evening, at his consulate, in order to bring us all together and smooth over the little asperities that had been occasioned by this the first interruption, for a number of years, to our usual harmony. Blanco did not attend.

Judge of our surprise, on reading in the circular, the following day, a lengthy and pompous effusion from Blanco, to the effect, that the urgent solicitations of his honored colleagues to withdraw the resignation he had felt it his duty to tender, placed him in a very painful position; on the one side was his duty, a duty which nothing could prevent him from performing; on the other the urgent solicitation of his associates not to withdraw from them his counsels in the regulation of the sanitary affairs of Morocco; that he had given the subject the most serious reflection, and he had decided to accede to the wishes of his colleagues and withdraw his resignation, which he now did, insisting at the same time that the American schooner *Republican* be ordered out of the bay—a courtesy which, he said, was due to the Government of Spain, whose authorities had decided not to admit her; and a severe reprimand to be administered to the sanitary officer.

A very disagreeable controversy, the only one in which I

participated during my long residence in Morocco, then ensued. I recapitulated the verbal statements of Blanco at his interview with the President of the Month. I said that an imposition on the Board had been practiced by some one, and I called on the President for an explanation. He replied by repeating the conversation at the personal interview, thus showing up Blanco to be a consummate humbug. Others participated in the controversy. Blanco lost temper, hazarded a menace, which being met in a proper spirit, he retired from the field humbled and discomfited, and was ever afterward known under the soubriquet of "The *Valiente*."

Failing to obtain the Spanish *visa*, the Republican sailed for Vigo, a port 1,000 miles distant from Tangier, and I forwarded a complaint with a copy of the correspondence, to Mr. Preston, our Minister at Madrid. Wishing to get rid of Blanco, the British Chargé, Sir John Drummond Hay, who returned from abroad during the controversy, enclosed to Mr. Buchanan, the British Minister at Madrid, a copy of the correspondence about the Republican, expressing at the same time a hope that he would coöperate with Mr. Preston in bringing the affair to the notice of the Spanish Government.

This was done. Mr. Preston and Mr. Buchanan proceeded together to the Foreign Office, and in the interview with Calderon de la Barca, the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs, that gentleman expressed his annoyance at the discourteous and captious proceedings of Blanco, promised to give the subject prompt attention and lost no time in doing so.

It so happens that I have in my possession, the original despatch received from Mr. Preston after that interview, and after his addressing Marshal O'Donnell on the subject. During the war between Spain and Morocco, the foreign representatives were all obliged to escape to Gibraltar. My personal effects and the papers of the Government were all hastily placed on board a lateen, which ran on a sunken anchor in the bay of Gibraltar, filled and went down before the property could be got off. The papers and effects were subsequently recovered, but in such a confused state, that

private and official papers were found huddled together. Thus it came into my hands.*

In conclusion, I have to add that Señor Don Juan Blanco was subsequently withdrawn from Tangier, and satisfactory explanations tendered to Mr. Preston, who subsequently addressed to me a despatch to the effect that if I would forward to him a statement of the losses incurred by the master of the Republican, in consequence of the unwarrantable interference of the Chargé d'Affaires of Spain, in Morocco, he would recover the amount and transmit the same to his address. Capt. Coville was then in Cadiz and I addressed him to that effect, but he replied through Messrs. Bensusen & Co. of that city, that he had already given me a great deal of trouble, and that although thankful to me for this additional evidence of friendship, he declined troubling me any farther. I reported to Mr. Preston the reply of Capt. Coville, and thus the affair ended.

The Republican, having to beat all the way, was fourteen days in making the passage from Tangier to Vigo, the lazaretto of Spain. By the time she reached Vigo, Mr. Preston had made his complaint to the Spanish Government, and orders had been transmitted to Vigo not to detain the Republican, but to advise the captain to return to Cadiz. On the third day she therefore sailed for Cadiz, but being absent one month, the market for staves had in the meantime fallen \$25 a thousand, and the cargo had to be disposed of at \$95 per thousand for pipes and \$75 per thousand for hogsheads.

The Republican then left Cadiz with a load of salt, was overtaken by the equinoctial gales, and, after being disabled, ran 800 miles to Fayal, one of the Azores, where she was detained two months repairing. That brought it so late that she could not return home via Quebec, and Capt. Coville was consequently obliged to proceed to New York. Half his salt having been washed out, he took on at Fayal, at an enormous freight, 2,000 boxes of oranges, and made between Fayal and New York, the quickest passage on record.

*The despatch does not appear to have been deposited with the MS. of this narrative in the keeping of the Buffalo Historical Society; at any rate it has not been found.

The Republican then conveyed a general cargo of merchandise to Mobile; returned to New York; sailed again for Mobile, and was wrecked on the Great Abico, one of the Bahama Islands, some seventy-five miles from Nassau. Capt. Colville succeeded, however, in getting out his cargo which he disposed of at Nassau.

Thus ends my sketch of the diplomatic controversy occasioned by the visit of a gallant little craft from Lake Erie, with a Buffalo master, to the shores of the Don and the Mussulman, and her subsequent fate.

NOTE—The foregoing narrative is a portion of an unpublished manuscript which has been in the possession of the Buffalo Historical Society for forty years. When it was written, in 1863, considerable attention was being paid to the development of trans-Atlantic trade in vessels from the Great Lakes. That portion of Mr. Brown's paper which we do not publish, discusses at length the possibilities of this trade, contingent on the condition of the Welland Canal and St. Lawrence route. For many years American-built vessels had found ready sale at the principal European ports, and at many a port on the Great Lakes vessel builders thought they saw prospective profits in sending home-built craft to Europe, even though there was no return voyage. The Lily of Kingston was the first vessel that passed down from the lakes to the ocean, bound for a European port. This was about 1847. She afterwards sailed in the Quebec and Liverpool trade, but was lost, it is believed, on her third ocean voyage. Prior to 1857 very few vessels passed down, via the Welland Canal and St. Lawrence, bound for Europe. The manuscript under notice gives a list of fifty-nine vessels which cleared from lake ports for Atlantic and European ports, between 1847 and 1860. Most of them sailed to Glasgow, Liverpool and London. In 1860 the Messenger cleared from Buffalo, the Pierson from Milan, O., the Massillon and Valeria from Cleveland and the Scott from St. Joseph, all for European ports. Several lake-built vessels engaged for a time in trade on the Mediterranean and the Danube, and then returned to the lakes. Prior to 1863, Norwegian craft had come into the upper lakes, and returned with outward-bound cargo; and English railway iron had been unloaded on the Buffalo docks direct from the ships into which it had been loaded at Liverpool. The lake-ocean trade did not prove as profitable as some of the ship builders and lumber dealers had anticipated, and for many years, except in sporadic cases, it practically ceased to exist.

HISTORICAL PAPERS

BY

HENRY R. HOWLAND.

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I. NAVY ISLAND AND THE FIRST SUCCESSORS TO THE GRIFFON.

From that day in 1679 when the Griffon, launched by LaSalle from his shipyard on the Little Niagara, spread her white sails to the favoring breeze on her adventurous voyage to Green Bay and returning laden with furs was lost in some fierce storm on Lake Michigan, until the British Conquest of Canada in 1760, the only attempt to follow in the path of Robert Cavelier as a ship builder was that of the Sieur de la Ronde Denis, Chevalier of the Order of St. Louis, one of the most picturesque figures in the story of New France. From the year 1687 he had served the King as an officer of Marines and had distinguished himself by his conspicuous bravery whereby he had achieved many successes that had won him favor at Court. Twice by the varied fortunes of war he had been captured in naval engagements with British fleets, and he knew the prisons of Ireland and England well. Much of his service had been on the American coast, with which he had grown very familiar, and twice he had served the Governor of New France with excellent tact and judgment and with reasonable success when sent to Boston on special missions of diplomacy in Acadian affairs.*

In 1727 the Marquis de Beauharnois gave him the command at Chequamegon Bay on the southwestern shore of

*Canadian Archives, Series F, Vol. 65, p. 125.

Lake Superior, where, on Madelaine Island, which is called Isle de la Ronde on Bellin's map of 1744, the Ottawa mission of La Pointe du Saint Esprit had been planted by the Jesuits as early as 1661.

Here he built a fortified trading post, established friendly relations with the Indians and with his characteristic energy began to explore the lake for the copper mines of which he heard report, and for the better furtherance of his purposes, some time prior to 1735,* constructed at his own expense a bark of forty tons burthen, being obliged to transport the rigging and materials for the vessel in canoes as far as Sault Ste. Marie. His shipyard was probably at Point aux Pins, seven miles above the Sault; and in this first of ships on Lake Superior, with his eldest son, afterwards commissioned Ensign Denis de la Ronde, he explored the coasts and islands to such effect that apparently in 1734 he was especially commissioned from Quebec to undertake the discovery and exploration of that famous copper region.

An interesting letter written 13th October, 1735, by the Governor, de Beauharnois and the Intendant Hocquart to the Marquis de Maurepas,^t gives details of de la Ronde's progress in these discoveries and mentions that his associate, one Guillori, had just been sent to Montreal instructed to return by way of Detroit, bringing everything necessary for the construction and armament of another bark to be built in the following year, but no further mention is found of this second vessel nor does de la Ronde himself mention it in his detailed report to the Minister of his discoveries, written in 1739, in which, however, he expresses a strong desire to colonize the Lake Superior mining region, praising its climate and its soil, and wishes to build a ship of 80 tons at Detroit to take provisions and cattle to the Sault, where he would carry them by portage half a league to reembark them on his present vessel.^t

This plan, too, failed of its accomplishment, and the bark first built by de la Ronde seems to have been the only one. It

*1731? See Minnesota Hist. Socy. Col., Vol. V, p. 425.

^tCanadian Archives, Series F, Vol. 63, p. 55.

[‡]Canadian Archives, Series F, Vol. 65, p. 125.

is undoubtedly to this vessel that Captain Jonathan Carver alludes in his account of Lake Superior in 1768. He states that the French while they were in possession of Canada had kept a small schooner on the lake.*

Of the excellent use which de la Ronde made of his bark in explorations of Lake Superior, and of its fate, we learn somewhat from a letter written by the well-known fur-trader, Benjamin Frobisher, to Dr. Mabane from Montreal, 19th April, 1784. He urges the establishment of a fortified post at Point aux Pins to command the entrance of Lake Superior, and adds: "Such a settlement would prove of public utility, and in the course of a few years give an opportunity to continue those searches on the North Side that were begun by the French and recently by Mr. Baxter, the former were obliged to relinquish their prospects from the only vessel they had on the Lake, being lost about the time this Country was Conquered."†

So, with this single exception, the waters of the upper lakes as well as those of Lake Erie saw no other boats than the canoes and bateaux of the Indians and the French during the period of French supremacy. Many of the French bateaux, however, were of large size and were sometimes spoken of as "vessels." La Hontan describes the canoes of the voyageurs and says: "When the season serves they carry little sails," and the British trader Alexander Henry in his "Travels" (p. 14) says: "The canoes are worked not with oars but with paddles and occasionally with a sail."

Such far-seeing eyes as those of Frontenac were open to the need of sailing vessels on Lake Erie, and he urges their importance in his letter to the King, November 2, 1681,‡ but the royal eyes were not as his own and nothing came of the appeal.

Capt. Pouchot, the French Commandant of Fort Niagara at the time of its capture in 1759, in his description of Lake Erie expresses his regret that the French had not built suit-

*"Travels through the Interior Parts of North America," by J. Carver. Edition 1779. p. 134.

†Canadian Archives B, Vol. 75-2, p. 75.

‡ Docs. Col. Hist. N. Y., Vol. IX., p. 147.

able vessels for its navigation. He says: "Lake Erie has never been circumnavigated by any one capable of giving an exact account of the bearing of its shores, the depths of its bays, and the anchorages that occur, or the posts that might be established to derive advantage from its navigation. . . .

. . . It is to be observed that they only navigate this lake in bark canoes and very seldom in bateaux except from the Niagara River to Presque Isle. They never go except along the shores which are shallow, although a little distance out it is deep enough. It would have been useful to have built a small vessel with which from the month of May to the end of September, when the weather is always good, to sound and reconnoitre all the shelters around the lake, and then we might build vessels proper for this navigation which would have saved great labor and expense."*

In July, 1760, Colonel Henry Bouquet of the Sixtieth Regiment of Foot (the Royal Americans) was at Presqu' Isle (the present site of Erie, Pa.), with 100 Virginians and 150 Pennsylvania levies, building the royal blockhouse and establishing that military post, where he constructed four bateaux and a "Flatt," which was probably a large open scow provided with sloop-rigged sails. To his keen vision "coming events cast their shadows before," and realizing the necessities of the near future he wrote on the 15th of September, 1760, to General Robert Monckton at Fort Pitt:

"But a Vessel will be wanted next year I think the Timber should be cut and the Boards, Planes, etc., be prepared at the Landing Place at Niagara so as to be finished early next Spring. If you should approve of it, you will please to let me know how many of the carpenter. to send there, and as no more men can be spared from this place than will carry on the Batteau Service, Major Walters ought to have your orders to furnish a party from Niagara to cut and saw the Timber and assist the Ship Carpenter."†

Major Robert Rogers' detachment of 200 Rangers stopped at Presqu' Isle in October, 1760, when on its way to

*"Memoirs of the Late War in North America," by M. Pouchot, F. B. Hough's translation, Vol. II., pp. 157 and 159.

† Canadian Archives, Bouquet Col., Vol. A 8, p. 174.

take possession of Detroit, and after Captain Donald Campbell with his 100 regulars had come up from Fort Pitt and had set out from Presqu' Isle November 2nd to reinforce the Rangers, Colonel Bouquet wrote to Monckton: "From the 1st of October the wind has blown without Interruption and continues still from the S. W. and almost every day heavy squalls and storms. One of our large Battoes was staved and two of the Rangers with the loss of 33 Barrels of Provisions the Rest arrived in a most shattered condition and the 24th the Sloop after having been twice near this Post was blown off and I fear is either perished or has been put back to Niagara. I have sent three times in quest of her, without success, she has a Boat with her and eighty Barrels of Provisions."*

The "Sloop" to which he refers was undoubtedly the "Flatt" which he had built at Presqu' Isle for transporting provisions from Niagara, in its modest way the first of British sailing vessels on Lake Erie.

January 14, 1761, he wrote from Fort Pitt to General Monckton, who was probably at New York, "Mr. Vaughen is arrived and left Detroit well supplied till the Spring, when they must have meat and flour, as they have a different number of Battoes if Niagara can supply them they can do well till the Vessel is built. . . . I enclose you the list of Naval Stores etc. wanted for the construction of a deck'd vessel on Lake Erie, if they cannot be had at Oswego any Ship builder at New York or Philadelphia can provide them. . . . The Flat is not much hurt and Capt. Wheeler of the Rangers took back to Niagara the little Boat left with her."†

It would appear, however, that the "Flat" had been the victim of the autumn gales and had been blown ashore, for there is an apparent reference to this vessel in a letter dated Detroit, June 1, 1761, from Captain Donald Campbell to Colonel Bouquet:

"I forgot to mention to you in my last that Lieut. Lesslye says that the Vessel that was cast away last year on the north

*Canadian Archives Bouquet Col., Vol. A 8, p. 221; the letter is not dated.

†Canadian Archives Bouquet Col., Vol. A 8, p. 232.

side of the Lake might with very little Trouble be made fitt for service. I do not know if they intend any such for the Lake, such a vessel would be of great Service from this to Michillimackinac, as the last is very deep and good navigation. The French Batteaux we have found here are of a good size. I have been only able to repair five of them for want of pitch."* Once again Bouquet reminded Monckton of this necessity, writing from Fort Pitt June 20, 1761, "If we had a vessel upon Lake Erie it would be of great service to support the advanced Posts,"† to which the General replied from New York July 12, 1761: "In regard to the vessel the Genl is not yet determined about it as by the Acct of the Officers that have been over the Lake the Shores they met with make it a very dangerous navigation, tho' between Presqu' Isle and Niagara I believe it would doe very well."‡

It would appear, however, that when writing from New York he had not been fully informed of Sir Jeffrey Amherst's decisions, for on the 13th of July from Philadelphia, Monckton wrote to Bouquet, "The General had wrote me some days before that Sir William Johnson was well off to Detroit, to have a meeting with the Indians (of which I acquainted you in my last) and that two vessels are building above the Falls."<§

June 30, 1761, Major William Walters, then in command at Fort Niagara, wrote to Colonel Bouquet: "Lieutenant Robertson with carpenters and materials has arrived to build the vessels on Lake Erie,"|| and in a letter of August 24th the Major complained that he had been greatly hurried that summer by various matters, including "assisting in building two vessels for Lake Erie."<¶ In Sir William Johnson's diary of his journey to and from Detroit in the summer of 1761 he writes at Fort Niagara Sunday, July 26th: "At seven in the morning I set off with Colonel Eyre, Lieutenant Johnson, my son and DeCouagne, for the island whereon the vessel is

*Canadian Archives, Bouquet Col., A 16, p. 219.

†Canadian Archives, Bouquet Col., A 23-1, p. 89.

‡Canadian Archives, Bouquet Col., A 8, p. 245.

§Canadian Archives, Bouquet Col., A 8, p. 303.

||Canadian Archives, Bouquet Col., A 16, p. 86.

¶ Canadian Archives, Bouquet Col., A 17, p. 121.

building for exploring the lakes Huron and Michigan, which island is about two miles from Little Niagara, on the place where Shabear Jean Coeur lived. . . . The Schooner, building upon the island, was in such forwardness as to be ready to launch in about ten days, but was put a stop to in order to build a boat, pinnace fashion for Major Gladwin's service. . . . Dined with John Dies after which Colonel Eyre went in a boat to explore the Chippaway river, the entrance of which is about two miles above the Great Falls. In another branch of said river, our people found a great quantity of pine planks of several dimensions, sawed by hand, which they used in making the vessels."

This John Dies, who was evidently the master ship builder, had been prior to this in the Government service at Crown Point and elsewhere during the French War and his name occurs frequently in the elder (James) Montresor's journals. The shipyard was on Navy Island in the west branch of the Niagara River about a mile above the entrance to Chippewa Creek where the sawed timbers left by the French had proved so opportunely serviceable. Upon the French maps Navy Island is called Isle-la-Marine, and doubtless took its name from its use by the French when building their bateaux.

In allusion to this also the Senecas called it Ga-o'-wah-ge-waah,—“the big canoe island.”* Its subsequent use by the British doubtless confirmed their opinion as to the peculiar fitness of their name.

While Sir William Johnson was at Detroit the schooner was launched and taken up the river to an anchorage somewhere near Squaw Island, for upon his return Sir William notes in his diary Sunday, October 4, 1761: “The land on the other side of the lake is in view. Embarked at 7 o'clock and rowed near shore about six miles. Then set off across for the river (Niagara) where we met Captain Robinson sounding. It is three, four and five fathoms water near the mouth of the river. We went on board the Schooner which lay about a mile from the entrance of the lake in the river, where the current runs six knots an hour. She has about ninety barrels of provisions on board and twenty-four bar-

*“The Niagara Frontier,” by O. H. Marshall, p. 27.

rels for Gage's sutler. Dined on board and left the vessel about 5 o'clock and encamped about ten miles down the river."

This was the schooner Huron, the first decked sailing vessel to plow the waters of Lake Erie since the days of the Griffon. Lieut. Schlosser wrote to Col. Bouquet August 22, 1761, that she drew seven feet of water when loaded and carried six guns and was "to be commanded by Lieut. Robertson of Montgomery's Regiment."*

On the 5th of October, 1761, Sir William Johnson wrote in his diary: "Called to see Jno. Dies on the island where he is building a sloop which will not be finished this season he says, as he goes down in a fortnight, his men being sickly."

This second vessel was the sloop traditionally known to us as the Beaver, built to carry ten guns,† which apparently was not completed and launched until late in 1762.

Whether the equipment of the schooner Huron was incomplete does not appear, but it was many months before she made her trial voyage to Detroit and in the meantime the patience of the little garrison at that post was sorely tried by the delay. October 5, 1761, Capt. Donald Campbell wrote to Capt. Elias Meyer at Sandusky: "Noe accounts of the Vessel being in the Lake, she has but fifteen Barrels of flour on Board, and none at Niagara, a Poor Prospect for this Place and the Posts depending."‡

October 12, 1761, he writes to Colonel Bouquet: "There is noe account of the Vessel being come out of the River, she is chiefly loaded with Pork, there is no flour at Niagara, they expect it by way of Oswegatchie.§

He again wrote to Colonel Bouquet November 8, 1761: "Major Wilkins writes me they despair of the vessels getting in to the lake this season which is a great disappointment to this Post."|| And again, 28th November, 1761: "The vessel is now Dispaired of here and all our dependens on three Batteaux from Niagara which we expect Daily."¶

*Canadian Archives, Bouquet Col., Vol. V. A 17, p. 116.

†Canadian Archives, Bouquet Col., Vol. V. A 17, p. 116.

‡ Canadian Archives, Bouquet Col., A 17, p. 225.

§ Canadian Archives, Bouquet Col., A 17, p. 238.

|| Canadian Archives, Bouquet Col., A 17, p. 277.

¶ Canadian Archives, Bouquet Col., A 17, p. 304.

No further reference occurs to either vessel until August 1, 1762, when Capt. Joseph Schlosser writes from Niagara to Colonel Bouquet: "The vessel is out of the River and I believe already arrived at Detroit,"* and August 26, 1762, Captain Campbell advises Colonel Bouquet "The Vessel is arrived but brought only 40 Barrels of Provisions. . . . The vessel is to proceed to Michillimackinac tho' she has got but little Provisions on board."†

On the 4th of September, 1762, Captain George Etherington wrote from Detroit to Colonel Bouquet: "I was in hopes to have gone in the Schooner to Michillimackinac, but the master of her who has been sounding Lake St. Clair is returned and says there is not water enough to get the vessel into the River Huron, so that I leave this to-morrow in Batteaux."‡ September 24, 1762, Lieut. Jehu Hay wrote from Detroit to Bouquet: "As you have undoubtedly heard that there is not water enough in Lake St. Clair to carry the Vessel through to Lake Huron, I flatter myself the Inclosed copy of a sketch of that Lake taken by Mr. Brehm, will not be disagreeable, especially as you will see the great difference between the depth of the water at the time Mr. Brehm sounded it, and what it is at the present as sounded by Capt. Robinson of the Schooner Huron, the third and fourth Instant, which it is suppos'd must be caused by some moving sand banks, and not by the falling of the water, as some imagine, for notwithstanding the water in the Upper Lakes ebbs (as we are informed) for several years successively, yet the greatest difference that has been known in the depth of the water here, has not exceeded five feet."§

It has been generally supposed that the schooner which bore so gallant a part in the defence of Detroit in 1763 was called the Gladwin. Parkman speaks of the vessels as "two small armed schooners, the Beaver and the Gladwin,"|| and his error has been constantly repeated. None of the contemporaneous narratives gives the names of the vessels, but

* Canadian Archives, Bouquet Col., A 18-2, p. 321.

† Canadian Archives, Bouquet Col., Vol. 18-2, p. 387.

‡ Canadian Archives, Bouquet Col., Vol. 18-2, p. 396.

§ Canadian Archives, Bouquet Col., A 18, p. 418.

|| Conspiracy of Pontiac, Vol. 1, p. 224.

the evidence of Lieut. Jehu Hay is confirmed by the report in the Gladwin MSS. of a Court of Inquiry held at Detroit July 8, 1763, when Lieut. Cuyler stated that at the time of the taking of Presqu' Isle by the Indians, June 20-22, 1763, he was on board the schooner Huron on his return from Niagara to Detroit.*

The anonymous "Diary of the Siege of Detroit" makes it very clear that at that time there were but two sailing vessels upon the lake, invariably referred to as "the Schooner" and "the Sloop," and as "the Schooner," according to that authority reached Detroit June 30, 1763, with provisions and ammunition and with a reinforcement of fifty men, its identity with the Huron is clearly established. Moreover, it appears by an "Official return July 30, 1778, of all vessels built on the lakes since the year 1759"† preserved at Ottawa, that the Gladwin was not built until 1764.

Both the Huron and her companion the Beaver, if that was really the sloop's name, were of the greatest service to the beleaguered garrison of Detroit in its defense against the tireless efforts of Pontiac and his followers during the memorable siege. With their guns they could protect two sides of the fort, and leaving their anchorage as they did on several occasions they could and did carry terror to the Indian camps. The savages tried to destroy them by twice sending down blazing fire rafts which fortunately floated past them without doing injury. On the 13th of August, 1763, both the Huron and the Beaver sailed for Niagara to procure much-needed supplies and reinforcements and reached their destination safely. On the night of the 3d of September the Huron returning loaded with provisions, entered the Detroit River. Her master's name was Horst, the mate's name was Jacobs and they had a crew of ten men. With them were six Iroquois Indians, supposed to be friendly, who were unwisely set ashore in the morning and beyond doubt went at once to Pontiac, for after nightfall of September 4th, when anchored about nine miles below the fort, the schooner was attacked by 350 Indians in their birch canoes. The

*Gladwin's MSS., Mich. Pioneer & Hist. Socy. Col., Vol. 27, p. 637.

†Canadian Archives, Haldimand Col., B 144, p. 97.

crew made a gallant defense, but the captain and two of his men were killed, four were seriously wounded and the vessel would have been captured had not the mate Jacobs called out to blow up the schooner. This caused a panic among the savages, who escaped as best they could, not daring to renew the attack, and on the following day, September 5th, the Huron reached the fort. General Amherst caused a "Relation of the Gallant Defense" of the schooner to be published in the New York papers and ordered a medal to be struck and presented to each of the men.

The sloop Beaver was less fortunate than her consort. She sailed from the Niagara River about the 26th or 27th of August, 1763, with provisions and supplies, "with about eighteen officers and men of the 17th and 46th Regiments" under command of Captain Hope (17th) and Lieutenant (afterwards Captain) John Montresor of the Engineers, whose well-known name now appears for the first time in the history of the Niagara frontier.*

She had brought with her from Detroit a lad of seventeen named John Rutherford, whose experiences as related by himself furnish one of the most interesting episodes in the story of Pontiac's war. He was a nephew of Walter Rutherford of New York, a partner in the trading firm of Livingston, Rutherford & Syme of Detroit, and had been sent by his uncle in charge of goods for James Sterling, the managing partner at that post. At the outbreak of hostilities he had been captured by the savages and adopted by a Chippewa chief. After having been purchased from his master by a French habitant, one Antoine Cuillierier, moved by his friendship for Sterling, who, after the war ended, married his daughter Angelique, the lad was again made captive, but aided by a Frenchman whom Sterling had bribed, he escaped to the fort, much to his own joy and that of his friends. When the Beaver sailed for Niagara Sterling had obtained leave from Major Gladwin to have some goods for his firm brought back by her from Niagara and requested young Rutherford to take charge of them. "Being anxious," he

*Letter Genl. Amherst to Col. Bouquet, September 25, 1763. Canadian Archives, Bonquet Col., A 4, p. 413.

says, "to do what office was in my power, for the benefit of a company with which my uncle was connected, I agreed to run the hazard of the undertaking and accordingly embarked on board the ship." His story of the ill-fated return voyage is graphic. "We had only set sail one day, when the vessel sprang a leak, and was half filled with water before it was observed. The pumps were all set agoing, but were of little use, so after having thrown all the heavy artillery and some other things overboard, we found that the only way to save ourselves was to crowd sail to the land and run the vessel ashore; but it was the opinion of all that she would go to the bottom before this could be effected. While dread and consternation were depicted on the countenance of every one, I was surprised to find myself the least moved on the occasion, which must have been owing to my having been so much exposed and inured to danger some time previous. At a time when all were agitated in a lesser or greater degree, some stripping to swim, others cursing, swearing and upbraiding their companions for not working enough at the pumps, others praying, besides some who were drinking, I looked calmly on the scene, after I had become conscious I could be of no more use. When we were at the worst, and expecting every one to go down, one boat which was our last hope broke adrift; then, indeed, our situation was a dismal one. The cries and shrieks of a naval officer's lady with three children affected me much more than my own condition. It was really a piteous sight; the mother held two of her children in her arms, while the other little innocent was making a fruitless attempt to stop the water with her hands which was running into the cabin, and already flooded it to the depth of several inches. 'She did this,' she said, 'to prevent the water from drowning her mamma.' At last, to the inexpressible joy of all on board, the vessel struck upon a sand bank within fifty yards of the shore. The difficulty now was how to be conveyed to land, which it was desirable should be done with immediate haste, as we every moment dreaded being dashed to pieces by the violence of the surf of the lake. In this situation we should have been much at a loss, had not Captain Montresor of the Engineers, bravely undertaken

to swim ashore to endeavor to bring off the boat which had stranded there. The distance was considerable and the waves running high and there was much danger of Indians being there on the watch; he, nevertheless, accomplished the bold adventure, and brought off the boat, by which means we all got safely on the shore."*

Here they made a rudely fortified camp with a breastwork, maintaining themselves against straggling parties of Indians until Captain Gavin Cochrane (60th) with boats and assistance reached them from Niagara. Rutherford says that they finally "marched over the carrying place at the Falls just three days after the Indians had defeated our troops in a rencontre. We saw about eighty dead bodies, unburied, scalped and sadly mangled." This would fix the date of their return as September 16, 1763, the massacre at the Devil's Hole having occurred September 13th, and is not consistent with his statement that they were detained at their fortified camp twenty-four days, for the wreck of the Beaver is stated by General Amherst to have occurred August 28th† and the "Diary of the Siege of Detroit" states, "October 3d. The Schooner again returned to the Fort, in her came Capt. Montresor who informed us that the Sloop was lost the 28th of August between Presqu' Isle and Niagara and the Provisions and Guns were all lost except 185 Barrels which they brought in the Schooner; the Rigging was all carried to Niagara."

A letter from Colin Andrews to Sir William Johnson is dated "Cat Fish Creek, fourteen miles in Lake Erie Sept. 9th, 1763," and states, "The 8th ultimo we have been cast away at this place."‡ This was apparently simply a clerical error in writing the date. Mr. O. H. Marshall identifies this location of the wreck of the Beaver as being near the mouth of Eighteen Mile Creek, where in 1811 remains of an old

*Rutherford's Narrative, Transactions Canadian Institute, September, 1893, p. 229. See also Publications Buffalo Historical Society, Vol. V., pp. 1-4.

†Amherst to Bouquet, September 25, 1763; Can. Archives, Bouquet Col., A 4, p. 413.

‡Unpublished MSS. Sir Wm. Johnson, in N. Y. State Library, Vol. VII., p. 142.

stockade were discovered and where on the beach close at hand, two small cannon were found.*

As to the subsequent career of the schooner Huron the records are silent. With the raising of the siege of Detroit she disappears from view and as no mention is made of her in the following year, it seems probable that like her consort, she, too, was wrecked and that both of these vessels, the first ships to sail Lake Erie since the Griffon's voyage, in each case after a brave service sadly ended, found their graves beneath its stormy waters, as have so many that have followed them in the growth from those small beginnings, of the mighty commerce of our lakes to-day. Both the Huron and the Beaver had practically demonstrated the need of more vessels of a like character for lake service and the Navy Island shipyard was a busy spot in the autumn of 1763 and throughout the following year.

October 29, 1763, General Amherst wrote from New York to General Bradstreet: "I arrived here on Thursday morning and gave Immediate Orders for getting Ready the Iron Work for the Schooners that are Intended to be Built for the Service of Lake Erie &c. A sufficiency for one of 60 Tons, with the Rigging, will be sent on Saturday next; & Preparation shall be made for two more and sent up as fast as Possible; I need not Desire You to Forward the whole in the best manner you can."†

The schooner Victory was apparently the first of these new ships from the Navy Island shipyard. According to the "Official return July 30th, 1778," previously mentioned, the Victory carried six guns and the work of her construction was so expedited that she was launched before the close of navigation in 1763, and at once made her first voyage to Detroit, where she wintered. In April, 1764, Captain John Montresor was ordered to Niagara to construct defensive works along the portage and incidentally to "entrench the Navy Yard," and in his Journal under date of May 6th he mentions that "the Schooner Victory sailed from Detroit

* Publications Buffalo Hist. Socy., Vol. I., p. 212.

† Unpublished MSS., Bradstreet & Amherst, N. Y. State Library, p. 141.

April 20th," and added that "the river of Detroit was open the first day of March."

According to the "Official return" (1778) a sloop of eight guns had been built at Navy Island in 1763, and Montresor's journal gives credence to this statement. May 5, 1764, while at Oswego, he notes the arrival of two vessels from Niagara bringing accounts "that the Sloop had arrived from Detroit loaded and departed back from thence," and while at Niagara his journal evidently refers to the same vessel in an entry June 12, 1764, "Sailed the Sloop to the Detroit."

June 20th his journal states: "Two vessels now launched from Navy Island and the 3rd on the Point. By advice from the Rapids the Schooner first launched got safe up the Rapids and into Lake Erie."

June 27th, "The Schooner (the second) is at the foot of the Rapids yet. The 2 new Schooners carry 200 Barrels each and the old one 200, which makes 1100 each trip."

July 2nd, "The 2d Schooner got into Lake Erie."

July 3rd, "The Schooner that got up the Rapids last night into the Lake was hauled up by 150 men without the benefit of either wind or the Capstans and loaded with Three Hundred Barrels of Provisions for Detroit." According to the "Official return," these were the schooner Gladwin of eight guns and the schooner Boston with a similar armament. Montresor's journal states that the Gladwin sailed for Detroit July 4th and returned to Fort Erie July 19th. The Boston was at Detroit July 27th, but perhaps upon her second voyage. In the meantime the sloop Royal Charlotte of ten guns, had been launched from Navy Island and sailed for the river entrance July 4th. She was built, Montresor said, "chiefly for the navigation of Lake Huron."

All of these vessels were kept busily employed during the year 1764. While Montresor was at Detroit, whither he had accompanied Bradstreet's expedition, he notes in his journal September 19th, that "the Sloops and 2 Schooners" were anchored by the fort and that the Gladwin had been sent to Michillimackinac with provisions. The "Diary of the Siege of Detroit" mentions under date of October 20, 1764: "This

day the Sloop Charlotte sail'd for Fort Erie with 21 Packs of Peltry; being the last of 1464 Packs that were sent from this since last April."

The "Official return" states that the sloop of eight guns built in 1763 (whose name we do not know) was "cast away in 1764." It is somewhat curious that the same authority states concerning the schooner Victory and the schooner Boston, that each was "laid up and burned by accident." No dates are given, but at the close of 1766 both vessels had gone into winter quarters at Navy Island and January 2, 1767, Sir William Johnson wrote to General Gage: "I have received Letters from Niagara informing me of the burning of one of the Vessels at Navy Island on 30th Nov. last, which was at first ascribed to the Indians, but the Commissary with others went thither the next morng to view the remains and made a Report to the Commanding Officer in writing from which and from the substance of his Letter it appears that a party of Men had set out before day Light on that day for Fort Erie and it being very Cold and the Crossing tedious had probably kindled a fire wch was it seems usual and which they did not take sufficient pains to Extinguish, there does not appear any probability of the Indians having done this, or that they should destroy one Vessel when they might as easily have burned both."*

The Gladwin saw several years of useful service. In his "Travels" Capt. Jonathan Carver states: "In June, 1768, I left Michillimackinac and returned in the Gladwyn Schooner, a vessel of about Eighty tons burthen over Lake Huron to Lake St. Claire where we left the ship and proceeded in boats to Detroit."† At that time her master's name was Jacobs, evidently the gallant mate of the Huron whose courage had saved the vessel from capture by the savages in September, 1763, but he would seem to have been a reckless soul, for Carver further states: "The Gladwin Schooner which I since learn was lost with all her crew on Lake Erie, through

**Doc. Hist. N. Y., Vol II., pp. 483, 485.*

†"*Travels through the Interior Parts of North America.*" by J. Carver. Edition 1779. p. 150.

the obstinacy of her Commander who could not be persuaded to take in sufficient ballast."*

This must have occurred subsequent to June 26, 1770, for in a letter of that date to General Haldimand, General Gage mentions the "bad state" of both the Gladwin and the Charlotte and suggests that their material may be used for a new vessel.†

According to the "Official return," however, the sloop Royal Charlotte "remained in service till decayed." She was the last of the King's ships built on Navy Island, but this once famous though now forgotten shipyard furnished the seven ships that were the first of the Royal Navy on Lake Erie and the Upper Lakes.

*"Travels through the Interior Parts of North America," by J. Carver. Edition 1779, p. 155.

†Canadian Archives, Haldimand papers, B. 19, p. 127.

II. THE NIAGARA PORTAGE

AND ITS

FIRST ATTEMPTED SETTLEMENT UNDER BRITISH RULE.

The summer of 1761 was by no means a happy one for Sir William Johnson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Crown "in the Northern Parts of North America." The western Indians were restless under the recent British occupancy of the posts, and felt that they were treated with parsimony and neglect in marked contrast to the bountiful paternalism of French rule; they were exasperated by the continual intrusion of white settlers upon their lands, and French emissaries were active in stirring up their resentment. This feeling of discontent was shared by his own especial wards, the Six Nations of the Iroquois, and the Senecas, who were the hereditary keepers of the Western Door of the Long House, were at the point of open rebellion. On the 17th of June Captain Donald Campbell, in command at Detroit, sent a messenger to Major William Walters at Fort Niagara with the alarming intelligence that the Senecas had sent war belts to the western tribes, urging them to take up the hatchet in furtherance of a general plot to surprise all the posts, including Niagara and Fort Pitt. It was time for prompt action, and General Amherst ordered a detach-

ment of 300 men under command of Major Henry Gladwin sent to the relief of the Northern posts and at the same time requested Sir William Johnson to visit Niagara and Detroit to conciliate the Senecas and the western tribes, as well as to regulate the fur trade and correct its abuses. The Superintendent was wise and tactful in his dealings with the Indians, and his influence was potent with the Six Nations. On the 24th of July Sir William reached Fort Niagara, which he had besieged and captured from the French in 1759. Here he promptly began the arduous duties of his special mission, holding councils with and listening to the complaints of the neighboring tribes. Soon, however, he encountered what seems to have been a disagreeable surprise, mentioned in his diary under date of Sunday, July 26th:

"At seven in the morning I set off with Colonel Eyre, Lieutenant Johnson,* my son,† and DeCouagne,‡ for the island,§ whereon the vessel is building for exploring the Lakes Huron and Michigan, which island is about two miles from Little Niagara, on the place where Shabear Jean Coeur lived. There is a house built within quarter of a mile of said place by one Stirling for the use of the Company, viz: Rutherford, Duncan etc., who intend to monopolize the whole carrying place by virtue of a permit from General Amherst."

Three days later (July 29, 1761,) he wrote from Niagara to General Amherst, reporting a meeting with several chiefs of the "Chipewaigh" nation "and some Mississageys," and added: "I see plainly that there appears to be an universal jealousy amongst every nation, on account of the hasty steps they look upon we are taking towards getting possession of this country, which measures, I am certain, will never subside whilst we encroach within the limits which, you may recollect, have been put under the protection of the King in the year 1726, and confirmed to them by him and his successors ever since, and by orders sent to the governors not to allow any of his subjects settling thereon; which they were ac-

*Lieutenant Guy Johnson of the "Independents," his nephew, who was his private secretary.

†John Johnson, afterward Sir John Johnson, his successor in office.

‡Jean Baptiste DeCouagne, Indian interpreter at Fort Niagara.

§Navy Island.

quainted with, by his late majesty, in your speech of the twenty-second of April, 1760, delivered by Brigadier General Monckton. You then promised to prevent any person whatsoever, from settling or even hunting therein; but that it should remain their absolute property. I thought it necessary to remind your Excellency thereof, as the other day on my riding to the place where the vessels were building, I found some carpenters at work finishing a large house for one Mr. Stirling near the falls and have since heard others are shortly to be built thereabouts. As this must greatly add to the Indians' discontent, being on the carrying place, and within the very limits, which, by their agreement, they are not so much as allowed to dispose of, I should be glad to know whether I can acquaint them that those people will be ordered to remove or not, and I hope from your Excellency's answer to be able to satisfy them on that head."*

Sir Jeffrey Amherst's reply was sent from Albany, 9th August, 1761, in which he wrote: "The Indians need be under no apprehension of losing their Lands, it never was my Design to take an Inch from them, unless when the necessity of the service obliges me to it, and that they have been warned of, so that they need not take any umbrage at the Settlements on the Carrying place; where People Horses, Carriages etc. are absolutely necessary to keep up the Communication with the upper posts; and those that are now there for that purpose have no grant of those Lands, but are only upon sufferance till His Majesty's pleasure is known, and until that is known they must not be removed."†

This decision was by no means to Sir William's liking and when he revisited Little Niagara upon his return from Detroit his chagrin appears in the following entry in his diary:

"Niagara, Thursday October 6 [1761]. The Major [Walters], DeCouagne etc. complain of Stirling monopolizing the trade by keeping a great store of goods at Little Niagara, which will prevent any Indians coming to the fort, or

*Unpublished MSS. of Sir Wm. Johnson in N. Y. State Library Vol. V., p. 111.

†Unpublished MSS. of Sir Wm. Johnson in N. Y. State Library Vol. V., p. 112.

under the eye of the garrison, so that they [i. e. Stirling and others] may cheat the Indians as much as they please in spite of all regulations."

It is evident that Sir William Johnson was greatly annoyed and so was led to speak unjustly of one of the best respected and most noteworthy characters in the history of the early British fur trade.

When the Marquis de Vaudreuil surrendered Canada on the 8th of September, 1760, the British lost no time in taking possession of such of his western posts as had not already come into their hands. On the 12th of September Major Robert Rogers with 200 of his famous Rangers was despatched from Montreal westward by way of Niagara and Presqu' Isle, where he was reinforced by Captain Donald Campbell with 100 regulars sent from Fort Pitt, and on the 29th of November the troops quietly took possession of Detroit.

This opened the way of approach to the northern fur trade which had been so long coveted by the British and although the season was then too far advanced to send up goods from Albany, so that there was a great shortage of provisions and other supplies for the Indians during the winter, the spring of 1761 saw many traders on their way to the Northwest.

One of the most enterprising and successful of the eastern merchants was John Duncan, a Scotchman who had been a lieutenant in the 44th Regiment of Foot, but had retired from the service about 1758 and had established a large and successful business at Schenectady.* He was quick to take advantage of the opening up of western trade and early in 1761 became associated with Captain Walter Rutherford† of New York and his brother-in-law, the well known Peter Van

*He was first commissioned as an Ensign in the 44th, June 2, 1755, and as Lieutenant, April 25, 1757.

†Walter Rutherford was a son of Sir John Rutherford of Edgerston in Scotland, and served in the British army from the age of seventeen until the close of the French War. His commission as a Captain in the 60th Regiment of Foot (Royal Americans) was dated 30th December, 1755. He married a daughter of James Alexander, whose son was the famous American General, William Alexander, better known as Lord Sterling.

Brugh Livingston,* in a mercantile enterprise which apparently contemplated not only establishing a trading post near the upper end of the Niagara portage, but also the building up of a permanent settlement at that desirable location, transporting families with their cattle, etc., to be established there.

To this end they applied to General Amherst for a grant of land "on the carrying place" and were given provisionally 10,000 acres for their purposes. Their representative was James Sterling, who had been a commissary of provisions under General Haldimand in the French war; and as has been seen, with his accustomed energy, he was early on the ground. His storehouse was near completion by the close of July, 1761, and well filled with goods soon thereafter, much to the vexation of the neighboring Indians who resented this encroachment, and of their loyal protector, Sir William Johnson, who found himself unable to dislodge this well-favored and licensed intruder.

Albert H. Porter in his interesting "Historical Sketch of Niagara from 1678 to 1876," says: "The large house referred to was undoubtedly that afterwards occupied by John and Philip Steadman. The current tradition is, that the same building was first erected at Fort Niagara and used by the French as a chapel and was afterwards taken down and rebuilt at the place named. This is rendered quite probable from the fact that a chapel was standing in the fort in 1757, which disappeared and was never otherwise accounted for, and also that on the building occupied by Steadman—presumed to be the same—there was a steeple or belfry, an ap-

*Peter Van Brugh Livingston, born at Livingston Manor near Albany in 1710, was a brother of Philip Livingston who signed the Declaration of Independence, and also of William Livingston, the celebrated Governor of New Jersey during the Revolution, whom the British called the "Don Quixote of the Jerseys". He lived in New York City on the east side of Hanover Square, his garden extending down to the East River. He was engaged in the shipping business with William Alexander, afterward known as Lord Sterling, the American General whose sister Mary he had married in 1739. At the outbreak of the Revolution he opposed British aggression, was a member of the N. Y. Committee of One Hundred in 1775, and in the same year became President of the first New York Provincial Congress. He was Treasurer of New York 1776-1778, and throughout the struggle for independence was an ardent and faithful patriot.

pendage not likely to be added unless as a part of the original building. Furthermore, on a map made by George Dember, an engineer in the British service in 1761, the whole course of the river is represented, showing the upper and lower landings and the portage road correctly traced, and the house referred to placed as nearly as possible in its true position where the old stone chimney now stands."

This map, which is given in the Documentary History of New York, Vol. II, p. 458, marks the location of "Duncan's House," and if Mr. Porter's surmise is correct the old stone chimney of the French barracks built in 1750 and burnt by Chabert Joncaire in 1759, was utilized as a part of the smaller two-story structure that connected directly with the main building.

It is difficult to understand how James Sterling or his principals could have obtained possession of the old chapel for their uses from the commandant at Fort Niagara with whom they were distinctly in disfavor. Sir William Johnson speaks of Sterling's house as being "within quarter of a mile" of Little Niagara "where Shabear Jean Coeur lived," indicating a somewhat more distant location than that of the old chimney of the French barracks, which was but a few rods removed from the site of the French fort.

It soon became evident that Rutherford, Duncan & Co. had stirred up a hornets' nest among their keen competitors for the Indian trade by their well devised plans for establishing a trading post and settlement on the "carrying place."

Albany was the eastern headquarters for supplying the Indian trade and there were abundant and fierce heart-burnings there when those worthy descendants of Dutch sires, with their well-rounded and resonant names, discovered the march that had been stolen upon them by their enterprising and influential competitors from Schenectady and New York. They suddenly became anti-monopolists to a man, and on the 28th of January, 1762, an "Humble Petition of the principle Merchants living in the City of Albany," with twenty-seven signatures, was sent to the Lords of Trade, reciting the terms of the treaty of 1726 with the Five Nations and its

concessions, and adding thereto: "Your Lordships Petitioners further beg leave to show that His Excellency Sir Jeffrey Amherst since the conquest of Niagara being unacquainted (as they presume) with the aforesaid Deed and the matters therein contained has licensed and authorized Capt. Rutherford, Lieut. Duncan and others to settle at the Niagara carrying place and given them Ten Thousand Acres of Land there, all which is included in the said Indian Deed, in pursuance of which permission or Grant they have already settled thereon and we are well assured that strong application has been made to His Majesty to have the above Lycense confirmed by the Royal approbation. Permit your Petitioners further to observe that should a Confirmation be obtained the Proprietors of the aforesaid lands would in a little time monopolize all the Indian Trade in their own hands and by that means amass to themselves great sums of money without any Benefit to the Publick and reduce thousands of His Majesty's American Subjects to want who might otherwise be supported thereby. The granting those lands to a particular company would be big with many mischiefs and among others irritate the Indians, when they discover that settlements are made on those lands contrary to a Solemn Agreement and that Free Trade is suppressed among them and how much it is to the interest of this Province to keep the Indians at peace with us is obvious to every Impartial Eye."*

A letter from Rd. Thacksburgh to Sir William Johnson dated New York, 12th April, 1762, says: "The Proclamation† (of which I understand you have an authentick Copy) warning all People off the Lands surreptitiously obtained from the Inds, has alarmed many People; Capt. R——d [Rutherford] says the Government at home will soon alter it being agst the interest of the Province. I believe he imagines it was made in consequence of the Carrying Place being taken possession of at Niagara, but I am apt to think that it is not only for that but also the Remonstrance of the Inds of ye 2 Castles of the Mohawks."‡

*Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, Vol. VII., p. 488.

†For this proclamation see Docs. Col. History N. Y., Vol. VII., p. 478.

‡Unpublished MSS. of Sir Wm. Johnson in State Library, Vol. V., p. 245.

It would appear from their correspondence with Lieutenant Governor Cadwallader Colden that the "Right Honble The Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations" had been much disturbed about this time by numerous complaints of unauthorized encroachments upon Indian lands. The worthy Governor wrote that after the surrender of Canada some of the provincial officers had received licenses to purchase lands on the frontiers, while some had been denied, mentioning the interesting fact that Sir William Johnson himself had asked letters patent for 40,000 acres of land "given him by the Mohawks," a request which the Council had refused.*

The formidable petition from the Albany merchants, supported by the Indian Superintendent's influence, accomplished its purpose. On the 3rd of June, 1762, the Lords of Trade laid the petition before the King, reporting "That we have not received from any Officer of your Majesty in America or any other person whatever any information respecting such grant or settlement as the petitioners allege to have been made; and we the rather incline to hope that the Petitioners have proceeded upon misinformation and mistake, as we do not know of any authority being given to Sir Jeffrey Amherst to grant lands in those parts. If, however, it shall appear upon enquiry that such grant and settlement have actually been made, we cannot but agree with the Petitioners that it will be productive of many mischievous and dangerous consequences, and therefore we think it our duty humbly to offer our opinion that for the several reasons set forth in our humble representation to your Majesty of the 11th of November last, your royal orders should be immediately dispatched, requiring the said settlers forthwith to quit and remove from the said Lands."†

The Royal order was duly issued and transmitted to Sir Jeffrey Amherst at New York, who acknowledged it in a letter to W. Sharpe, Clerk of his Majesty's Privy Council, dated 20th October, 1762. "His Majesty's Order in Council bearing date the 19th June, 1762, with the papers thereunto

*Docts. Col. History N. Y., Vol. VII., p. 492.

†Docts. Col. History N. Y., Vol. VII., p. 502.

annexed relative to the granting a Settlement to Captain Rutherford, Lieut. Duncan and others, on the carrying place at Niagara, did not come to my hands 'till within these four days. . . . In the Month of April, 1761, I received a Memorial from Captain Rutherford, Lieut. Duncan and others; requesting me to make application that they might have a grant of land, on the carrying place at Niagara, and setting forth, that great advantage must accrue to the Trade in general by settling these lands; in the meantime, they begged to have leave to send up some families, cattle, etc. I was so thoroughly convinced of the utility of such a proposal that I readily granted them a Permit, until the King's pleasure was known, but without the least clause that could entitle them to an exclusive right of trade: as the Trade to the Detroit and throughout every part of His Majesty's Dominions on this Continent has been entirely free, ever since the reduction of Canada. I was so far from thinking that I had a right to grant these lands, that I immediately reported what I had done to His Majesty's Secretary of State; an Extract of my letter on that Subject is enclosed (No. 1) and Copies of the Memorial and permit therein referred to (No. 2 and 3), but as I received no Answer, the Memorialists have only made a small temporary settlement, as I constantly assured them, that I could give no further title, until the King's pleasure was signified concerning their Rights: I have now in obedience to His Majesty's commands, sent orders to the Commandant at Niagara to put a stop to any settlements on the carrying place, and I enclose a copy of these Orders (No. 4) which I humbly trust will meet with His Majesty's Approbation. If I may take the liberty, I can't but say, I am still of the same opinion, respecting the utility and advantage, that will arise to the Country by settling the lands in Question, and I beg leave, with the utmost deference and submission to the most Honble Board to represent that, nothing can be more conducive to the security of the distant posts, the advantage of the traders in general (while every one that adheres to the rules prescribed are free to trade with the Indians) and of those whose affairs require them to pass and repass, than

the peopling of the Tracts of Land, situated near our Forts and particularly such a spot as that of the carrying place at Niagara."*

Thus ended the first attempt under British rule to plant a settlement on the Niagara portage. James Sterling went up to Detroit where the trading firm of which he was a member was known as Livingston, Rutherford & Syme, and became one of the leading merchants of the Northwest, respected and trusted by the British and, through his familiarity with their language, a favorite with the French habitants. He took an active part in the defense of Detroit during the famous siege by Pontiac and when it happily ended married pretty Angelique Cuillierie, whose charms had captivated Sir William at his visit in 1761. Her father had been a prominent French trader and also an ally of Pontiac, and a flavor of romance attaches to Sterling and his courtship, for recent investigations give color to the belief that it was through information which she obtained of Pontiac's intentions and which, through her anxiety for her lover's safety, the pretty Angelique secretly communicated to Sterling, that the little garrison was forewarned of Pontiac's treachery and so saved from destruction.†

He had been compelled to leave some of the company's goods at Niagara and after Pontiac's siege was raised he returned for these; the interests of Livingston and Rutherford were purchased by the other partners and the firm at Detroit became Duncan & Sterling.

In 1763 John Stedman occupied the house described by Albert H. Porter on the site of the old French barracks at Little Niagara, cleared the adjacent land and planted an orchard, becoming master of the portage from Lewiston, and holding, it was claimed, the exclusive right of transportation under some form of lease from the British Government, which gave him right of occupancy in all the improved land about Fort Schlosser and in adjoining unimproved lands for the support of his cattle and horses.‡

**Docts. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, Vol. VII., p. 508.

†See letter Maj. Henry Bassett to Gen. Haldimand, *Can. Archives*, B. 70, p. 214.

‡*Hist. Sketch of Niagara, 1678-1876*, by Albert H. Porter, p. 27.

The original and larger scheme for a settlement on the carrying place had failed. By 1764 Sir Wm. Johnson's Indians had become more docile. The massacre at the Devil's Hole in September, 1763, when Stedman barely escaped with his life, was their last fierce protest against the white man's encroachments; Stedman remained thereafter unmolested, the traders found him useful and as he was not their competitor no more petitions were sent to the Lords of Trade, but it was a long day before the Niagara portage was finally opened up for settlement.

III. A BRITISH PRIVATEER

IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.*

"I'm informed that you have had such Success with your Privateer that the Men of War are got jealous of her taking too many Prizes and have endeavored to sink her, *c'est bien malhonête!*" And so beyond question, thought that honest Scotch merchant and ardent loyalist, John Porteous,[†] of

*This paper, originally contributed to the *American Historical Review*, January, 1902, is here reprinted by courtesy of the Macmillan Company, publishers, and Prof. A. C. McLaughlin, managing editor of that periodical. Its inclusion here with other of Mr. Howland's papers is specially desirable, as it is an episode in the career of John Porteous, who figures in certain affairs of the Niagara Frontier, as Mr. Howland relates.

†John Porteous came from Perth, Scotland, to America about the year 1761, and was one of the early British traders at Detroit and Michillimackinac. He was a resident of Detroit during its siege by Pontiac and for ten years thereafter. During this time he was engaged in the Indian trade as a partner with James Sterling in the firm of Duncan, Sterling & Porteous, and later formed a partnership with the firm of Phyn & Ellice, of Schenectady, N. Y. Before the opening of the Revolutionary War he went to Montreal, and after the British occupied New York City, he followed them there and carried on a general merchandizing business until the evacuation in 1783, when he returned to Scotland. Soon thereafter he settled in Nova Scotia, but in 1788 or 1789 went to Little Falls, N. Y., where he represented the interests of Alexander Ellice, who had succeeded to the lands covered by the Vaughn patent. He was naturalized in 1790, and lived at Little Falls until his death in March, 1799.

In January, 1901, the attention of the writer was called to an old hair-covered chest that had been for some years in the possession of Mr. Andrew Langdon of Buffalo, which was found to contain papers relating for the most part to business transactions in the Mohawk Valley during the early years of the nineteenth century. With these were found several bundles of older records concerning John Porteous, among which were the letters and documents which form the basis of the present article.

New York, in September, 1779, when he read the Montreal letter, written by his old-time friend, James Sterling, from which the sentence is quoted. Their friendship was of long standing, dating back to the fur-trading days that followed the close of the French War, when they had been partners at Detroit in the Indian trade and in many adventures on those distant trails that brought wealth from the great northern wilderness. Soon after the British army had occupied New York in 1776, John Porteous had followed it thither and had established himself in general merchandizing, occupying the store belonging to Henry Remsen, at No. 513 Hanover Square, "next door to the Admiral's." He enjoyed a good credit with his London connections; his brother, James Porteous, was an Assistant Commissary General in the British service, and the shrewd and thrifty Scotchman seems to have prospered in his undertakings. He preserved most of his papers with methodical care, and after his death, by some fortunate accident they escaped destruction, until, covered with a century's dust, they were recently brought to light from the old chest where they had so long lain hidden. There are many curious stories which these time-stained records tell, and among them is the story of the British Privateer *Vengeance*, as told by those who shared her varied fortunes.

When Cornwallis entered Philadelphia in September, 1777, the opportunity seemed favorable for the British traders, and shortly thereafter John Porteous sent a stock of goods to that city entrusted to his friend and associate, John Richardson, who took a shop in Market Street, where he had important dealings with Sir William Howe and many beside. The firm of John Porteous & Co. apparently owned at this time a snow called the *Elegante*, of which Captain George Dean was the master, in which their shipments back and forth were made. Possibly our worthy Scotchman's close proximity to the "Admiral" may have turned his thoughts to other naval ventures than these peaceful sailings of the seas; perhaps he was like Dogberry, "a fellow that hath had losses," for once again from London, James Sterling wrote: "Pray how do you succeed in Privateering? I hope you've

caught some of the Myneers* who will help to reimburse your former Losses." Perhaps privateering may have seemed as profitable at that time as it was popular, for in the year 1778 it was evidently determined to convert the peaceful Elegante into a more war-like craft, rechristened the Vengeance, which, on the 17th of November, for a consideration of £37 6s. 8d. was duly commissioned as a privateer under the seal of the court of vice-admiralty for the province of New York, "to attack, Surprize, Seize and take all Ships and Vessels, Goods, Wares and Merchandizes, Chattels and Effects whatsoever belonging to the Inhabitants of the American Colonies in Rebellion."

A "snow" was a three-masted vessel, having abaft the main mast, a third mast which carried a trysail. The Vengeance was a vessel of this class and was no beauty despite her original name; for one witness said she looked "like a Hog Trough," and another is equally disrespectful concerning her appearance, but, as the record shows, her good qualities far out-balanced this lack of grace. She was well armed, carrying six six-pound guns and eight four-pounders, with an abundance of small arms and ammunition, and, as appears from the details of her equipment, was amply supplied with provisions and with rum. The surgeon's instruments cost £18 16s. and her stock of medicines £76 4s. 6d. There had been added by purchase a new long boat which had cost £37 6s. 8d.; a pinnace costing £25, and at the hour of sailing, a very fine small boat which Captain Dean said he "could not possibly do without" for which John Porteous paid a round twenty guineas. Altogether, the vessel and her outfit when ready for sea represented an outlay to her owners of £4851 10s. 8d., York currency, equivalent at the time to about £3300 sterling. Of officers and crew there were sixty-nine on board when she sailed, with George Dean, Captain; George Knowles, 1st Lieut.; Charles Knowles, 2nd Lieut.; Thomas Middleton, master; John Fitzgerald, surgeon; John Fraser, gunner; and Patrick Henvey, boatswain, and including also John Richardson,

*Myneers, evidently referring to Dutch merchantmen. The letter is dated 1781.

who, like Captain Dean, was a shareholder and who went ostensibly to guard the owners' interests, but evidently moved by a fine spirit of adventure and bearing rank as captain of marines. To his facile pen and to that of the pugnacious captain, we are indebted for the most graphic account that has been preserved of the experiences of a British privateer during the war of the American Revolution.

By the 9th of January, 1779, all was ready, so that the Vengeance dropped down the bay, and at three o'clock in the afternoon of the following day John Richardson found an opportunity of sending a farewell message from Sandy Hook.—"Yesterday afternoon it blowing fresh and the wind contrary we came to an Anchor off the Watering Place at Staten Island; and about 12 O'Clock today got under weigh;—we shall be abreast of the Man of War very soon and Capt: Dean is determined to proceed immediately to Sea on passing inspection." He concludes by "ardently hoping for a successful Cruize," and is not again heard from until the 15th of February when the Vengeance is in the latitude of Port Royal. At least one letter had been dispatched in the interim by the first prize captured, but as there is no trace of its receipt, and as the Little Ben never found a place on the credit side of the Vengeance's account, it is probable that the prize was re-captured before reaching New York. Captain Dean now writes:

VENGEANCE Lat: 32°.15' N. 15th Feby. 1779

DEAR SIR: My last was dated the 5th Current pr the Prize Schooner Little Ben from Cape Fear bound to Boston John Anderson Prize Master, who I hope before this reaches you will have arrived safe. She was loaded with Tar Turpentine and Rice, is quite full and about 80 Tons burthen. On the 14th January 3 Sail of Vessels were Captured by the Privateers Experiment, Capt. McPherson, and Genl. Mathew, Capt. Forsyth, in sight of us and within hearing of the Guns; which you'll please lay in a claim for a Proportion of according to Men and Guns. One was a dismasted ship from Cape François bound to Charlestown, loaded with Rum etc., another a Brig, and the third a

Schooner which we chaced' in to them. All were taken off the Capes of Virginia, and it was my intention to put some People on board them which being signified to Capt: Forsyth he even assented to coming too or laying by till morning when we would see each other again, but it growing hazy in the night, they gave us the Slip, next day we saw them again and fired several shot at the Sloop Genl. Mathew to bring her too, but without effect, however I am in hopes this ungenerous method of procedure will avail them little. On the 8th Curt. Captured the Ship Geo: Washington mounting 10 double fortified 4 pounders from Boston in Balast bound to Charlestown which I have ordered for Savannah in Georgia (it being in our possession) consigned to Mr. John Tunno, who is connected with Mr. Penman at St. Augustine, as Agent; She is 440 Tons burthen Frigate built and a beautiful Vessel. I remain with respect,

Your sincere friend and hble Servt.

GEORGE DEAN

Accompanying this was a letter from John Richardson.

VENGEANCE Lat: 32° 15' N. 15th Feby. 1779.

DEAR SIR: I wrote you the 5th Current a few Lines. This will be delivered you by a Mr. J. [I?] Mitchell of Boston, who was a Passenger on board the Geo. Washington; is a Portrait Painter and was intending by some means or other to get to England. Being a facetious young Fellow, and in all appearance a friend to Govt. Capt. Dean and all the officers on board the Vengeance have shown him every indulgence and civility, and make no doubt you will do the like. We at first took the Washington for a 40 Gun Ship she loomed so large, but upon getting a little nearer, saw she was a large Merchantman, which we were in hopes was French. She showed 14 Guns, besides 2 on her Quarter Deck. We were determd. to have a look at her, and accordingly stood towds. her under French Colours; she at same time bearing down on us under Rebel Colours; She by Accident made part of our Signal, which inducing us to believe she was the Union of Liverpool, we hoisted English; this caused her immediately to haul her Wind from us; and

convinced us she was an enemy; it falling calm, we happily thought of trying what effect our Boats Oars would have in rowing the Snow. Our people being in high spirits pulled like heroes; We gained on her considerably, and she kept pelting us with Stern Chacer which happily did little damage altho' almost every shot took place in our Sails. We fired only three Shot at her, and rowed up under her stern, fired our Stink Pot and prepared for boarding; but before we came within hail she struck. Upon getg. nearer hailed her, and finding her from Boston gave three Cheers, which to our no small surprize was returned by a number on board the Ship. We found she was manned mostly with Scotch-men, whom the Captain had got out of Prison Ships. They rejoiced in their releasement; and with some others to the Number of 21 entered with us. On the afternoon of the 9th Curt. saw 2 Sail which gave chace to. Soon percd. one to be a large Ship standg. for us. Apprehending her to be the Deane Frigate who came out of Boston with our Prize, kept close by the wind; but about 7 in the evening it being then dark found she was close under our Lee crossing us with her Larboard Tacks on board—we having our Starboard. She gave us a Gun: We returned her a 6 pounder shotted, yet I believe hit her—which was no sooner done than she gave us, and our Prize who was close under our Stern a Broadside and a Volley from her Tops and Quarter Deck, Luckily they did very little damage except to our Sails; but findg. them 9 pounders, were now convinced she was the Rebel frigate mentioned above; so Capt. Dean and Officers, judged it most prudent to stand on. She immediately Tacked in our wake and stood after us. About 10 at night it falling light winds perceived she gained upon us; so finding it in vain to get clear, hauled up our Courses and prepared for Action along with our Prize; who was at this time commanded by Geo: Knowles, who I forgot to mention returned the Frigates broadside. She came up within Hail with all Sails standing, when we found it was his Majesty's Ship Unicorn, who behaved in a very civil manner. We were then off Cape Roman. Messrs. Knowles join in best re-

spects to you and Brother and I remain with unfeigned regard

Your sincere friend and humble Servant

JOHN RICHARDSON.

P. S. We spoke Capt. McAlpin in a Schooner from New York who informed us you was well. Mr. Andrews is gone Prize Master of the Ship who sails almost as well as we. Convoyed her almost to Georgia.

By an endorsement in his autograph, it appears that these letters were opened at New York by Commodore (afterward Admiral) Sir Hyde Parker, before being delivered to John Porteous to whom they were addressed. In December, 1778, Hyde Parker had commanded the small squadron which conveyed the British troops under Lt. Col. Archibald Campbell to the capture of Savannah, a service for which Parker was knighted in 1779. This important southern port now being in possession of the British, and the province declared to be "in the King's peace," Captain Dean thought it best to touch at Savannah for supplies and to see what had become of his fine prize ship, so about the 5th of March the Vengeance dropped anchor in the Savannah river and ten days later letters to New York told of the condition of her affairs which were not wholly to the Captain's liking.

SAVANNAH RIVER IN GEORGIA }
ON BOARD THE VENGEANCE } 15th March 1779.

DEAR SIR: Finding our Stock of Wood and Water to be getting rather short I determined to put into this place to get a recruit of these articles: It was likewise some inducement to me to learn the fate of the Ship Geo. Washington (which we took on the 8th Feby. bound from Boston to Charlestown in Balast) who by a Vessel we spoke with at Sea we were informed that she was claimed as British Property. Mr. Tunno who I appointed Agent, and I dare say you remember to have seen at New York, as he lodged at Mr. Stoughton's dispatched her Papers to St. Augustine without delay, no Court of Admiralty being established here till within these few days: No answer is yet arrived but I

am in hopes the claim will not be sustained, as the Claimant is a man of no character, and I have reason to believe was in a great measure induced to it by the Prize Master, Charles Andrews, who has proved a most cunning artful villain, and has done I find everything in his power to stir up sedition among the Ships Company—who were however proof against it and are a set of as fine peaceable fellows as ever manned a Ship. If I can find any Point Blank proof against him of making away with anything out of the Ship I will trounce him soundly for it—at any rate he and I shall never float at sea again in the same bottom. I shall order Mr. Tunno to remit you whatever may be the Nett Proceeds of the Ship, after deducting disbursements here, without delay, when she is sold. I had once determined on going as far as £3000 Sterling for her on our own account, as she sails very fast and would carry 24 Guns, six pounders with ease, but upon more mature deliberation have given up thoughts of that as the Expence of sending her round, and fitting would be so immense, that I am determined to stick by the Old Vengeance, who without jesting I would not exchange, for our business, with any Privateer belonging to New York: I find her to be possessed of every qualification necessary for a Privateer—Sails fast, carries her Guns well, makes no more water in a Gale of Wind than in a Calm; and in appearance at best but a Bundle of Boards. I am anxious to hear of the arrival at your Place of the Schooner Little Ben from Cape Fear bound to Boston, which we took on the 4th February, and of the Snow Invermay from Cape François, bound to Charlestown, Captured the 19th do.; the first loaded with Tar, Turpentine and Rice, the latter with Rum, Sugar, Coffee and Dry Goods. There were a few trifling articles taken out of the Snow besides what I mentioned, which in the hurry we were in I forgot, viz the Jesuits Bark—pieces, Linen, I made a present of to the Master. No bread being to be had here, I have purchased as a substitute 15 Tierces Rice at 7/6 Stg. pr. C, and some sweet Potatoes. I shall buy only about 10 Barrels Salt Provision, which can be had for about 6 Guineas pr Bbl; but as it is far cheaper and better for the people as many Hogs

(which can be got about 3d stg. pr lb.) as I can conveniently carry on Deck out of the way of the Guns. I am afraid I shall be obliged to get a puncheon of Rum altho' dear; there is no doing without it in our way. We were once entirely out for eight days, but to do our People justice I never heard the least murmur on that account as they knew it could not be had.

One circumstance happened to us in the Beginning of the Cruize, which I cannot omit mentioning every opportunity altho' I can hardly do it with patience. If ever any one serves me such a Trick again, I will forgive him and never mention a word about it. On the 14th January a dismasted Ship from Cape Francois, bound to Charlestown, loaded with Taffia, etc., a Brig with her Main Topmast gone, and a Schooner, were captured off the Capes of Virginia by the Experiment Capt. McPherson and Genl. Mathew, Capt. Forsyth, both of New York, in sight of us and within hearing of their Guns. I spoke them and intended putting Prize Masters on board in the morning, which I even signified to Capt. Forsyth who appeared to have no objection, and agreed to lay by till morning—however it getting hazy in the night they gave us the Slip. Next day I saw them again and fired several shots to bring them to; upon which they put away before the wind. I hauled our wind for the Prizes, and put about when I thought we had got so far as to be able to fetch them on the other Tack, however we saw nothing more of them. I am hopeful some of my Letters may have reached you to enable you to lay in a claim for a share of said Prizes according to Men and Guns. I have cut out 2 more Ports, and got two four Pounders out of the Ship, and we now mount 6 six pounders and 10 four pounders. When we go out we shall have 70 Men, all fine fellows; almost 50 of whom are Seamen, and we shall not carry a man out here but what belonged to us when we came in; so that you see we have been very lucky in the Vessels we have taken to get so many seamen. I remain with great regard

Dear John

Yours sincerely

GEORGE DEAN.

There were uncertainties even in British privateering. The Vengeance might capture cargoes of rum and peaceful tar-laden merchantmen, but there were many things to be reckoned with before they could be taken into port, condemned and sold and their proceeds comfortably divided. There were well-armed Yankee ships with names fully as fierce as her own, whose captains would have delighted in a brush with the Vengeance herself, and who, failing this, found a peculiar pleasure in recapturing her prizes, which doubtless furnishes the providential reason why the Invermay as well as the Little Ben never figured further in the privateer's accounts. Then, too, there were such rascally schemes as that of the George Washington's prize master which stirred up Captain Dean's righteous indignation, as well it might, for although full details of procedures are not found, all that was ever credited to the account of the Vengeance in realization of her hopes from her splendid 440 ton prize for which Captain Dean would have paid £3000 sterling, was a beggarly item of "£374 10s. 6d." "for share of the George Washington salvage." However, all were now greatly elated with their early successes and their first lieutenant, George Knowles, who had been a merchant captain, wrote to John Porteous in exuberant phonetics.

"You will No Dout hear mor larg from Capt. Dean of our Sucess and the Plisur the Snow gives ous in hir saling and Every thing that wie cann wish wie have goot a Compleat Sette of gunes as aney Ship out of New York sixtin sixes and four Pounders and I hoap for to have thre or four prises in to you in the Spece of thre or four weakes after our putting from thence. Wie have a Compleat Shipes Company as Ever I sailed with 70 in number."

At the same time John Richardson also wrote to Mr. Porteous:

SAVANNAH RIVER IN GEORGIA }
ON BOARD THE VENGEANCE } 15th March 1779

DEAR SIR: We have been here now about 10 days, getting a fresh supply of Wood and Water, and some pro-

visions, which are tolerably reasonable. I am hopeful the next prize we send you may be a good St. Domingo Man: Let us only see a Vessel and we are not afraid but we will soon come up with her, provided night does not prevent us. We sail exceedingly fast (having beat everything we have yet seen but the Unicorn) and are the greatest deception imaginable, looking at a distance like a Hog Trough; this no doubt will be a great advantage to us. The Master of the Snow we took told us, that even after he was in the Boat coming on board us, he secretly repented not having run longer; as he could hardly satisfy himself that we could sail *tolerably*, notwithstanding we had come up with him so fast that he did not know how to behave. M. Watson from New York informed us that it was currently reported there, our being cast away. I feel exceedingly for the distress and anxiety of mind you must have laboured under till the doubts respecting our safety were removed. There were people in New York, viz McPherson and Forsyth, who could have satisfied you on this head, but knowing themselves guilty of wronging us in a very ungenerous manner, I suppose they determined to keep their own counsel, for fear enquiryrs might be made, that would put it out of their power to conceal any longer, our being in company, when the prizes were taken; and of consequence fully entitled to a share. I have sent you all the news Papers since the arrival of our Troops here, so that it is unnecessary to mention any news. The Phoenix Man of War sailed for England the 12th Curt. Col: Campbell went Passenger in her, and I suppose there never was a Commander whose departure was more regretted, he being universally beloved by all orders of People. Capt. Dean and I being in Town when the Molly Capt. Thompson sailed for New York prevented our writing by her, as likewise to London by the Phoenix, not expectg. they would sail so soon.

This is the best Bar Harbour in America, having over it at Low Water at least 3 fathoms. The Bar lies near 3 miles without the Light House or rather Beacon, which is built of Brick and Whitewashed; It consists of seven Stories, and stands upon the North Eastermost Point of Tybee, a

low swampy Island, uninhabited, and aboundg. with fine Pine and Live Oak Trees; Here we get whatever Spars we want (upon asking liberty) for the trouble of cutting them. About 3 miles up from the Light House is Cockspur Island which divides the River into 2 channels, the northernmost of which is the Ship Channel but between the Southside of the Island and Tybee is the best Anchorage. From Cockspur to within 5 miles of Savannah Town runs a range of swampy desert Islands, dividing the Channels as I mentd. before. The Banks of the River on both sides untill you come near to the Town (which is about 20 miles from Tybee Beacon) is a swamp. Here you can see multitudes of alligators lying in the mud like old Logs, and the Rivers in general here so abound with these destructive animals that it is very dangerous to go in to the Water. The Town stands upon a steep sandy Bank, which will put a man out of breath before he can reach the Top of it. It consists of about 300 houses, built for the most part of Wood. It is very regularly laid out, the Streets crossing each other at right angles, but like most other Towns in this Country very straggling built. The Streets are not paved; the Sand in them is near a foot deep, and in the summer, what between Sand Flies (of which even now there are Legions) Musquitoes etc *must certainly be a most agreeable place* to reside in. When it blows, a man runs no small risk of being chocked by the clouds of sand and dust. I am told that about 50 miles back, the Country exhibits a very different appearance, being very fruitful in Indigo, Rice, Indian Corn etc., and abounds with stock of all kinds; The sallow complexion of the Natives here, to me sufficiently proves the unhealthiness of the Climate. Mr. Michie desires his Compliments to you, he is in company with Mr. Brown, and they seem to have a great run. There is a pretty good demand for Goods here. Mr. McCulloch is appointed Collector of the Customs. Col: Innes is gone home. Mr. Penman* from St. Augustine is here. Of Privateers there

*James Penman, a British loyalist, who was engaged in business at St. Augustine, Fla., until the capture of Savannah, Ga., in 1779, where he accompanied the British General, Augustine Prevost, from Florida. After the capture of Savannah in 1779 and in the effort to re-establish the royal government there he was appointed a member of the council and a commissioner of claims under the Crown.

are at present here, the Mars Capt. Cunningham, Union Capt. Sibrell, and Surprize Capt. Watson, all of New York. Capt. Henry of the Fowey is now Commodore. I beg to be remembered to your Brother, Mr. Cruden; Mr. and Mrs. Groome. I remain with the greatest regard

Dr. Sir

Yours very sincerely

JOHN RICHARDSON.

During the month that followed these despatches, the Vengeance found business very dull. The rich St. Domingo merchantman wisely kept out of her way; she caught a glimpse of the Jamaica fleet sailing down the Georgia coast and somewhere thereabouts captured a "light brig," only to lose it again. Letters were sent by a St. Augustine sloop, but it would seem that they never reached New York and the next despatches received by the owners were written May 7th, somewhere off Albemarle Sound.

ON BOARD THE VENGEANCE Lat 36° North

DR. SIR: On the 2d. Curt. we in Company with the Privateer Sloop Who would have thought it, Capt. Lancefield belonging to Mr. Courtney, took the Schooner Fannie, John Sawyer Master from St. Croix bound to Edenton, mounting 4 Carriage Guns and 3 Swivels, loaded with 78 Puncheons Rum and 1 Hhd. Sugar. There is likewise on board some small Casks Rum and Pieces of Dry Goods as annexed. I intended keeping her with me for some Days to Cruize as she would have answered every purpose of a Tender and for that Purpose put 6 of our best people on Board including the 1st. Lieut. and the Sloop put the same number of his: but not obeying my signal for Tacking the ensuing night (whether from intention or neglect I know not) we lost Company of her, and heard nothing of her since. This has distressed me exceedingly to loose so many good men in so small a vessel and as I was in Chase all the afternoon had not time to make out Mr. Knowles's Orders, or send a Copy of our Commission, but Verbally desired him to keep by us. However I am hopeful she may arrive safe at New York as I have no doubt they will push directly for

thence. On the 4th Curt. I sent about 30 Volunteers on board the said Sloop and in our Pinnace, who went into Ocracock Harbour, boarded and took the French Polacco Ship Le Hardy Claude Berard Mr of 12 Carriage Guns, 4 Swivels and 26 Men, after a very obstinate resistance. We did not loose a Man, having only one a good deal Burnt by a Powder Flash, and the Sloop one of her people badly wounded in the head. The French Captn. and 3 of his People are dangerously wounded. She has on board 250 Hhds of Tobacco which I am hopeful will sell well being of the first Quality. The Ship is excellently found and sails very fast. There is a fine parcel of Bread aboard which should be glad you would purchase for our next Cruize. We shall come in for a great part of both Vessels as we had 63 Men on Board and 17 Carriage Guns, and the Sloop 6 Guns and about 26 men. Had the Schooner remained with me I should have been able to have cut out likewise a large Lumber loaded Ship which lay about 3 miles further up, who got under Sail and went still farther as soon as they saw our Intention against the Polacco. Our Water and Provisions begin to grow low, so that I shall not be able to cruize much longer. I am sorry to hear the light Brig we took and sent for Georgia, was retaken by the Brig Notre Dame of 16 Guns belonging to Charlestown, off Savannah Bar. I was so sure of her arriving safe that I would have insured her for sixpence. Should I catch any more of the Boston Victuallers (as we call them) I shall not hesitate about burning them, as I cannot find they ever carry anything but a few *notions*. There is nothing I regret so much as not leaving orders with you to Commission for a good night Glass; it would have been of infinite service to me, however it may not yet be too late, therefore beg you will do it. Should the Schooner arrive, I request you will defer selling her till we arrive as I have a great opinion of her, and if the cruize can afford it, would like to purchase her for a Tender, finding that a small one would be of vast service. I am with respect, Dr. Sir

Your very humble Servant
GEORGE DEAN.

Mr. John Porteous.

P. S. Mr. Middleton the Master is sent as Prize Master of the Polacco who was altered from a Snow into a Ship lately at Edenton.

In the cabin of the Schooner

2 Ps. Coating

2 Ps. Broad Cloth with Shalloon and other Trimmings

In the hold about 400lb Coffee

ON BOARD THE VENGEANCE Lat 36° N

7th May 1779

DR. SIR: I wrote you the 22d ultmo pr the Hunter Sloop Capt. Browne from St. Augustine and mentioned having seen the Jamaica fleet on the 16th April in and about Lat: 31-30 and Lon: 70° West. On the 26th April in the morning off Cape Look Out we gave Chace to a Sail which we soon discovered to be a brig standing towards us, but before we could see her hull she Tacked and stood from us with all Sail; we continued the Chace and falling almost calm we got out our Sweeps, and about 1 P M our Pinnace armed and manned as usual was dispatched after her; We came up very fast, but most unluckily about 2 a very heavy squall with Rain from the N W came on, in which the Snow loosing sight both of us and the Brig was obliged to heave too for fear of loosing us. We returned to the Snow, and the Boat was immediately hoisted in. About 5 in the evening We again discovered the Brig who had wore (when out of our sight) towards the Shore, and went close under the Shoals, by which means she had got about 2 Leagues to Windward. We continued the Pursuit and about night it falling calm; our Pinnace was hoisted out again and sent after her; We rowed directly towards her for 2½ hours when seeing no appearance of a sail, Mr. Knowles and I judged it prudent to return. Got on board the Vessel about 1 next morning; it still continuing almost calm set out again and at Sun Rise discovered her at an Anchor under the Fort at Cape Lookout we returned the third time when a light breese springing up the Snow wrought in Shore towards an Inlet (about 12 miles from the Cape) where we saw a number of Vessels laying. We hoisted French colours and made

a signal for a Pilot. A Boat came out and reconnoitred us but no scheme could bring her along side. Captain Dean now was determined to have a Dust with the Brig, which we saw was a Rebel Privr. from 12 to 16 Guns, and accordingly stood within Gun Shot of the Fort who fired a Shot at us, which we returned, but most unluckily the Wind shifting to the Southward; we were obliged to turn out being in such a Bight, that we could not weather the Land on one Hand nor the Shoals on another. Although blowing fresh in the night; by next morning got so far to Windward as to be out of danger. We then fell in with our present consort; and determined on attempting to have the Brig at all events as she had cost us so much trouble. But on the 29th a heavy Gale driving us into the Gulf Stream, we never could fetch to Windward of the Shoals again; therefore Capt. Dean bent his Attention towards Ocracock—where on the 4th Curt. we cut out the Polacco Ship Le Hardy: Mr. Middleton the Master, and I with 16 hands went Volunteers in the Sloop: and Chas. Knowles, Gunner, and Boatswain with 9 more of our People in the Boat. The Ship having a suspicion of us had got chace Ports cut out the night before and every preparation made. We went up under her stern when he began a heavy fire on us with his Stern Chacer; and by backing his Mizen Topsail endeavored to bring his broadside to bear on us, but being unable to effect this he renewed the fire with his chacer; Havg. by this time got pretty near, we soon drove them from those Guns by our Musketry and a 3 Pdr. which raked him. Passing under his Starboard Quarter we laid him aboard directly and the Boat on the other; at which instant he discharged his Broadside a volley of small arms and some Powder Flasks at the Sloop. Most miraculously and providentially they did us no damage to speak of and before they could load again so many from both Sloop and Boat got on board, that little opposition was then made but by the French Capt., who behaved in a most resolute manner. Notwithstanding the extreme difficulty of the Bar (being only about 13 feet Water on it) we got her safe out about dark. The Channel lies so close to the Beach that the Pilots lying behind the

Sand Banks peppered away at us with small arms, but did no hurt. You must look upon it as very unaccountable and indeed what I could hardly have believed had I not been an eye Witness that only one Man should be wounded and another a good deal burnt with a Powder Flask on our side. The French Capt. and 3 of his People are badly wounded, and several more slightly. If our Prize Schooner had been with us, to have gone in with the Sloop we should have effected something more capital. We cannot cruize above a fortnight longer as our Provs. and Water get low, and our Bottom is remarkably foul. Present my Copts. to your Brother—as likewise Dond. McLean, A. Stephen—and acquaintances at your Mess Expecting to enjoy the pleasure of seeing you soon, I am

Dr. Sir

Yours very sincerely

JOHN RICHARDSON.

Enclosed with these letters is a list of the French prisoners captured, and also lists of the officers and men belonging to the Vengeance that were on board the pinnace and the sloop during the action.

This was a fine stroke of luck for the British privateer, inasmuch as both the polacca Le Hardy and the schooner Fannie escaped re-capture, and, having been condemned and sold at New York, the Vengeance was credited with £4,603 3s. 10d. as her share of the proceeds. But, alas for the mutability of fortune! Just as this audacious rover of the seas was turning homeward for renewed supplies and a fresh start in further buccaneering, she encountered disaster as unexpected and startling as lightning would have been coming from a clear sky. She was on the lookout for her enemies, and with a fighting captain and willing crew, or with swift heels, as circumstances might require, felt reasonably secure; but if her captain prayed at all, he might well change his supplications now and pray to be delivered from his foes, for it was into their hands that the Vengeance fell, with results undreamed of from the worst of her foes. The story is told by the original draft from the

hand of John Richardson, which was evidently copied and signed by officers and crew in the vain hope of possible redress at the hands of His Britannic Majesty's government:

On Friday 21st May 1779 Between 6 and 7 P M saw Two Sail Bearing about E. standing towards us, which we conjectured to be some of the Rebel Cruizers, but being so near dark could not determine their Size. The Tryon Brig Capt. Sibbles and we kept close together and Hauled our Wind for them, which the Brig Diana (from Surinam for New York whom we had spoke in the forenoon,) observing, bore down towards us for protection. About 9 P M we observed them close to us on our Starboard Bow, and the Lee-wardmost who appeared the largest seemed to be running athwart us—upon which we kept away a little and fired a Gun across his Forefoot to bring him too to speak with him. Having soon after shot up abreast of him, he Hauled his Wind on the same Tack as we (viz the Wind at Starboard) and appeared to be a very large Ship. We hailed him when he answered the Harcourt, Store Ship from London, and Capt. Dean then repeatedly and distinctly replied the Vengeance a Privateer belonging to New York George Dean Commander. He ordered us to "Hoist out our Boat or he would fire a Broadside into us": Capt. Dean answered: If you will take in your Top Gallant Sails and shorten sail I will do it immediately: Then says he "lower down your Topsails," which was done and afterwards without any other warning he poured into us a whole Broadside of Round and Grape, and Vollies of small Arms and Swivels from her three Tops and Poop. We now saw her to be a two Decker and by the light could plainly perceive the English Colours: Capt. Dean during this repeatedly hailed and told him we were a friend to the British Flag which had been displayed before coming near him, but he paid not the smallest attention to it—some of the people say they Heard repeated orders given on Board the Ship to "fire alow and aloft, and be sure to Hull her." Our People seeing themselves doomed to destruction without mercy, said they might at least have the satisfaction of returning the fire, therefore

notwithstanding Capt. Dean's repeated orders to the contrary fired the greatest part of our Broadside, and it was with the utmost difficulty they were stopt as they saw no hopes of Quarters. Not satisfied with one Broadside he continued in the same manner near half an hour untill he discharged at least five into us. The Tryon being a little way astern began to fire after the Ship's second Broadside, but stopt on being hailed by Capt. Dean and told that it was a British Man of War. All these things he well paid no attention to altho' he must have heard us not being half the distance we were from the Brig, and notwithstanding it was repeatedly told him who we were, and that we were sinking. At last he stopt and we finding several Shot between Wind and Water, the Carpenters reported their apprehensions of being unable to keep the Vessel up: upon which Capt. Dean again hailed them, and they answering he begged them to send their Boats as we were Sinking to save the People, but not the smallest notice was taken of it. Being apprehensive of his going to begin his horrid work again our Boat was hoisted out as soon as the shattered situation of the Vessel would allow and the 2d Lieut. and Copies of our Commission sent on Board: Instead of expressing the least contrition for his Conduct, his Language only seemed to indicate his being sorry that he had not sunk us all. They asked how many we had killed or wounded, however our officer going away on such a hurry could not give particular information on that head, but said he wished to get back as soon as possible, as he was afraid before that time we had gone down; In answer to this he was informed he must first go on board the Frigate and the Ship instead of bearing down to us to afford the assistance which humanity even to Rebels would have dictated, kept his Wind and went from us with the other Vessels. The officers in the Frigate behaved with great complaisance to our officer showed great compassion for us and offered to send their Surgeons in case we had none. During the absence of our Boat we happily found on more particular examination that our Hull was not so much damaged as we imagined, and got the Holes plrgged up. All the Comfort our Boat brought us was that

it was His Majesty's Ship Renown of 50 Guns Capt. Dawson with orders to keep *by him* all night (which was a thing not in our power, our Vessel having almost everything shot to pieces and entirely out of command) as there were several Rebel Frigates cruising there, and pretended that he understood we hailed from Boston, and took us for them, altho' we were within Pistol Shot all the time.

Honour forbid asking Protection from such a Man; the Enemy we were not afraid of, as for upwards of 8 days we had been cruizing along that Coast for the purpose of falling with some of their Privateers to have revenge for the loss of 3 of our Prises amissing and imagined to be retaken by them and at any rate it was impossible they could use us worse: The Relation is tiresome, and for the sake of Human Nature it were to be wished that such Conduct was buried in perpetual oblivion; but Justice forbids it and the Honour of Britain requires that such wanton and unprovoked cruelty, unworthy of a Briton, and for the Mischief produced by which Barbarity itself would even drop a Tear; should be held up to Mankind in its true and genuine light. Capt. Dean received a contusion in his left hand. One fine young lad wounded by a Musket Ball which penetrated his left Arm near the Shoulder, and breaking the Collar Bone, lodged in the right side of his Neck: The Ball was happily cut out, but it is much to be feared it will prove mortal: Another had his left Arm from the Shoulder Blade to the Elbow, shattered all to pieces by a Cannon Ball in a most shocking manner; his Wound is likewise mortal: and a third had his left shoulder Blade grazed by a Grape Shot or Ball which took off the Flesh from the other and part of the Bone, and in all appearance his Fate will be the same as the others. We were hulled in nine places; our Main Mast almost entirely shot away about 9 feet from the Deck by a 24 pounder; our Foremast wounded very much about the middle, our Main Cap gone, several of our Yards hurt; and our Boats, Sails, Standing and running rigging near entirely ruined. In short Words are insufficient to describe the Horrid scene. The damage is great and cannot possibly be ascertained, as besides the expence of refitting the Vessel it

has knocked up our Cruize. The Tryon happily received no further Damage than 2 or 3 people slightly wounded Capt. Sibles humanely offered us every assistance and staid by us till next day, when we had got our Main Mast fished and our other Damage so far repaired as to be able to make a Shift to get to New York. We likewise must not forget to mention Capt. Philips of the Diana, who staid in sight of us till next forenoon when finding us still afloat, he naturally concluded, the only assistance in his power which was to save the people in case of our sinking could not be longer requisite.

On Board the Snow Vengeance Saturday 22d May 1779.
Signed by

When, a few days later, the Vengeance sighted Sandy Hook, it was not to make that triumphant return towards which her officers and crew had looked with jubilant expectation; instead, she crept up the Narrows disabled and humiliated and anchored at New York as one who has been wounded seeks a hospital. During the three or four months that followed it cost a pretty penny to repair the damage wrought by Captain Dawson of His Britannic Majesty's Ship Renown, but the renovation went steadily forward. The prize schooner Fannie was purchased at public sale for an even £500 and fitted up to serve as a tender for the Vengeance. New cordage, new spars, new sails and anchors were provided for both; two new "double fortified 4 pounders" were bought at a cost of £100; powder and ammunition costing £672 1s. 10d. were added to that which remained from the first cruise; a new boat was purchased for £84; the "good night glass" was not forgotten; abundant provisions were supplied, including the "parcel of bread from the Le Hardy" which Captain Dean had desired, and when the privateer and her tender were again ready for the sea the debit side of the privateer's account stood charged with the handsome sum of £7151 17s. 5¾d. York currency. The schooner was rechristened the Langolee, Captain Black, commander, with 22 officers and men, and both set sail Monday, September 28, for a trial trip preparatory to their

longer cruize. A portion of the log of the Langolee is preserved which tells us what the daily rations of a privateersman were in the 18th century. Breakfast was at 8 A. M., dinner at noon. Each man was to have six pounds of bread per week, with a half pint of rum per day, his grog to be stopped for wrangling or quarrelling, or for getting drunk; "Bargow and Butter" for breakfast, with a pound of beef at dinner on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, and on the alternate days rice and butter for breakfast with a pound of pork with pulse for dinner and on Sundays rice and molasses for breakfast with flour and beef for dinner.

On the second day after sailing they succeeded in capturing the American privateer sloop Revenge, Captain Edward Yorke, from Philadelphia, a vessel of 35 tons burthen with a crew of 30 officers and men; armed with eight three pound and two pound cannon and eight swivel guns, commissioned, as the condemnation papers recite, "by the persons Stiling themselves the Delegates of the United States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pensylvania, the three lower Counties on Delaware Maryland Virginia, North Carolina South Carolina, and Georgia, Rebels to our Lord the now King to Cruize against the Vessels and Effects of His Majestys Liege Subjects." The portion of the Langolee's log which is preserved ends October 9th, when the tender, having become separated from the Vengeance, was being pursued by some larger craft and it would appear that she was captured by the vigilant Yankees, for reference is afterwards made to the exchange of some of her crew including Captain Dean's brother. The Vengeance, however, returned to New York, and completed such further preparations as were needful. On November 5, 1779, Captain Dean writes from Sandy Hook: "I have just now returned from on board the Admiral, who gives me Permission to sail without even being examined. The Anchor is just heaving up and we proceed to Sea immediately. . . . If there is any Opportunity of writing to Bermuda I beg you will not Omit it as 'tis highly probable I will touch there for Water."

Fortune, that fickle dame, did not smile upon the Ven-

geance now as once she did. An unkindly fate that had touched her with a heavy hand when she encountered the Renown, still followed her on her second cruize. When next the doughty captain wrote, his tone was by no means cheerful.

ST. SIMONS ON BOARD THE VENGEANCE
Decr. 26th 1779

DR. SIR: I wrote You from the Hook informing you of my intention of proceeding to Sea immediately which I did with the Loss of my Anchor. I'm sorry to tell you that a Series of hard Luck has attended me ever since—being obliged to quit the Coast off Virginia, where I intended to cruize for some time, by the continual heavy Gales. Decr. 22d I arrived at the Island of St. Simons to clean and Water—and have had the Misfortune [to] lose my Boat with twelve hands. I hope however they cannot escape, as I mean to pursue them immediately to Savannah—where I suppose they have gone. I will be able to write you more fully from that place. In haste I am Dr. Sir

Your most Obt. Servt

GEORGE DEAN

A fortnight later he wrote as promised.

SAVANNAH, 10th Jany. 1780.

DEAR SIR: I wrote from St. Simons, informing You of my safe Arrival at that place, and my Intention of cleaning and Watering there. It inform'd You likewise of the Loss of My Boat and twelve hands, who found means to give me the Slip on Christmass Night. Three Days after, however, I had the good Fortune to catch them all, on my Way here, Two of the Ring-Leaders I properly secur'd and brought with Me. The rest I left in Irons on board the Snow.

My Expedition to this place has been truly a disagreeable one—having been driven ashore on the Island of St. Catharine's, and very narrowly escap'd with My Life, and since my Arrival here, three of my Boat's Crew (Hugh Wyllie, John Neilson and John Harris) on whose Fidelity I thought

I cou'd depend, have deserted, and left me in the Lurch. This last Circumstance has distressed me greatly—detaining me so much longer than I expected. Tomorrow, however, I set off for St. Simons and hope to proceed to Sea immediately on my Arrival there.

As I stood in Need of some Necessaries—I have drawn on You for £40 Stg. in favour of Mr. John Tunno, a Copy of the Accot. You have enclos'd.

I hope I shall soon have the pleasure of writing You on a more agreeable Subject.

If I shou'd have the good Fortune to take any prizes I shall send them to this Place or to Bermuda, 'till I can have an Opportunity of convoying them to York myself.

A Stephen joins me in wishing to be remember'd to You and Mr. Richardson.

Believe me to be, with great Esteem

Your most Obedt. Servt.

GEORGE DEAN.

By the endorsements in the hand of John Porteous it appears that it was April 27, 1780, before either this letter or the one that preceded it reached New York, and this was the last that was ever heard of Captain George Dean or of the privateer Vengeance.

July 11, 1780, John Richardson, who had not accompanied the Vengeance on her last cruize, wrote to Mr. Porteous from Sandy Hook as he was about leaving on a mercantile venture to Charleston, S. C.: "Yesterday a brig passed from Bermuda which I took to be Morgans, and it gave me the utmost uneasiness. I was from the same reason prevented from getting on board her to see if I could learn anything of Poor Dean. I beg you'll not forget to let me know first opportunity to Charlestown if you have heard of him." On August 22d he wrote from Charlestown: "Pray have you heard anything of poor Dean? Mr. Tunno's Brother informed me it was his firm intention to cruize a little time off Virginia and if still unsuccessful push for the West Indies, as he was determined to bottomry the Vessel rather than not do something, well knowing that returning without

a prize was almost equivalent to a total loss of the Vessel. As this is the case I form hopes that he is yet safe poor fellow."

January 20, 1781, Captain George Knowles, who had been the first lieutenant of the *Vengeance* on her former cruize, now having another command, wrote from Charleston, S. C.: "I am bound for Jamaica and I hope to learn some Account of the Snow *Vengeance*." It proved a vain hope, and two years later, in April, 1783, a letter from England to Mr. Porteous written by Trevor Bomford, announcing the death of his brother Thomas Bomford (late captain in the 35th infantry), who had been a shareholder in the *Vengeance*, says, "I will esteem it a particular favor if you will acquaint me, particularly about the Snow *Vengeance* and if She has been heard of."

Whether the ship was lost in some fierce battle with the elements, or was sunk by the guns of her enemies, remained shrouded in mystery and may never be known. With that last word of hopeful expectation from her courageous Captain, her record was closed; the *Vengeance* with her officers and crew disappeared from history and passed forever out of mortal sight and ken.





your Most hum Servt
P. Hamilton —

IV. ROBERT HAMILTON,

THE FOUNDER OF QUEENSTON.

The warning which that royal scapegrace Prince Hal gave to his boon companion Falstaff, "List if thou canst hear the tread of travellers," might well be taken for their motto by those who would revive the memories of the past and reproduce the scenes of centuries that are fled; for though we may not share the optimistic faith of Shakespeare, who tells us by the false Duke of Milan's lips that "travellers ne'er did lie," yet without their aid historical research would oftentimes fail and old-time landmarks be forgotten. In this respect our Niagara frontier is fortunate, for the world-wide fame of the great cataract led many early travellers hither to tell their stories, each in his own way, and very often to our edification and advantage.

So it happened that in 1795 a French nobleman, the Duke de la Rochefoucault Liancourt, visited Niagara, and journeying from Fort Erie northward to Newark or West Niagara, a cluster of 100 houses on Mississaga Point where Niagara-on-the-Lake now stands, he paid his respects in passing to the little village of Queenston, which had sprung up at the beginning of the portage on the British side of the river leading around the falls to Chippewa.

He writes under date of June 22, 1795: "The roads from Fort Erie to Newark are tolerably open and lie for the most

part over a sandy ground which renders it more easy to keep them in repair. The frequent passage to and fro in this part of the country does not destroy them. Such commodities as are destined for the upper country are unshipped in Queen's Town, and goods expedited from it are embarked in this place. The different buildings constructed three years ago, consist of a tolerable inn, two or three good storehouses, some small houses, a block-house of stone covered with iron, and barracks which should be occupied by the regiment of General Simcoe, but which are now unoccupied, the regiment being quartered in another part of the province. Mr. Hamilton, an opulent merchant, who is concerned in the whole inland trade of this part of America, possesses in Queen's Town a very fine house built in the English style, a distillery and tan-yard. This merchant bears an excellent character; he is a member of the Legislature of Upper Canada, but at present in England."*

Concerning the Honorable Robert Hamilton, who is thus introduced to us, Dr. William Canniff states in his "History of the Province of Ontario" (p. 598) that it is said he "died leaving an estate worth £200,000."

It seems a curious fact that so little should remain upon record concerning this founder of Queenston, a man who was of such importance at the time in which he lived, who was so intimately concerned in the politics of Upper Canada, whose business was so extended and prosperous, and who accumulated such extraordinary wealth for that early day. Some old letters from his pen which have lately come to light awakened a desire to know something more concerning him who wrote them, but the results of a careful research seem far from satisfactory and give but a meagre outline of his story.

He was the son of a Scotch clergyman, the Rev. John Hamilton of the old Dumfries family, born 1714, died 1797, who was minister of Bolton, Haddingtonshire, Scotland. A cousin had emigrated to America and was a hose-maker

*"Travels through the United States of North America," etc., in the years 1795, 1796 and 1797, by the Duke de la Rochefoucault Liancourt. English edition, London, 1799, p. 214.

somewhere in New England, and it was to join him that young Robert Hamilton crossed the Atlantic at some time between 1760 and 1770.

Concerning his early career there is no record whatever, nor can we learn whether he went to Canada before the outbreak of the Revolution. Possibly, as in the case of his friend and associate Richard Cartwright, his loyalty to the Crown led him to leave rebellious New England when troubles threatened, for in June, 1779, we find him established as trader or factor at Carleton Island at the eastern end of Lake Ontario. In May, 1778, British troops detached from the garrisons at Niagara and Oswegatchie had taken possession of what had formerly been called Deer or Buck Island, changing its name in honor of General Guy Carleton, establishing a military post known as Fort Haldimand and building wharves and storehouses. Carleton Island then became the point for reshipment for stores of all kinds brought in bateaux from Montreal for the supply of the western posts during the continuance of the war. Here we have our first glimpse of Robert Hamilton in a letter written by him June 29, 1779, to Francis Goring, trader's clerk at Fort Niagara, informing him that the General had refused to allow passes for the merchants' goods going to the upper posts.*

Niagara was a busy place in those days, for almost all goods for the upper posts had to pass that way and Lt. Col. Bolton, then in command, complained bitterly that the fort itself was "quite lumbered with merchandise" and that even the officers' barracks were filled with goods, causing him apprehension that this might be a temptation to the enemy to attack his isolated post.

Isolated it certainly was and Hamilton's correspondent, Francis Goring, who had lived there from August, 1776, as clerk for Edward Pollard, the leading trader and for his successors, Captain Thomas Robison and George Forsyth, wrote September 23, 1779: "This is a place which you may say is almost out of the world, in the woods, and frequented by nothing but Indians except the people of the garrison.

**Transactions Canadian Institute*, December, 1895, p. 303.

. . . At this place is carried on a great business which consumes every year £30,000 Sterling worth of merchandise of all sorts, which is mostly retailed to the Indians."*

At this time there would seem to have been some business connection between these correspondents. Francis Goring had been in Edward Pollard's employment and although that successful trader had by 1779 accumulated a fortune that permitted him to return to England, some of his interests were doubtless still committed to Goring's care. September 14, 1779, the latter wrote to Hamilton: "Tobacco is a very scarce article at Detroit and sells at from eight to ten shillings a pound. I have made out another Indian account for £5808 17s. 9½d., which is now gone to the Indian country to be certified,"† and Edward Pollard wrote to Goring from London, 27th March, 1780: "By this conveyance I send Mr. Douglas to assist you. He supplies the place of Mr. Hamilton who leaves you in June."‡

Among the Haldimand papers is a memorandum of "Goods belonging to Forsyth & Dyce, Merchts, Detroit, now laying at Carleton Island, April 20th, 1780, under charge of R. Hamilton."§

It was probably about this time that he entered into partnership with Richard Cartwright, a young man of excellent education, born at Albany in 1759, whose thoughts had turned to the ministry, but who had accompanied his parents to Canada at the outbreak of the Revolution "and for a time attended Colonel Butler of the Rangers as his Secretary." Bishop Strachan in his sketch of Cartwright says: "At the solicitation of a near and worthy relation he formed a connection with the Honorable Robert Hamilton, a gentleman of such varied information, engaging manners and princely hospitality, as to be justly esteemed an honour to the Province. His memory is gratefully remembered by thousands whom his magnanimous liberality rescued from famine. The connection subsisted with great satisfaction to both

*Transactions Canadian Institute, September, 1893, p. 274.

†Transactions Canadian Institute, December, 1895, p. 304.

‡"Buffalo and the Senecas," Wm. Ketchum; Vol. II., p. 122.

§Canadian Archives, Haldimand Col., B. 127, p. 136.

parties for several years, when, on account of the extent of their business, a separation took place by mutual consent, Mr. Hamilton going to Niagara, and Mr. Cartwright remaining at Kingston; but their mutual regard and friendship was only dissolved by death."*

In 1782 the settlement on the north shore of Lake Ontario at Cataraqui (Kingston) was in progress. A wharf was built and permanent buildings were being erected and apparently at this time the business of Hamilton and Cartwright was transferred from Carleton Island, as under date of November 2, 1782, Robert Hamilton gave an obligation to the Canadian Government "not to consider the house he has built (at Cataraqui) as private property, but subject to demolition if required by the King's service or to forfeiture in event of bad conduct."†

The records do not show just when Robert Hamilton removed to Niagara. It is probable that the general trading and forwarding business in which Hamilton and Cartwright were engaged made it advisable that one of the partners should be at Niagara while the other remained at Kingston. A letter written by a Miss Powell during a journey from Montreal to Detroit in May, 1785, says: "Fort Niagara is by no means pleasantly situated. It is built close upon the lake which gains upon it so fast that in a few years they must be overflowed. There, however, we passed some days very agreeably at the house of a Mr. Hamilton, a sensible, worthy man. Mrs. Hamilton is an amiable, sweet little woman; I regretted very much she did not live at Detroit instead of at Niagara."

Robert Hamilton was first married to Catherine Askin, widow of John Robertson, and their eldest son was born at Fort Niagara, in 1787. This was the first year of the "great famine" among the loyalists who had emigrated to Canada after the close of the war, and it is doubtless to his generous benefactions to those in distress at this time that Bishop Strachan so feelingly alludes.

*"Life and Letters of the late Richard Cartwright," Toronto, 1876, p. 14.

†Canadian Archives, Haldimand Col., B. 126, p. 72.

‡"Buffalo and the Senecas," Wm. Ketchum, Vol. II., p. 90.

Inasmuch as the British continued to hold possession of the western posts until 1796, thirteen years after the signing of the definitive treaty of peace, under which they should have been delivered over to the United States, the route of western travel remained unchanged for many years and provisions and stores for the British garrisons at Detroit and Michillimackinac, as well as the Indian goods and general supplies for the fur traders, continued to pass over the Niagara portage as they had since the capture of Fort Niagara by the British in 1759. The goods, securely packed for rough handling, were brought to the landing at Lewiston by small sailing vessels or by bateaux and were hoisted to the top of the "mountain" by Montresor's "cradles," then carted over the long portage road to Fort Schlosser and sent by boats to Fort Erie, where they were finally reshipped to their destination.

When it became evident that sooner or later the posts must be given up to the Americans, who would then control the old Niagara portage, the British traders and forwarders appreciated the need of a new road upon the Canadian side by which they could pass the falls on their way to the western lakes and as early as 1789 Robert Hamilton obtained permission to erect wharves and storehouses on the west side of the river as well as at Chippewa and Fort Erie. Accordingly a wharf was built on the west bank of the Niagara opposite the time-honored landing at Lewiston and a road laid out to Chippewa, which now supplanted Fort Schlosser as the point of transfer on the water route to Fort Erie. This now became "Fort Chippewa" and was protected by a small garrison. The new landing on the lower Niagara was at first called the "West landing," or more frequently "Landing of Niagara," until 1792, when under date of November 26th, we find one of Mr. Hamilton's letters dated "Landing—now Queenston." Doubtless the new name given in honor of Queen Charlotte was adopted at Robert Hamilton's suggestion. A stone blockhouse had been built, two or three good storehouses erected and gradually the route of travel around the falls was changed to the Canadian side of the river and Queenston became for half a century or more a

busy spot of commercial importance, through which western traffic flowed and in later years the tides of western emigration, until with the building of railroads westward all this was again changed and of the once thriving village there remained only the sleepy and somewhat ruinous vestiges that we know today.

In 1800, when the English artist John Maude visited Niagara, he tells us that there were but two houses at Lewiston, one being the ferry house, but he was much impressed by what he saw at Queenston. "There is a portage," he says, "from this place to Chippewa, which employs numerous teams, chiefly oxen, each cart being drawn by two yoke of oxen or two horses; I passed great numbers on the road taking up bales and boxes and bringing down packs of peltries. Fourteen teams were at the wharf waiting to be loaded. Here were also three schooners."

Maude, however, had his own blunt British opinion of what the Duke de la Rochetoucault Liancourt had with fine French politeness called in 1795 "a tolerable inn." He says: "I sat down to a miserable dinner at Fairbank's Tavern, and after dinner sent my introductory letter to Col. Hamilton from his friend, Mr. Bache of New York, which procured me an invitation to supper. The goodness of the supper made amends for the badness of my dinner. Col. Hamilton has a good house and garden."^{*}

Besides the wharf and storehouse, the farm, the distillery and the tanyard which Robert Hamilton had established at Queenston, he had erected a handsome stone residence "in the English style" on the high bank overlooking the river, the site of which may still be marked on the pleasant grounds of "Halcyon," the summer residence of Richard K. Noye of Buffalo. This was apparently completed and occupied in 1791, for Captain Patrick Campbell, who visited Niagara in that year, writes, under date of December 8th: "Mr. Robert Hamilton, a gentleman of the first rank and property in the neighborhood, and now one of the Governor's council, came also to wait on me, and invite me to his house, an honor I readily embraced. He and Mrs. Hamilton were so

^{*}"Visit to the Falls of Niagara in 1800," by J. Maude, London, 1826, p. 160.

very obliging as to go along with me in their own slea, to see the Grand Falls of Niagara," and he again notes, February 16, 1792, "Called at Mr. Hamilton's and arrived in the evening at Niagara."*

One of the earliest glimpses of this new home comes to us from the diary of Mrs. Simcoe, who writes at "Niagara, 30th July, 1792: "We stopped and breakfasted at Mr. Hamilton's, a merchant who lives two miles from here at the landing, where the cargoes going to Detroit are landed and sent 9 miles to Ft. Chippewa. Mr. Hamilton has a very good stone house, the back rooms looking on the river. A gallery, the length of the house, is a delightful covered walk, both below and above in all weather."

Such a residence was a landmark on this new and wild frontier and was made the more beautiful and noteworthy from the generous hospitality with which its friendly doors were opened. It became an added pleasure to those often-times distinguished people who journeyed far to visit the great American cataract if they might be entertained at Queenston by Robert Hamilton, and here and there we find its acknowledgment, as we have already seen, in their published volumes of travel.

When the Duke of Kent, the father of Queen Victoria, visited Niagara in August, 1792, upon his return from the Falls, he was entertained at luncheon by Robert Hamilton, as we learn from the manuscript memoirs of Colonel John Clark, who calls him "our greatest man next to Simcoe."

A pleasant picture of festivity in that early day on the Niagara frontier as well as of its literary aspiration is the account of a wedding in the fine old house, on the night of St. Andrew's Day in 1799. Of this the following notice appeared in the Toronto *Constellation*, November 23, 1799:

"Married at the seat of the Hon. Mr. Hamilton at Queenston, on Sunday last, Mr. Thomas Dickson, merchant, to the amiable Mrs. Taylor, daughter of Captain Wilkinson, commanding Fort Erie.

"For thee, best treasure of a husband's heart,
Whose bliss it is that thou for life art so ;
That thy fond bosom bears a faithful part
In every casual change his breast may know."

*"Travels in the interior inhabited parts of North America in the years 1791 and 1792," by P. Campbell, Edinburgh, 1793, pp. 174, 215.

The *Upper Canada Gazette* also pays tribute to the charms of the bride to whom the epithet "amiable" is again applied, and although this dignified journal does not "drop into poetry" as did its starry rival, it gives the added news, that upon this occasion "Hon. R. Hamilton gave a most elegant dinner; 30 Scottish gentlemen and 12 others; no dinner given in Canada has been equal."

From the year 1789, when the West landing was built and the new portage begun, Robert Hamilton controlled the Canadian transfer business on the Niagara and prospered therein. Besides the storehouses and other structures at Queenston he had erected similar buildings at Chippewa and others at Fort Erie. In 1795, when the Duke de la Rochefoucault Liancourt visited the latter place he was but poorly impressed with its defensive worth. He says there were a few rude wooden blockhouses surrounded with rotting palisades, occupied by officers and soldiers; four of a like sort outside the palisades used by the workmen and "a large magazine or storehouse belonging to the King." Standing apart from this he describes a storehouse "belonging to a private gentleman in which are housed the goods for Detroit and the West, as well as those coming from thence for Niagara, Kingston, Montreal or Quebec." This was Hamilton's warehouse and a passage in the description indicates in a measure the extent of his forwarding business. "The owner of the storehouse hires at times about twenty Canadians for the shipping and unshipping of the goods, for carrying them into the magazines and transporting the boats by land to the lower country."

It would appear that four years later, in 1799, Mr. Hamilton made further important and costly improvements at Fort Erie to meet the necessities of commerce. A letter from R. Hamilton & Co., Queenston, April 24, 1805, addressed to James Green, Esq., Military Secy., York, shows that the firm had been requested to execute papers that would, if need compelled, place all this frontier property at the disposal of the Government. Against this Mr. Hamilton protests, reciting the permission he had received in 1789 to erect these buildings and that no restrictions were then imposed,

but he relied upon just treatment and the encouragement of commerce. "On the faith of this Permission we did at a very considerable expense erect wharves and storehouses along this communication and through them we have for the length of fifteen years, carried on the transfer business of the country without question or any interruption or interference on the part of Government, or of any of the Military Commandants of the Posts."

He adds: "We do not object to signing the papers required for the stores at this place, and at the Chippewa, where our erections are of Wood, and consequently of less value. But what can we do with those at Fort Erie, where seven years ago, in the firm faith of what is before stated, in the view and with the perfect knowledge of the Engineer and all the Military in these parts, we have erected a wharf and stone storehouse in a situation, where a store of other materials could not properly stand, at the expense of not less than four thousand dollars, and we are now called upon to declare under our hands that in so doing we have forfeited all right to the permission granted us of possessing a lott there. Surely a concession so unreasonable will never be required of us."*

There is nothing to show that the exigencies of the times required any destruction of these valuable properties until the War of 1812 swept the frontier, which was after Mr. Hamilton's death.

By proclamation, dated July 24, 1788, Lord Dorchester, Governor General of Canada, divided Upper Canada into four districts: Lunenburgh, extending from the Lower Canada line to the river Thames; Mecklenburgh, from the Thames to the Trent; Nassau, from the Trent to Long Point on Lake Erie, and Hesse, covering the remainder of Western Canada, including Detroit. He appointed a judge and a sheriff for each district and made Robert Hamilton Judge of Nassau, while his old friend and partner, Richard Cartwright, became Judge of Mecklenburgh. As military law had hitherto prevailed, these were the first courts of justice and the first magistrates in the province and concerning

*Canadian Archives, Series C, Vol. 272, p. 124.

them Canniff says, "The Judge seems to have been clothed with almost absolute power. He dispensed justice according to his own understanding or interpretation of the law, and a Sheriff or Constable stood ready to carry out the decision, which in his wisdom he might arrive at."

When the separation of the provinces occurred and the Government of Upper Canada was first organized in July, 1792, by Colonel John Graves Simcoe, the pioneer Lieutenant Governor under Lord Dorchester, a Legislative Council, consisting of nine members, was summoned, Robert Hamilton and Richard Cartwright being of the number. During his administration Governor Simcoe acknowledged his indebtedness to Mr. Hamilton for much valuable information received from him respecting matters of commerce, particularly regarding the Indian trade, but both Hamilton and Cartwright found themselves much at variance with the Governor, whom they thought extravagant in his caprices, desiring measures "inapplicable to the state of society in this country." This awakened his lively displeasure and caused him with great injustice to represent both as being "inimical to Government" and to denounce Hamilton as an "avowed Republican." Concerning this Mr. Cartwright wrote October 1, 1794, "I will not hesitate to assert that his Majesty has not two more loyal subjects, and in this province none more useful, than Mr. Hamilton and myself, nor shall even the little pitiful jealousy that exists with respect to us make us otherwise. And though I hope we shall always have fortitude enough to do our duty, we are by no means disposed to form cabals, and certainly have not, nor do, intend wantonly to oppose or thwart the Governor."*

Dr. Canniff states that prior to 1799, when Dr. Strachan came to Kingston, the only able teacher in Upper Canada was the Rev. John Stuart of that place. "Hon. Robert Hamilton of Queenston had at that time a brother living in Scotland and it was through him that an offer was made first to the celebrated Dr. Chalmers. He did not desire to come and mentioned the name of his friend, Strachan, to

*"Life and Letters of Richard Cartwright," p. 59.

whom the offer was then made and who decided to come.' At a later day he became the first Bishop of Toronto.

Mr. Hamilton's first wife having died in 1796, he was again married to Mary Herkimer, widow of Neil McLean. He had five children by his first wife and three by his second. He died at Queenston, March 8, 1809. The York *Gazette* of March 22, 1809, says: "His public utility, benevolence and conciliating disposition will render his death long and feelingly regretted."

The letters which follow are selected from a considerable number recently found, covering Robert Hamilton's correspondence at intervals from 1789 to 1799 with Mr. Porteous, a merchant at Little Falls, N. Y. John Porteous, native of Perth, Scotland, had come to America about the year 1761, and had been associated with James Sterling at Phyn & Ellice of Schenectady in the fur trade at Detroit and Michillimackinac until the beginning of the Revolutionary War. While the British army occupied New York he was engaged in general merchandizing there, but after the evacuation went to Nova Scotia, where he remained until about 1788, when he returned to the State of New York and still retaining a connection with James Phyn and Alexander Ellice of London, took up lands at the Little Falls on the Mohawk River, where he built a flouring mill and carried a trading business until his death in 1799.

When the correspondence began Hamilton and Cawright were the leading merchants at Fort Niagara; loyalist emigration from the United States had settled the Canadian border; there was a small village on the west bank of the Niagara River opposite the old fort, largely settled by officers and men who had been enrolled in the Butler Rangers; the three years of famine and destitution which had ended; the British held the western posts with yielding tenacity in despite of all negotiations for their cession, and exerted every endeavor to keep the Indians as allies and to maintain a firm grasp upon the western trade.

At this time Hamilton was seeking permission to build his wharf and storehouse at the West landing, and his

ters are of interest as giving occasional glimpses of life and its doings on this distant frontier, of some of the men concerned therein and of his own habit of thought and prudent judgment in public as well as private affairs.

In September, 1789, John Richardson, who had formerly been intimately associated with John Porteous at New York,* now engaged in the Indian trade at Montreal and later a member of the first Legislative Council of Quebec, visited the western trading posts and wrote: "Col. Hunter has left Niagara and is succeeded by Col. Harris. . . . The forts in the Upper Country are all undergoing a repair this year, so that there appears no idea of delivering them over to Jonathan, and to take them by force would not be an easy business for him, were he so inclined." At Niagara he had made the acquaintance of Robert Hamilton, whose letters now begin.

NIAGARA, 28 Oct. 89.

DEAR SIR: The enclosed, from my friend Mr. Richardson was intended to recommend me to your Kind Civilities. I have occasion instantly to put these to the test, by troubling you to Recover for some persons here, a sum of money due by a Capt. Bend Frey, late of this place, but now residing in your neighborhood. He is intitled to half pay as Captain in Col. Butler's Rangers. I now inclose a power of Attorney by which he constitutes Mesrs. Phyn & Ellice irrevocably as his Agents. Also an Assignation of this half pay, by which he proposes to pay his Creditors and an obligation to put the Voutchers for this regularly into your hands as they become due. Lest these should fail he has granted a Bond also payable to you for same sum, by which we presume you may inforce the other, should he prove backward in delivering the Voutchers. These when obtained will you be so oblidging to take to your own Account and have the Goodness to answer my drfts for the Amount, which shall only be given when you inform me you are in Cash for the same. My principal wish in settling it in this way is to provide a little fund to answer occasionally small demands due by persons with you. The terms of Agency I leave intirely

*See "A British Privateer in the American Revolution," *ante*, p. 47.

to yourself. I will Account with the other Creditors here for the separate Amounts due them. For all this trouble I can only plead your Goodness, and my own willingness to serve you whenever Occasion shall put it in my power.

With Sincere Respect I remain, Dear Sir,

Your most humble Servt.,

Mr. John Porteous.

R. HAMILTON.

This Captain Bernard Frey, sometimes called Bare Frey, was a member of a prominent family in the Mohawk Valley which had become bitterly divided at the outbreak of the Revolution. His brother, Major John Frey, became an officer in the American army, while another brother, Col. Hendrick Frey, who had fought bravely in the French and Indian War, retained his loyalist sympathies throughout the struggle for independence, but took no active part on either side. When the war broke out Bernard Frey, with his nephew Philip R. Frey (son of Col. Hendrick Frey), went to Canada and himself became a captain in Butler's Rangers. He fought at the battle of Oriskany and later in all the frequent border forays at Wyoming, Cherry Valley and on the Susquehanna. Hawk, and Stone's life of Brant publishes the extraordinary statement of an eye witness that when Major John Frey was made captive, Bernard attempted to take his brother's place and was only restrained by force. He received a large sum of money at Whitby from the Crown, and lived until 1813 when he was killed at Newark by an American cannon ball from Fort Niagara. By the assignment and bond which were closed with this letter it appears that he then owed Hamilton & Cartwright £243, Street & Butler £156 18s. 9d., John Burch £109 9s. 11½d., John Thompson £10 12d. and Philip Stedman £5 10s., New York currency, all of the parties being named as merchants at Niagara.

Several letters now passed between Mr. Hamilton and his correspondent with reference to Captain Frey's account and the following alludes to another similar case:

NIAGARA, Decr. 10, 1791

GENTLEMEN: I am favored with yours pr Mr. McElroy and have charged him Two pounds five shillings and

pence York agreeable to your request, which sum is at your Credit with me. When Leisure permits I will thank you to mention if Capt. Frey has given his six months Voutchers to June to you or if there is a Chance of getting those to 24th Inst without trouble.

Permitt me also to mention that another of our Captains —Andrew Bradt—is now down with you and may perhaps be induced to raise money on his Voutchers. He has Assigned over the whole of his half pay to the Creditors here for some years to come, which Assignation is lodged with his Agents, who are apointed irrevocably, so that his Voutchers can not serve, but thro their hands. This for your Guidance should he apply to you—I would not, however, wish his Situation generally known.

The present will be handed you by Lieut. Gillespie of the 65th Regt who has resided at this post for some time and who now passes your place in his Rout to New York. You will Confer a particular favor on me by showing him any Civility in your power. Should any Circumstance occur that might induce him to apply for pecuniary Assistance you may depend on his Bills on Canada or London being duly honor'd as should those on me should he think proper to draw.

Excuse this trouble and believe me Gentlemen,
Your most humble Svt.

R. HAMILTON.

Messrs. Porteous & Pollard.

The next letter touches upon public affairs and was written from the new "Landing of Niagara," whither the changes in his business matters frequently called him at this time.

LANDING OF NIAGARA, May 22d, 1791.

DEAR SIR: I am this day favored with yours of 10th March and 2nd Inst. and take the earliest oportunity of returning my thanks for your kind attention to Capt. Freys Business. The Intelligence of the fate of his Bills comes most opportunely to help me to settle the affairs of a Major Nellis lately deceased in this Province and who has left con-

siderable property, part of it to his two sons residing in you Neighborhood. Another son he has had at the School c Schenectady for some time and for his Expenses I hav valued on you at 30 days for Forty-five pounds, Ten Shi lings—In favor of John H. Nellis. I have also valued c you for £20 positively and for thirty-two pounds Ten when you shall be in Cash for the Voutchers before me tioned to 24th Dec. A third son (name unknown) has fro the same Estate to Receive £190 York. For any part which should it suit you as a Merchant to deal with him, shall be happy in securing you, prior to his coming here settle the Business. I directly forwarded Mr. Burchs Lett as you desire. He lives 10 miles from this and I'm afra may not hear in time of the present oportunity to Embrace

Our lattest Accounts from Britain say nothing as about giving up these posts. Our present Care in repairi them with the utmost diligence seem to point out the w of making them worth something as Military posts wl given up. Should such an Event take place the Pleasure hearing from, perhaps Occasionally seeing our friends fr your Quarter would in part recompense the Chagrin it mi otherwise Occasion. Do me the honor of Accepting Drafts and Believe me

Dear Sir Your most hum. Servt.

R. HAMILTON

John Porteous, Esq.

Major Robert Nellis, to whom the foregoing letter re had been an officer of Butler's Rangers and from the d ments found with the letter it appears that the draft favor of his children were duly accepted and paid. next letter, written on the eve of Colonel Simcoe's arriv take up the reins of government in the newly-created U Province, is of much interest as indicative of the thoug judgment of one of its leading men deeply concerned fo best welfare of his country.

NIAGARA, 2nd August, 179

DEAR SIR: The Oportunity which hands you this been delayed for a Month waiting a return boat to

place: during all that time we have not had one come this way. I was duly favored with yours of 2nd June covering the different papers which Mr. Burch and his wife had to sign. Fortunately Mr. Richardson from Montreal was here at the time and took on himself the whole charge of seeing them executed, a Circumstance I was much pleased at, as he from his particular acquaintance with this Business, obviated some difficulties I should otherwise have been hampered with. You will now from Mr. Douglas the Bearer hereof, receive all these papers settled I trust to your satisfaction, if any thing remains undone I will be gratified on Receiving your further Commands.

Mr. Douglas is a young man who has resided with us for some time past, he is now called home to Scotland on some family Business. He will be thankful to you for your advice in the best mode of getting from Schenectady to New York, where he has acquaintances. I believe the Rout no way difficult but he is rather a Stranger to travelling.

Mr. Macomb with his large family and his boat which we denominated the little Ark, as Containing some thing of every thing, passed this and got safe to Detroit in perhaps as short a time as that voyage was ever compleated in. He found every thing there as he wished, and is now I believe settled very much to his satisfaction. The English papers which you see, Contain every thing new we have in the Country. By these you will observe we are on the point of getting a New Constitution, with a separate Government for this new Country, which as not involving us in Canadian Politicks promises to be of essential use. We have some reason to hope that Colonel Simpcoe our proposed Governor may come to this Country by the way of your Seaports, authorized to settle with Congress the doubtfull line of division which must be a pleasant thing to both countries. Capt. Joseph Brant after having attended for some time the Councils of the Western Indians at the Miamis River, sett of a few days ago for Quebec, attended with several of the Chiefs from that Quarter. As they avowedly go to ask Lord Dorchester's advice and as we well know his and Governments strong desire for peace, we would gladly hope that it may

be the means of bringing on an Accomodation. Much depend upon the moderation of your side. Your strength and power I doubt not to drive them to the latremities—but when you consider that most assuredly next resource will be to accept the strong offers and ing Instances of the Spaniards to settle on their side that the only Motive for these offers is to form a barrier between you and them, which by restraining your frontie tlements, will keep you at a Distance from them, of they are so jealous,—when you consider the presen mosity of the Indians, aggravated by their loss of Land every thing dear to them, Policy and humanity will p~~re~~dictate an accommodation on Reasonable terms as preferable to the greatest success which may probably entail a predatory war on the defenceless settlers of your Western boundary, for many years. My wish for peace has led me further into the field of Politicks than I had intended now have done.

Inclosed please receive a draft on Messrs. Todd & Co for £20 York for four bills of 100/ each received by Macomb from your Mr. Pollard, due 10th Oct. when paper money of this Country is payable. At your convenience will you have the goodness to favor me with a state of the little transactions between us, that I may make our correspondence with yours. I have to thank you for your acceptance of my drafts in favor of Mr. Nellis.

With Sincere Respect I remain
Dear Sir Your most Obedient and very humble Servt
R. HAMILTON
John Porteous, Esq.

This letter gives expression to the feeling which was common at this time among the better class of British traders at the western posts. Aside from such high motives as may well believe influenced a man of Mr. Hamilton's character, those of self-interest led the fur traders to desire a continuance of hostilities between the Americans and the Indians. It was simply ruinous to their trade. The Government also wanted peace. So long as they could

age to retain the posts, His Majesty's ministers were earnest in their desire not only to maintain a strict neutrality, but to do all within their power to terminate hostilities. And yet there was much smouldering bitterness of feeling which was but poorly concealed. Three months after this letter was written St. Clair met his crushing defeat by the Indians at the Wabash and Captain Patrick Campbell, whose visit to Fort Niagara was in the following month, December, 1791, tells of the jubilation with which the officers of that garrison received the news.

Throughout the two succeeding years such feelings of hostility as existed were for the most part suppressed or at least were passive, but conditions changed very greatly with the news of war between Great Britain and France in 1793. British impressment of American seamen and British embargoes upon American commerce aroused much resentment; the arrival and ill-advised conduct of Genet was the cause of much irritation, and by the spring of 1794 the relations between Great Britain and America had become seriously strained, a state of affairs which was unfortunately reflected in the imprudent action of Lord Dorchester, the Canadian Governor, who, in an address to the Indians, February 10th, expressed his belief that war would be declared within the year and added, "our patience is almost exhausted." In April Lieutenant Governor Simcoe went so far as to build and garrison a fort in the heart of the Miami country to the great encouragement of the hostile tribes and to the great disgust of General Wayne, who found the British rangers fighting with the Indians at the Fallen Timbers, August 20, 1794, when he routed both so effectually as to put a stop once for all to Indian hostilities and to bring a lasting peace to the border. It is interesting at such a time to note the attitude of Mr. Hamilton, who was then one of the Legislative Council and evidently not in sympathy with Governor Simcoe.

DEAR SIR: I have received several of your late favors which my present time will not permitt me to Reply. I, however, with you most sincerely deprecate a war between

Britain and America as an Event that both parties most essential lose by, and neither so far as I can judge the least chance of Gain.

I remain most Respectfully, Dear Sir,
Your most hum. Servt.

R. HAMILTON

QUEENSTON, May 28th, 1794.

On the 26th of August, 1794, he again writes: "crops are now all in and we have great plenty most earn praying for its concomitant Blessing *Peace*."

A fortnight later (September 6, 1794,) he writes: sincerely hope with you that all chance of warr between Neighboring Countries is now at an End. In that case have some hopes of paying you a Visit this ensuing winter on my way to England."

Fortunately his hopes were realized. Wayne had quered peace for the borders and the successful negotiation of Jay in England in that year resulted in the treaty of Great Britain which bears his name. The numerous letters which Mr. Hamilton had written during 1792 and 1793 referred, in the main, to transactions of business or courting the passing eastward of friends who were commended to the correspondent's kind offices; the non-arrival of Indian messengers who had proven untrustworthy, etc. Prior to the autumn of 1792 they are dated at "Landing on the Niagara," but in November the name of Queenston is first mentioned and the letter is of interest as showing how isolated the Niagara frontier was a century ago and how slowly the news of the great world reached it.

LANDING—now QUEENSTON, Nov. 26, 1794

DEAR SIR: I am favored with yours of 31st ulto thank you for the news papers sent. The present very settled state of Europe makes [us] wait with much impatience for Accounts from home and as the communication by the Lower Province is very tedious as well as uncertain we are projecting with the proffered aid of a Capt. Williams the Genesee Country to establish thro that place a Post office a Fortnight to New York. In the Event of this taking

I have directed a New York paper to be regularly sent me and I purpose getting a London paper now sent to Quebec transferred to this Rout. Will you have the Goodness to inform me if the post passes your place and of the Expence that will attend the postage of a paper from New York to your place, and to the Genesee. If it would afford the small-est amusement to you I would most willingly direct the Lon-don paper to be addressed to your Care.

Accept my best thanks for your attention to the Mill stones ordered from Schenectady. Their Amount with the charges on them shall be remitted by the earliest oportunity after receiving the Account.

With much respect I remain,

Dear Sir, your very Humble Servt,

R. HAMILTON.

Besides his store at Little Falls, John Porteous had built a custom mill for Mohawk Valley trade and might very safely be entrusted with the purchase of the pair of Esopus mill-stones "four feet four in diameter" which Mr. Hamilton had ordered for "a neighbor," and also with the further commission of February 5, 1793, "I will thank you for pro-curing for me a Boulting Cloth of the best Quality for doing Country work. To you as a Brother Miller I nead not be more particular in my directions. I wish it by the earliest boat."

In a letter of January 27, 1794, he writes: "Will you have the goodness to inform me what you know of the prop-erty in Land or otherwise belonging to the children of the late Sir Wm. Johnson by Mary Brant, particularly of that portion pertaining to the eldest daughter, Elizabeth, late the wife of Robert Kerr. I am sorry to inform you that the poor woman died some days ago in childbed."

This refers to Dr. Robert Kerr, who had been a surgeon in the British army and now resided near Niagara. His own letters preserved with these, show that in 1795 he made Mr. Porteous his attorney to sell the Mohawk river lands and those in the Royal Grant which his wife had inherited from her distinguished father.

but he relied upon just treatment and the encouragement of commerce. "On the faith of this Permission we did very considerable expense erect wharves and storehouses along this communication and through them we have for a length of fifteen years, carried on the transfer business of the country without question or any interruption or inconvenience on the part of Government, or of any of the Military Commandants of the Posts."

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*"Life and Letters of Richard Cartwright," p. 59.

but he relied upon just treatment and the encouragement of commerce. "On the faith of this Permission we did very considerable expense erect wharves and storehouses along this communication and through them we have for a length of fifteen years, carried on the transfer business of the country without question or any interruption or interference on the part of Government, or of any of the Military Commandants of the Posts."

He adds: "We do not object to signing the paper required for the stores at this place, and at the Chippewa, where our erections are of Wood, and consequently of less value. But what can we do with those at Fort Erie, where about ten years ago, in the firm faith of what is before stated, i view and with the perfect knowledge of the Engineer and the Military in these parts, we have erected a wharf and stone storehouse in a situation, where a store of other materials could not properly stand, at the expense of no less than four thousand dollars, and we are now called upon to declare under our hands that in so doing we have forfeited our right to the permission granted us of possessing a lot?" Surely a concession so unreasonable will never be received by us."*

There is nothing to show that the exigencies of the war required any destruction of these valuable properties. The War of 1812 swept the frontier, which was after Hamilton's death.

By proclamation, dated July 24, 1788, Lord Dorchester, Governor General of Canada, divided Upper Canada into four districts: Lunenburg, extending from the Lake Ontario line to the river Thames; Mecklenburgh, from the river Thames to the Trent; Nassau, from the Trent to Point on Lake Erie, and Hesse, covering the remaining Western Canada, including Detroit. He appointed a chief justice and a sheriff for each district and made Robert Hamilton Judge of Nassau, while his old friend and partner, R. Cartwright, became Judge of Mecklenburgh. As no law had hitherto prevailed, these were the first courts of justice and the first magistrates in the province and conc

*Canadian Archives, Series C, Vol. 272, p. 124.

them Canniff says, "The Judge seems to have been clothed with almost absolute power. He dispensed justice according to his own understanding or interpretation of the law, and a Sheriff or Constable stood ready to carry out the decision, which in his wisdom he might arrive at."

When the separation of the provinces occurred and the Government of Upper Canada was first organized in July, 1792, by Colonel John Graves Simcoe, the pioneer Lieutenant Governor under Lord Dorchester, a Legislative Council, consisting of nine members, was summoned, Robert Hamilton and Richard Cartwright being of the number. During his administration Governor Simcoe acknowledged his indebtedness to Mr. Hamilton for much valuable information received from him respecting matters of commerce, particularly regarding the Indian trade, but both Hamilton and Cartwright found themselves much at variance with the Governor, whom they thought extravagant in his caprices, desiring measures "inapplicable to the state of society in this country." This awakened his lively displeasure and caused him with great injustice to represent both as being "inimical to Government" and to denounce Hamilton as an "avowed Republican." Concerning this Mr. Cartwright wrote October 1, 1794, "I will not hesitate to assert that his Majesty has not two more loyal subjects, and in this province none more useful, than Mr. Hamilton and myself, nor shall even the little pitiful jealousy that exists with respect to us make us otherwise. And though I hope we shall always have fortitude enough to do our duty, we are by no means disposed to form cabals, and certainly have not, nor do, intend wantonly to oppose or thwart the Governor."*

Dr. Canniff states that prior to 1799, when Dr. Strachan came to Kingston, the only able teacher in Upper Canada was the Rev. John Stuart of that place. "Hon. Robert Hamilton of Queenston had at that time a brother living in Scotland and it was through him that an offer was made first to the celebrated Dr. Chalmers. He did not desire to come and mentioned the name of his friend, Strachan, to

*"Life and Letters of Richard Cartwright," p. 59.



V.

OLD CANEADEA COUNCIL HOUSE AND ITS LAST COUNCIL FIRE.

I. THE KEEPERS OF THE DOOR.

Three centuries ago, when the first pioneers of European emigration crossed the ocean to plant their homes in the New World, they found within the borders of what we now call the Empire State an extraordinary confederacy whose hereditary seats stretched from the Hudson to the Genesee. Here the "Five Nations," joined together in a federated government (the ancient League of the Iroquois), held an absolute and undisputed sway; their League remarkable alike for its ties of organization and the wisdom of its unwritten laws, as well as for the sagacity which marked their administration.

Proud and ambitious masters of the art of conquest, the strong arm of the League was felt far and near as their war parties fell upon other, oftentimes distant, tribes and, with the lust of empire, compelled them to subservience. In 1535, when Jacques Cartier first sailed up the St. Lawrence, their ancient enemies at the North had been driven down the river as far as Quebec. In 1607 Captain John Smith saw them on the upper waters of the Chesapeake sweeping down upon the tribes of Powhattan. Far westward upon the Mississippi the Spanish explorers met their warriors, and in 1609

Champlain encountered them as he passed up the lake which now bears his name.

The Dutch, with prudent forethought, made friendship with them when establishing the first trading post at Fort Orange (now Albany) in 1615, and when the Dutch rule yielded to that of England a half century later, this friendship was wisely fostered by the British, who made the Iroquois their allies in that long-continued struggle for the supremacy of a great continent.

They called themselves the Ho-de'-no-sáu-nee, the "People of the Long House," likening their confederacy to the form of their bark dwellings, which were often extended to a length sufficient for ten or even twenty families. Its easterly wardens were the Mohawks at the Hudson, while to the westward burned in succession the council fires of the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas and last of all that of the Senecas, the Ho-nan-ne-ho'-ont, the hereditary "Keepers of the door" of the Long House.*

With the Onondagas burned the central fire of the League, and there its general councils were held, when the assembled sachems from all the nations discussed with eloquence and grave dignity affairs of common interest, guarding each canton with jealous care against neighborly aggression, preserving for each its undisputed right of local self-government and by wise counsels securing for all, harmony of purpose for the welfare of the League and united action for its protection.

Of these Five Nations the Senecas were the most powerful and warlike, as they were the most numerous. By 1651 they had conquered the Kah-Kwas or Neutral Nation, who had occupied the territory between the Genesee and the Niagara Rivers, and within five years thereafter had exterminated the Eries, who dwelt still further to the West and South.

At this time their four principal castles or palisaded villages were To-ti-ac-ton, on the Honeoye outlet, near the pres-

*The Tuscaroras, who came in 1715 as refugees from the South, were at that time admitted to the League which was afterward known to the British as "the Six Nations."

ent site of Honeoye Falls; Gan-da-chi-o-ra-gou, near Lima, ten miles to the eastward; Gan-da-ga-ro, in the township of Victor; and Gan-dou-ga-rae, in that of East Bloomfield. In these "castles" the intrepid Jesuit fathers established their missions as early as 1656.

In 1687 all of these villages were destroyed by the French Governor, the Marquis de Denonville, and were abandoned by the Senecas, who gradually drifted southward and westward, finally establishing their homes in what they called the Gen-nis-he'-o, the "beautiful valley" of the river which we still know by their melodious name.

Here and there along its borders for nearly a hundred miles their villages multiplied and prospered. They were tillers of the soil as well as hunters, and summer after summer in these fertile meadows their corn fields blossomed, and autumn after autumn brought its plentiful harvests of maize and beans and pumpkins to be stored for winter's needs. Hiding in the sparkling brooks and the river ripples were abundant supplies of fish which they captured with their rude hooks and spears. From the great forests on either hand the timid deer came down to drink of those clear waters and their somber woodland depths teemed with game to be had for the seeking.

Here they planted their orchards and gathered the wild grapes which fringed their wooded borders, and here, in the midst of their rich fields, they built their long lodges of logs and bark, which in the larger and more important towns were clustered about a central council house. Around its lighted fire the fathers of the people, old sachems and painted chiefs, gathered for grave and eloquent deliberation. Within its rude walls at the stated seasons, they met for those ceremonial festivals peculiar to their worship by which they marked the changes of the year; invoking the Great Spirit at springtime to bless the planting of their seed; rendering up thanksgiving for the berries of the fields, the fresh green corn or the ripened harvest, or ushering in each returning year with their supreme act of piety and devotion, the sacrifice of the white dog, their faithful messenger, whose spirit should carry their words of thanks and praise with their

humble petitions to the listening ear of the great Master Life.

Here, too, as the years multiplied and generation a generation passed away, the graves of their fathers gave their beautiful valley the hallowed associations of man and filial love. It was to them their home, a veritable Garden of Eden, which they loved with an abiding affection that lingers in the hearts of their scattered descendants, and the dwellers in Eden of old, they were driven from it by flaming sword.

They had been faithful brothers to the British, and when the war of the American Revolution began, although counsels of the Ho-de'-no-sau-nee were no longer united, the Oneidas as well as a portion of the Tuscaroras remained neutral, the Senecas took the warpath with their allies fought with their savage instincts of ferocity.

From Cherry Creek, from Wyoming, and from scorched border settlements to which had come the war-whoop and scalping-knife, went up the cry of desolation. In August 1779, General Sullivan with an army of 5,000 men was sent by Washington on his avenging errand. The retribution was, as had been intended, swift and sure and fatal. The beautiful valley of the Genesee was swept with the curse of destruction and town after town of the Senecas was buried to the ground, their crops and stores of grain destroyed, orchards of peach and apple and pear trees cut down, the smiling land had become a scene of almost total desolation. From the ruin of their homes the dwellers fled confused and panic-stricken rout to the protection of the British at Fort Niagara; and when the war had ceased the days of peace once more returned, only a remnant of people came back to rebuild a few of their villages along the Genesee.

In these they lingered for half a century more, while tides of immigration, attracted by the tales of wonder and hostility which were told by the soldiers of Sullivan's raid, around and beyond them; holding the small reservations which they had retained when they sold their wide domain under the Big Tree Treaty of 1797, until in 1826 they parted

these also, and turning their faces westward to Buffalo Creek and to the lands which they still hold along the Tonawanda, the Cattaraugus and the Allegheny, the last of the "keepers of the door" departed and the beautiful valley of their fathers knew them no more.

To this fair land, which had been their earthly paradise, the bringers of civilization came; and where their rude villages once stood are now populous towns and pleasant villages, centers of traffic for the rich farming communities that thrive upon the fertile fields which they first tilled. To their primitive arts have succeeded those of a more complex life and only here and there in hill or valley, in glen or water-fall there lingers some musical name that whispers of the past and breathes in its melody some accent that suggests those long-forgotten days and "the pathos of a vanished folk."

II. THE OLD COUNCIL HOUSE.

Leaving Can-a-wáu-gus, opposite Avon Springs, the northernmost of the river towns, the ancient Seneca trail, following the river southward, led from village to village, until at Squakie Hill, near Mt. Morris, it reached Dä-yo-it-ga-o ("Where the river issues from the hills"). Thence it passed through the Gardeau flats, the home until 1831 of the famous white captive, Mary Jemison, known to history as "the White Woman of the Genesee"; and approached the cañon through which for many miles the river has cut its way before it emerges into the bright sunlight of the open valley.

It is a wild and picturesque region. From the mighty rock-hewn walls one may look 700 feet down the precipitous cliffs to the somber depths wherein the river winds its way beneath. At the lower falls, where the old trail left the river bed and climbed its banks for the great portage that has given its name to the whole region, the river pours in a resistless torrent through its narrow flume of rock to the treacherous calm of the deep whirlpool far below. Now following the eastern ridge, the trail looked down upon that charmed region about the middle falls, rich in legendary

story and song, with its shaded meadows and sunlit plate its sparkling brooks that leap the cliffs to join the richest of all in these latter days in that beautiful home which looks from its open friendly doors upon the fretted work that the river weaves in fleecy whiteness as it plies downward for a hundred feet and sends up clouds of spray gather in the sunlight the rainbow hues that give its name far-famed Glen Iris.

Traces may still be found of the old trail as it winds way around the upper falls, the river's first great leap a entrance to the gorge, and crossing the clear, still reas above, passed on for several miles to Caneadea, an open van glade through which the river ran, shut in on either by the dense forests and in front by the open sky, where nestled Ga-ó-ya-dé-o ("Where the Heavens rest upon earth"), the last Seneca "castle" on the Genesee.

It was an ancient village on the very threshold of Long House, so far distant from the lower river towns so protected by Nature's almost impenetrable barriers that it escaped the vengeance of Sullivan's army which turned northward from Dä-yo-it-gá-o.

Its twenty or thirty houses stood somewhat back from the high bank that overlooked the stream, and its central feature was the old Caneadea Council House, so fortunately preserved to tell its story of a far-off past. This was built of well-hewn logs, a foot or more in thickness, neatly squared at the corners, their crevices packed with moss tered in with clay. In length it measured about fifty feet twenty feet in width, and was roofed with "shakes" or split shingles held in place by long poles fastened at the ends with withes, an opening being left in the center of the roof through which the smoke of the council fire might escape. Its eaves were low and at one end was built a stone fireplace with three large flat hearth stones taken from the river bed, covering a space ten feet square. There was a door on either side.

Its age we do not know, but Indian traditions ascribe a venerable antiquity and it is believed to long antedate the American Revolution. Upon the inner surface of one

lcgs the sign of the cross is deeply carved and another bears the rudely cut totem of the Snipe clan.

About it cluster thickly the memories of long ago; upon its earth floor has been lighted many a famous council fire, and its walls, smoke-begrimed and dark with age, have listened to the glowing words of many a red-skinned orator whose eloquence fired his people to action or perchance calmed the heated passion of debate.

From this last of the Seneca villages went out the great war parties of the Iroquois that followed the Ohio trail to the great river of the Southwest. Here, too, they gathered for the border forays that carried terror to the Pennsylvania frontiers; and here the returning warriors brought their captives to run the gauntlet, to their death it may be, or in rare cases to escape their torturers and to find refuge and safety within the walls of their desperate goal, this ancient council house.

Here, with their scarcely less savage allies, it is believed they gathered as the rallying point before the massacre of Wyoming; and in those ruthless days the old council house had doubtless heard the crafty but not inhumane counsels of Thay-en-da-na-ge-a, the great Mohawk chief whom we know as Joseph Brant, the silver tongue of that most famous of Indian orators, Red Jacket, the wise and compelling utterance of Cornplanter and the speech of Hudson and Young King and Pollard, Little Beard and Tallchief and Halftown and many beside whose very names are now but dim traditions, but who wrought their part and were loved or feared, as the case might be, by their people and by those who knew their power a century or more ago.

Of all the many captives of those bloody years, who ran the gauntlet at Caneadea,—and who may now tell their number!—no story is so well-remembered and so oft-repeated as that of Moses Van Campen, that famous old Indian fighter and pioneer, the hero of so many fireside tales of thrilling border warfare; a Jersey lad, born in 1757, but living in Pennsylvania and in the strength of early manhood when the war of the Revolution began. He was a man of mighty prowess and daring, unacquainted with fear, and had made

his strong arm felt in many a fierce encounter with painted redskins in the northern wilderness of the Pennsylvania frontier.

Once before he had been captured by an Indian war party and had made his escape after a deadly struggle in which he had slain five of his captors with his own hand and with a tomahawk which he had wrested from their leader, a Mohawk. In March, 1782, he was a lieutenant of the Pennsylvania line in the Continental Army, commanding a company ordered to rebuild a fort at Muncey in Northumberland Co., Pa., which had been destroyed by the Indians in 1779.

While on a scouting expedition with a small force up the west branch of the Susquehanna he was surprised by a party of Senecas led by Lieutenant Nellis of Butler's Rangers in the British service, and after most of his soldiers had been killed or disabled, Van Campen surrendered and was carried captive to Caneadea. Fortunately he had not been recognized or his life would not have been spared.

As they approached the village with echoing war-whoops old and young came to meet the victorious warriors. Preparations for the savage ordeal of running the gauntlet were speedily made. At a distance of thirty or forty feet stood the council house with its open doors and on either side of the running course thereto were lines of men and women armed with hatchets, knives and sticks with which to strike the victim as he ran. There was but slight chance of escape but as the word came and the captives dashed forward, Van Campen followed and dexterously avoided the many blows aimed at him until he saw directly in his path two young squaws with uplifted whips who blocked the way. In a quick thought he gave an unexpected leap into the air, striking both squaws with his feet and sending both to the ground. He fell with them, but before they or the women around could recover from their astonishment, he quickly picked himself up and reached the council house unharmed. His life was saved, and having been taken thence to Niagara and finally to Montreal and New York, he was released on parole before the end of the year.

A gentler association is that which the old council house holds with the memory of the white captive, Mary Jemison, "Deh-he-wa-mis," for here in the autumn of 1760, that weary-footed traveler (whose life of scarce eighteen years had already seen such strange vicissitudes, adopted by her captors five years before and married by their wish to an Indian husband), rested with her adoptive brothers, who accompanied her on her long and toilsome journey of nearly 600 miles through an almost pathless wilderness, from the lower Ohio to the Genesee country.

Through all the fatigues and sufferings of those weary miles, thinly clad, without protection from the drenching rains, sleeping at night upon the naked ground, unsheltered and with no covering but her wet blanket, the poor little child-wife and mother—for she was small and delicate—had carried her infant child upon her back or sheltered him within her arms. It sometimes seemed to her, she said, as if the utmost of endurance had been reached, but after resting here she journeyed on to Little Beard's town. The Senecas of the beautiful valley became her people, their country her home, and for more than seventy years the "White Woman of the Genesee" lived among them through many sorrows and many joys until, in that strange fellowship of her adopted kin whom she steadfastly refused to leave, her earthly days were ended.

By whose hand was carved the deeply cut symbol of the Christian faith within those ancient walls we may not know. Its presence would seem to show that in their time they have heard gentle teachings from lips that have told those husky hearers of long ago of the God of Revelation, of Christ the Saviour, of a gospel of love and peace and in their own tongue perhaps made known to them the story of the Cross. Could the old council house but speak of all that it has seen, how filled with riches would be the record of its years!

But times change, and we change with them. The years swept by and the changes of another century than its own crept slowly around the council house. Little by little its old-time friends passed away, and when in 1826 the Senecas sold

the last of their Genesee Valley lands they parted with Caneadea and soon the old council house was left alone and deserted.

Shortly thereafter Joel Seaton, who had purchased the land where it stood, moved it to a new position near the roadside some thirty or forty rods eastward from its old site and used it as a dwelling, making no changes in it, however, except to put on a new roof and to add three or four logs to its height, as was readily to be seen. Slowly it began to decay; it ceased to be used as a dwelling; neglected and forsaken it stood by the roadside, marked only by the curious gaze of the passer-by, until when it was about to be destroyed, shortly after 1870, it came to the notice of H. William Pryor Letchworth of Glen Iris, whose deep interest in the historic associations of the Genesee Valley led him to take prompt measures for its rescue and preservation.

With painstaking care he caused each timber to be marked when taken down, so that it might be replaced where it belonged, and effected its removal without injury, to the beautiful plateau overlooking the river and valley at Glen Iris, where it now stands. There it was carefully reerected precisely in the position and the form in which it originally stood, even to the roof of shingles with withie-bound poles and its own old fireplace with the original hearth-stones of days of yore; the rotting timbers were repaired where necessary for its preservation and when all was completed and the venerable structure stood as of old time, scattered children of those who had been most famous in history of the Seneca occupation of the Genesee Valley bidden to the memorable council of October 1, 1872. It was a strange and impressive occasion to those who gathered to hold a council of their people after the lapse of half a century, in the very house where generation after generation those that slept had gathered before; to them it brought told memories of pathos and regret. Doubly strange and impressive was it to the fortunate guests of another race who came at the wish of the Guardian of the Valley to witness such an unwonted sight; it dwells within their hearts in fading recollection.

III. THE LAST COUNCIL FIRE.*

The morning of that perfect day in the beautiful month of falling leaves dawned brightly; early frost had tinged the forests and loosened the leaves that dropped softly in the mellow sunlight. Some of the invited guests had come on the previous day and when the morning train arrived from Buffalo the old King George cannon on the upper plateau thundered its welcome, as once it was wont to wake the echoes from the fortress of Quebec, and all climbed the hill to the spot where the ancient council house stood with open doors to receive them. They were the lookers-on who found their places at one end of the council hall where rustic seats awaited them, save that in a suitable and more dignified chair was seated a former President of the Republic, Hon. Millard Fillmore of Buffalo, whose gracious and kindly presence—that of a snowy-haired gentleman of the old school—honored the occasion.

The holders of the council were "robed and ready." Upon the clay floor in the center of the building burned the bright council fire, and as the blue smoke curled upward it found its way through the opening in the roof to mingle with the haze of the October day.

Upon low benches around the fire sat the red-skinned children of the Ho-de'-no-sáu-nee who had gathered from the Cattaraugus and the Allegheny and from the Grand River in Canada as well; for on that day, for the first time in more than seventy years, the Mohawks sat in council with the Senecas. They were for the most part clad in such costumes as their fathers wore in the olden days, and many of the buckskin garments, bright sashes and great necklaces of silver or bone and beads, were heirlooms of the past, as were the ancient tomahawk pipes which were gravely smoked while their owners sat in rapt and decorous attention as one after another their orators addressed them. No sight could

*For Mr. Gray's beautiful poem, read at the close of the council, and for the translated Seneca speeches, I am indebted to "The last Indian Council on the Genesee," by David Gray, in *Scribner's Magazine* for July, 1877. With these exceptions this account is written from notes made by myself at the time of the council.—H. R. H.

be more picturesque than was that combination of bright colors and nodding plumes, the drifting smoke of the council fire, and, most of all, the strong faces of the score or more councillors, the appointed representatives of their people, to speak for them that day.

They had been wisely chosen, for they were the grandchildren of renowned men and almost all bore the names of those who had been the recognized leaders of their nation in council and in war. As might well be expected, the personality of each was striking and noteworthy.

A commanding presence, that gave an especial interest to the occasion, was that of Col. W. J. Simcoe Kerr, "Te-ka-i ho-ge-a," the grandson of the famous Mohawk chief, Captain Brant, whose youngest daughter, Elizabeth, had married Colonel Walter Butler Kerr, a grandson of Sir William Johnson, the Indian agent for the British Government, whose influence had been so potent with the Iroquois in colonial days. Colonel Kerr was a man of fine physique, an educated gentleman and himself the principal chief of the Mohawks in their Canadian home, as well as the acknowledged head of all the Indians in Canada. He wore the chieftain's dress which he had been presented to Queen Victoria: a suit of soft, dark, smoke-tanned buckskin with deep fringes, a ruff-sash, and a cap of doeskin with long straight plumes from the eagle's wing. He carried Brant's tomahawk in his belt. On his side sat his accomplished sister, Mrs. Kate Osborne, whose Mohawk name was Ke-je-jen-ha-nik. Through her gentle-hearted interest in such an unusual event she urged her brother to accept the invitation which had been tendered him, but he came with some reluctance, for the long-cemented friendship of the great League had not been broken.

When the War of the Revolution had ended, the Mohawks left their former seats and followed their British allies to Canada, where they still live on the Grand River. The Senecas remained in Western New York and by the celebrated treaty at Fort Stanwix in 1784, became the friends of Americans, a friendship to which they continued steadfast so that when war with Great Britain was again declared

1812, they were our allies, and on its battle-fields, side by side with the soldiers of the United States, they fought the Mohawks, their ancient friends, who had now become their enemies. It could not be forgotten, and even when the Mohawk chief had been persuaded to attend the council, he wore an air of coldness and reserve, because, as he said to one of the guests before he tardily took his place, "the Senecas are not my people."

For a short time these children of time-honored sachems and chiefs sat and smoked in dignified silence as became so grave an occasion, and when the proper moment had arrived, as prescribed by the decorum of Indian observance, one of their number arose and, following the ceremonial method of the ancient custom, announced in formal words and in the Seneca tongue, that the council fire had been lighted and that the ears of those who were convened in council were now opened to listen to what might be said to them. Resuming his seat, there was a moment of quiet waiting, as if in expectation, and then the opening speech was made by Nicholson H. Parker, "Ga-yeh-twa-geh," a grand-nephew of Red Jacket and a brother of General Ely S. Parker, who served with distinction upon General Grant's staff during the Civil War.

Mr. Parker was a tall, well-built man, with a fine clear face not unlike that of his distinguished brother, and with great dignity of speech and bearing. Around his sleeves above the elbows and at the wrists were wide bands of beaded embroidery, and besides a long fringed woven belt of bright colors, he wore an ample shoulder scarf that was also richly embroidered. His tomahawk pipe was one that had belonged to Red Jacket. Mr. Parker was a well educated man, had served as United States interpreter with his people and was a recognized leader among them.

All of the speeches made in the council that day, until it approached its close, were in the Seneca language, which is without labials, very guttural and yet with a music of its own, capable of much inflection and by no means monotonous. Its sentences seemed short and their utterance slow and measured, with many evidences of the earnest feeling

aroused by the unwonted occasion and its associations with the past, and as each speaker in turn touched some responsive chord in the breasts of his hearers, they responded with that deep guttural ejaculation of approval which cannot be written in any syllable of English phrasing.

Many of the orators spoke at great length, and it is fortunate that the full texts could not be preserved. Some portions as we have of three or four of the principal speeches were taken down after the council from the lips of the speakers themselves; they are, however, but brief epitomes of their full orations. Such was the case, for example, in the opening speech of Nicholson Parker, who thus addressed the council:

"Brothers: I will first say a few words. We have chosen representatives of the Seneca nation to participate in the ceremonies of the day. In this ancient council-house, before its removal to this spot, our fathers, sachems and chieftains often met to deliberate on matters of moment to our people in the village of Ga-o-yah-de-o (Caneadea). We are to scatter over the ashes on its hearth, that we may find perchance a single spark with which to rekindle the fire, and cause the smoke again to rise above this roof, as in days that are past. The smoke is curling upward and the memories of the past are enwreathed with it.

"Brothers: When the confederacy of the Iroquois was formed, a smoke was raised which ascended so high that the nations saw it and trembled. This league was formed, it may be, long before the kingdom of Great Britain had political existence. Our fathers of the Ho-de'-no-sáwan were once a powerful nation. They lorded it over a vast territory, comprising the whole of the State of New York and parts of the States of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, and New York, and from the banks of the Hudson to the banks of the Mississippi, and from the great basins of sweet water North to the bitter waters of the Mexican Gulf. We have been wasted away to a remnant of what we once were. though feeble in numbers, the Iroquois are represented. We have delegates from the Mohawks, who were the keepers of the eastern door of the long house; and of the Senecas, who were the guardians of the western door. When

guns of General Sullivan were heard in this valley, we were one people. But the tribes of the Iroquois are scattered, and will soon be seen no more.

"Brothers: We are holding council, perhaps for the last time, in Gen-nis-he'-o. This beautiful territory was once our own. The bones of our fathers are strewn thickly under its sod. But all this land has gone from their grasp forever. The fate and the sorrows of my people should force a sigh from the stoutest heart.

"Brothers: We came here to perform a ceremony, but I cannot make it such. My heart says that this is not a play or a pageant. It is a solemn reality to me, and not a mockery of days that are past and can never return. Neh-hoh—this is all."

As he took his seat, the repeated monosyllabic utterance of his hearers showed that he had spoken well and had opened and smoothed the way for those who should follow. All were eager to say what was in their hearts, but there was a quiet dignity in their procedure which might well be copied by Anglo-Saxon conclaves. There was no presiding member in the sense in which we know the term. It was the office and apparently the duty of Nicholson Parker to open and to close the council, and in all formal procedures, as in the common habit of their life and speech, the Indian shows a respect and reverence for age which is worthy of high praise.

When each orator had spoken, there was a short pause of silence, a little smoking of pipes as if in seemly expectation, and then another orator rose quietly in his place and with gentle manner and low speech and with occasional graceful gesticulations that pointed his statements, sometimes holding his tomahawk pipe in his hand and using it to excellent effect in his gestures (for Nature made the red man an orator,) he addressed his listening brothers. Nearly all of the men in council spoke during its session, some at length, some more briefly, as the message chanced to be. The thought of their fathers was uppermost in their minds and the deeds of their fathers in the old days was the burden of their utterance.

That great orator of the Senecas, Red Jacket, "Sa-go-ye-

wát-ha" ("He keeps them awake") was represented : council not only by Nicholson Parker, who made the speech, but also by his grandson, John Jacket, "Sho-ja-ach," an elderly man and a full-blooded Seneca, strong, dark face betokened, with feathered head-dre broad-beaded shoulder sash, who was one of the later ers. He died in 1901 on the Cattaraugus reservation.

Beside him at the council fire sat George Jones, "Gwa-neh," in all the glory of full Indian costume with plumes and beaded leggings, bright shoulder sash at girding his light hunting shirt; the grandson of "I Jemmy," who was tried for murder in 1821, for put death an aged beldam whom his people had found guilty of witchcraft and according to their custom had sent to death. His acquittal undoubtedly resulted from the influence of Red Jacket, who appeared as his advocate at the trial where he thundered his famous philippic against the accused his people of superstition. "What!" said I you denounce us as fools and bigots because we still hold that which you yourselves believed two centuries ago? black-coats thundered this doctrine from the pulpits judges pronounced it from the bench and sanctioned the formalities of law; and you would now punish a fortunate brother for adhering to the faith of his father of yours. Go to Salem! Look at the records of your Government, and you will find that hundreds have been executed for the crime which has called forth the sentence of condemnation against this woman and drawn down upon the arm of vengeance. What have our brothers done than the rulers of your people? And what crime has a man committed, by executing, in a summary way, the chief of his country, and the command of the Great Spirit?" It is a fitting and noteworthy circumstance that the grandsons of Red Jacket and Tommy Jemmy should sit side by side at the Glen Iris council-fire.

Two grandsons of Deh-he-wa-mis, the famous "Woman," sat in the council that day. One, known as "the Actor" James Shongo, "Ha-go-go-ant," from the Allegany reservation, a stalwart man of fifty-three years,

youngest son among her daughter Polly's five children. His father, George Shongo, was the son of that "Colonel" Shongo who was in Revolutionary times a prominent chief of the Senecas at Caneadea; a man of commanding stature and mighty voice, a fierce warrior, who is believed by some to have led the Senecas at the Wyoming massacre. James Shongo was a lad eleven years old when his grandmother, the "White Woman," removed from her old home at Gardeau to Buffalo in the spring of 1831; and when he spoke he told the story of that journey in which he walked all the way, a foot-sore boy, who helped to drive the cattle and to minister in his small way to the wants of his mother and of his aged, feeble, grand-dame.

The other grandson was Thomas Jemison, "Shoh-son-dowant," old "Buffalo Tom," as he was familiarly called; an old man, esteemed by all who knew him and respected as one of the worthiest of men. He was the firstborn grandchild of the "White Woman," born at Squakie Hill, and was the son of the little babe whom she carried on her back in that weary journey from the Ohio to the Genesee. All the virtues of his gentle grandmother had found place in his character and had made him throughout his long life an example to his people of industry, truthfulness and thrift. Of stalwart frame, more than six feet in height, with broad, manly shoulders, only his earnest, wrinkled face and snowy hair told of his nearly eighty years when he arose to address the council. In part his words were these:

"Brothers: I am an old man, and well remember when our people lived in this valley. I was born in a wigwam on the banks of this river. I well remember my grandmother, 'The White Woman,' of whom you have all heard. I remember when our people were rich in lands and respected by the whites. Our fathers knew not the value of these lands, and parted with them for a trifle. The craft of the white man prevailed over their ignorance and simplicity. We have lost a rich inheritance; but it is vain to regret the past. Let us make the most of what little is left to us."

"The last speaker spoke of the former power of our people. They used to live in long bark houses, divided into dif-

ferent compartments, and giving shelter often to five or six families. These families were frequently connected by ties of blood. When the confederacy was formed, which the French called the Iroquois and the English the Five Nations, our New York Indians called themselves Ho-dé-no-sáu-nee, or People of the Long House. It was the duty of the Mohawks to guard the eastern door against the approach of enemies, and the Senecas were to guard the west. The principal sachem of the Senecas is entitled Don-e-ho-ga-wa, the door-keeper. Between these two nations sat the Oneidas, Onondagas and Cayugas, making the Five Nations. After their expulsion from North Carolina, our brothers, the Tuscaroras knocked at the door of the Long House and we gave them shelter. We adopted them as one of our family and thenceforward were known as the Six Nations.

"I regret that our fathers should have given away their country, acre by acre, and left us in our present state, but they did it in their ignorance. They knew not the value of the soil, and little imagined that the white people would cover the land as thickly as the trees from ocean to ocean.

"Brothers: These are painful thoughts. It is painful to think that in the course of two generations there will not be an Iroquois of unmixed blood within the bounds of our State; that our race is doomed, and that our language and history will soon perish from the thoughts of men. But it is the will of the Great Spirit and doubtless it is well."

Among those of noteworthy parentage who took part in the council were William and Jesse Tallchief, "Sha-wa-o-nee-gah," whose grandfather, "Tall Chief," lived at Murray Hill near Mt. Morris, and was well known to the early pioneers. He is remembered as a wise counsellor of his nation and had in his day dined with Washington and smoked the pipe of peace with the great President.

Another, William Blacksnake, "Sho-noh-go-waah," was a grandson of old "Governor" Blacksnake, whose title was bestowed upon him by the father of our country. More than any other of the Senecas did Governor Blacksnake's length of days link us with the past, for he lived until 1859 and reached the great age of 117 years. He was a boy of thirteen



SOLOMON O'BAIL,

SON OF MAJOR O'BAIL AND GRANDSON OF THE FAMOUS CHIEF JOHN O'BAIL, OTHERWISE KNOWN AS CORNPLANTER.

at the capture of Fort Duquesne, which he remembered well. With others who were also present were Maris B. Pierce, "Ha-dya-no-doh," a man of fine address and education, in his early years a graduate of Dartmouth College; and John Shanks, "Noh-Sahl," an aged man who spoke the first words of formal announcement; whose memory ran back to the time when he as a boy had lived with his people on the Caneadea Reservation before the title to its 10,000 acres had passed away from their hands.

Most picturesque of all who lingered around that dying council fire was the figure of old Solomon O'Bail, "Ho-way-no-ah," the grandson of that wisest of Seneca chiefs, John O'Bail, "Ga-yant-hwah-geh," better known as "Corn-planter." His strong, rugged face, deeply seamed with the furrows of advancing age, was typical of his race and of his ancestry and was expressive of a remarkable character. His dress was of smoke-tanned buckskin with side fringes and all a-down his leggings were fastened little hawk-bells, which tinkled as he walked. Shoulder sash and belt were embroidered with old-time bead work and around his arm above the elbows were broad bands or armlets of silver. From his ears hung large silver pendants and, strangest of all his decorations, deftly wrought long ago by some aboriginal silversmith, was a large silver nose-piece that almost hid his upper lip. His head-dress was an heirloom made of wild turkey feathers fastened to the cap with such cunning skill that they turned and twinkled with every movement of his body.

He had been an attentive listener to all who had spoken, and as the memories of the past were awakened, the significance of the occasion filled his heart and the expression of his honest face showed that he was deeply moved. Especially significant to him was the presence at this council fire of the Mohawk chief, Colonel Kerr, and the burden of his soul was that the broken friendship of the League should once more be restored. His speech was the most dramatic incident of the day. Rising gravely in his place he said:

"Brothers: I will also say a few words. In olden times, on occasions of this kind, after lighting the council-fire, our fathers would first congratulate each other on their safe ar-

rival and their escape from all the perils of the journey fr their widely separated homes to the scene of the council. the Ga-no-nyok (speech of welcome) the orator would w the sweat from the brows of the guests and pluck the thc from their moccasins. Next, and most important, tha would be offered to the Great Spirit for their preserva and safety. Imitating the example of our fathers, while felicitate ourselves on our safe arrival here and our pres on this occasion, we, too, give thanks to the Good Spirit has kept us until this moment.

"Brothers: It is true, as has been said by the spea who preceded me, that our fathers formed and establish mighty nation. The confederacy of the Iroquois w power felt in the remotest regions of this continent be the advent of the pale-face, and long after the white came and began to grow numerous and powerful, the fri ship of the Iroquois was courted as Dutch and English French struggled for the contest. They poured out blood like water for the English, and the French were d from this great island. Our fathers loved their nation were proud of its renown. But both have passed away ever. Follow the sun in its course from the Hudson t Niagara, and you will see the pale faces as thick as leav the wood, but only here and there a solitary Iroquois.

"Brothers: When the War of the Revolution was e our Great Father, General Washington, said that he forget that we had been enemies, and would allow us possess the country we had so long called our own. brothers the Mohawks chose, however, to cast their lot the British, and followed the flag of that people to the St. River, in Canada, where they have ever since sat und folds. In the last war with England the Mohawks n as foes on the war-path. For seventy-five years their has been vacant at our council-fires. They left us wh were strong, a nation of warriors, and they left us in :

"Brothers: We are now poor and weak. There are who fear us or court our influence. We are reduce handful, and have scarce a place to spread our blank the vast territory owned by our fathers. But in our p

and desolation our long-estranged brothers, the Mohawks, have come back to us. The vacant seats are filled again, although the council-fire of our nation is little more than a heap of ashes. Let us stir its dying embers, that by their light, we may see the faces of our brothers once more.

"Brothers: My heart is gladdened by seeing a grandson of that great chief Thay-en-dan-ega-ga-onh (Captain Brant) at our council-fire. His grandfather often met our fathers in council when the Six Nations were one people and were happy and strong. In grateful remembrance of that nation and that great warrior, and in token of buried enmity, I will extend my hand to our Mohawk brother. May he feel that he is our brother, and that we are brethren."

The Indian character is reticent and hides the outward evidence of deep feeling as unmanly, but as the aged man spoke, the tears rolled down his furrowed cheeks and as he turned and held out his beseeching, friendly hand to the haughty Mohawk, strong ejaculations of approval broke from the lips of all his dusky brethren. With visible emotion Colonel Kerr arose and warmly grasped the outstretched palm.

"My brother," said he, "I am glad to take your hand once more held out in the clasp of friendship; the Senecas and the Mohawks now are both my people."

"My brother," said O'Bail, "may the remembrance of this day never fade from our minds or from the hearts of our descendants."

As speaker after speaker had addressed the council, the hours slipped swiftly by and only the embers of the fire still glowed when, at a pause towards the close, there came a surprise for all who were present, as one of the pale-faced guests quietly arose, and stepping to the charmed circle of red-skinned orators, spoke to them in their own tongue. It was the tall figure of Orlando Allen of Buffalo, then in his seventieth year, who addressed the council. As a boy of sixteen years he had come to Buffalo to live with Dr. Cyrenius Chapin, while it was still a rude hamlet, encircled with forests, which were the hunting grounds of the Senecas, who were then still living on the Buffalo Creek and its tributary

streams.. He had learned their speech and had known t fathers face to face and now he spoke first in their own guage to these, their children. He addressed the counc Seneca as follows :

"Brothers : I also will say a few words and would be if I might speak to you as once I could in your own ton so as to make my words clear to your understanding.

"Brothers : This valley of the Genesee where : fathers once ruled is filled with remembrances of old and we are gathered here to revive those memories. It of great importance, as is the preservation of this old coi house which your fathers parted with when they gav their lands, but which has once more been restored.

"Brothers : The words for my thoughts come : slowly in your speech than in former days when I kne well, so I will speak now in my own language. Neh-hc that is all."

An outburst of ejaculations testified to the pleased prise and gratification of his Indian auditors ; then, tur to the group of pale-faces beyond the circle, he spoke in lish at considerable length in interesting reminiscence o past. He had known Red Jacket, Cornplanter, Young F Captain Pollard, Destroytown, Blacksnake, Little J Shongo and many besides, and related many incidents nected with these celebrated characters, as he had heard from their own lips. In his youth it was the custom year in the month of June for the Indians to gather in numbers at Buffalo to receive their annuities through hands of Captain Jasper Parrish, the United States agent, and Captain Horatio Jones, the Government inter. Both had been Indian captives and perhaps no inc that he related was more interesting to his hearers tha story of how the latter ran the gauntlet at this old Co House at Caneadea.

When he was about fourteen years old Horatio Jones captured by a Seneca war-party in the neighborhood c father's home in Bedford County, Pa. As he ran to e his captors, one of whom was calling him to "stop," he s bled and fell, but to his surprise, instead of receiving th

pected blow of a tomahawk, the warrior who had pursued him picked him up kindly and throwing a string of beads about his neck carried him off, a captive. On the long journey that followed he was kindly treated and finally reached the Genesee River at Caneadea, where he was told that he must run the gauntlet with his fellow-prisoners. They forded the stream and saw before them the old council house on which a white flag was flying—the goal of safety—which they must reach through the long parallel lines of men, women and children armed as usual with tomahawks, clubs and whips for their exulting and cruel pleasure.

His captor held him back until all the other prisoners had started, and then giving him a push said to him, "Now run like the devil," and he did, by his agility escaping the blows aimed at him until the council house was nearly reached. Just then he saw a prisoner directly in front of him struck down by a savage blow from a tomahawk, and in the extremity of terror he sprang through an opening in the lines and flying down a woodland path sought to make his escape. As he passed a lodge in which two old squaws were sitting, one of these jumped to her feet and seizing him, dragged him in, pushed him under a rude bunk or bed and threw some garments or skins over him. Almost immediately he heard the voices of his pursuers loudly questioning the women and hurrying on, misled by their replies. When they had vanished the squaws took him from his concealment and hiding him with their blankets between them, brought him safely to the council house, where he learned, to his pleased surprise, that one of them would be his adoptive mother. She had lost a son in some wild foray and had commissioned one of the warriors to bring her a white lad whom she might adopt in his place. It was her string of beads which had been thrown about the boy's neck when he had been captured, and by it she had recognized him as he fled past her door. He was treated kindly and lived many years among the Senecas, becoming much attached to them and to their rude life. They made him their interpreter and he was able to render many acts of kindness to other white captives less fortunate than himself.

A characteristic incident was that related by Mr. Allen garding Cornplanter, whose grandson sat before him. aged chief was a man moulded for greatness, whose ir ence and whose word were potent with his people. Upon occasion, at the annual council at Buffalo Creek when C planter was present, a vigorous discussion arose as to the payment to a white creditor of \$500 which he had loaned Senecas to defray the expenses of a delegation sent by t to Washington. Some of those present argued that a poi of this money had been used to pay the charges of an On who had accompanied the delegation, and that therefore Senecas should not repay the full amount. The trader justly claimed that he had loaned the money to the Sen who had pledged themselves for its repayment and tha could not be responsible for the way in which they had : it. In those days the annuities were paid in silver dollars half-dollars and the sum had been counted out and lay a small table in the council house. The discussion w warm and it began to look as if the trader might lose a tion of his loan, when old Cornplanter, who had been si in silence, arose and asked the trader the amount o claim. Pointing to the money on the table, he said, "Is the correct amount, interest and all?" Upon being ans that it was, he took the trader's hat and sweeping into pile of coin from the table, handed it to the claimant, turning to the council, said, "The debt is paid; my na Cornplanter," and quietly resumed his seat.

When Mr. Allen had ended his interesting address, dent Fillmore with a few kindly words, presented, on 1 of Mr. Letchworth, a specially prepared silver medal to of those who had taken part in the council. As old B Tom came forward when his name was called, he thru hand into his bosom and brought forth a very large medal which was suspended from his neck. "Perhaps, he, "I ought not to have one; I have got one already old General Jackson gave me." He was assured that 1 entitled to both, and now his children treasure them a looms.

This ceremony ended, Nicholson Parker, who ma

opening speech, arose and in a few words, gravely and softly spoken in his native tongue, formally closed the council. Then turning to the white guests, whom he addressed as his "younger brothers," he spoke the farewell words.

"We have gathered in council here to-day," said he, "the representatives of the Mohawks, who guarded the easterly door of the Long House, and of the Senecas, who kept its western gate. It has been to us an occasion of solemn interest, and as one after another of my brothers has spoken around the council fire that we have lighted, we have rehearsed the deeds of our fathers who once dwelt in this beautiful valley, and in the smoke of that council fire our words have been carried upward. Our fathers, the Iroquois, were a proud people, who thought that none might subdue them; your fathers when they crossed the ocean were but a feeble folk, but you have grown in strength and greatness, while we have faded to but a weak remnant of what we once were. The Ho-de'-no-sáu-nee, the people of the Long House, are scattered hither and yon; their league no longer exists, and you who are sitting here to-day have seen the last of the confederated Iroquois. We have raked the ashes over our fire and have closed the last council of our people in the valley of our fathers."

As he ended his voice faltered with an emotion which was shared by all present. He had spoken the last words for his people, fraught with a tender pathos that touched the hearts of those that heard him with a feeling of that human brotherhood in which "whatever may be our color or our gifts" we are all alike kin.

For a few moments there was a becoming silence and then David Gray—name beloved of all who knew him—the poet-editor of the Buffalo *Courier*, rose and read

THE LAST INDIAN COUNCIL ON THE GENESEE.

The fire sinks low, the drifting smoke
Dies softly in the autumn haze,
And silent are the tongues that spoke
In speech of other days.

Gone, too, the dusky ghosts whose feet
 But now yon listening thicket stirred;
 Unscared within its covert meet
 The squirrel and the bird.

The story of the past is told,
 But thou, O Valley, sweet and lone!
 Glen of the Rainbow! thou shalt hold
 Its romance as thine own.
 Thoughts of thine ancient forest prime
 Shall sometimes tinge thy summer dreams,
 And shape to low poetic rhyme
 The music of thy streams.

When Indian summer flings her cloak
 Of brooding azure on the woods,
 The pathos of a vanished folk
 Shall haunt thy solitudes.
 The blue smoke of their fires once more
 Far o'er the hills shall seem to rise,
 And sunset's golden clouds restore
 The red man's paradise.

Strange sounds of a forgotten tongue
 Shall cling to many a crag and cave,
 In wash of falling waters sung,
 Or murmur of the wave.
 And oft in midmost hush of night,
 Shrill o'er the deep-mouthed cataract's roar,
 Shall ring the war-cry from the height
 That woke the wilds of yore.

Sweet Vale, more peaceful bend thy skies,
 Thy airs be fraught with rarer balm:
 A people's busy tumult lies
 Hushed in thy sylvan calm.
 Deep be thy peace! while fancy frames
 Soft idyls of thy dwellers fled,—
 They loved thee, called thee gentle names,
 In the long summers dead.

Quenched is the fire: the drifting smoke
 Has vanished in the autumn haze:
 Gone, too, O Vale, the simple folk
 Who loved thee in old days.

But, for their sakes—their lives serene—
Their loves, perchance as sweet as ours—
O, be thy woods for aye more green,
And fairer bloom thy flowers!

It was the fitting close to a memorable day. The “dappled shadows of the afternoon” rested on hill and valley as one by one the picturesque figures of those who had that day so strangely linked the present with the past, left the old council house, bright colors and feathery plumes mingling with the autumn foliage and the softly dropping leaves until all had vanished. The “story of the past” had once for all been told, but around those ancient, weather-beaten walls, which had once more welcomed the children of those whom it had known long ago in the days of its prime, there lingers still the remembrance of their last council fire—a memory that cannot be forgotten.

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VI. THE SENECA MISSION AT BUFFALO CREEK.

The earliest attempt to evangelize the Indians in this vicinity came after the permanent establishment of their villages on the Niagara frontier following the devastation of their Genesee valley towns by Sullivan's expedition in 1779, when they fled to the protection of the British at Fort Niagara. At the close of the succeeding winter they made their settlements near that Fort and at Buffalo Creek. In the year 1800 the New York Missionary Society sent Rev. Elkanah Holmes as missionary to the Tuscaroras and Senecas, and from the report presented at their annual meeting April 5, 1802, it appears that at first he made his headquarters at Niagara and in April, 1801, visited New York with proposals from the Indians to build two school houses: one at Buffalo Creek, the other at the Tuscarora village about four miles from Lewiston. It would appear from this report that the Senecas prior to this time had been suspicious of designs upon their lands and had rejected a missionary "sent from Boston," but that they were now eager for a missionary teacher, and while on this visit to New York Mr. Holmes received about \$190 toward the establishment of a school at Buffalo Creek, so that the attempt was actually made upon his return. The report states that "Shortly after his arrival at Buffalo, most of the timber for the school-house was hewn and immediately on opening a subscription among

the inhabitants \$300 was raised. Owing, however, to sickness they had not been able to finish this building, but school had been taught by Mr. Palmer (Joseph R. Palmer) till the beginning of last winter (1801-2), when it was thought proper to suspend till spring."

The Society's annual report of April 3, 1803, states that "We have not learned with certainty that a school has been set up among the Senecas, nor that the two school-houses one for the Senecas and another for the Tuscaroras, which the Legislature of the State appropriated \$1,500, have been erected." At this time Mr. Holmes' engagement was confirmed as permanent missionary at a salary of \$500, including traveling and incidental expenses, commuted at \$250 his commission embracing the Senecas and Tuscaroras "his peculiar and stated charge from which he is never to be away more than six months in any one year."

For several years no mention is made of the Seneca mission at Buffalo Creek. Mr. Holmes lived at the Tuscarora village, probably making occasional visits to his other charge until differences finally arose between the New York Society and its representative. He opposed the suggestion of forming a church organization among the Tuscaroras, on the ground that the Indians were not ready for it; an agent was sent to investigate, who reported that Mr. Holmes' views were at variance with those of the Society's management; he gave evidence "of paedo-baptist leanings." This resulted in his resignation in 1807 or 1808, after which he was employed by the Baptists as an itinerant preacher. In 1809 Andrew Gray succeeded him as missionary to the Tuscaroras, and Rev. J. C. Crane "of New Jersey" was sent to the village as a teacher at a salary of \$200 per annum, "with the hope of an augmentation." He afterwards succeeded Mr. Holmes in charge of that mission, where he remained in faithful service until his death in January, 1826.

In 1811 the Society sent Rev. John Alexander as missionary to the Senecas at Buffalo Creek, but after meeting with the chiefs in council he found them still suspicious; some attempt was on foot to gain possession of their village, and they refused to receive him. It appears that some

before they had been visited by a Rev. Mr. Cram, a missionary from the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, whom they had rejected,—doubtless the missionary referred to in the annual report of the New York Missionary Society for 1802,—and their attitude was still one of profound distrust. Mr. Alexander remained and preached in Buffalo for a few months, but some misunderstanding arose about his compensation and he soon returned to New York.

With him the Society had sent Jabez Backus Hyde as a teacher, and although the chiefs had refused to receive the missionary, some of them desired instruction for their children, and Mr. Hyde was invited to remain and establish a school. To this he consented and thus began a work of usefulness which he continued with marked success for nearly ten years, preparing the way for those later efforts, which finally resulted in establishing a permanent mission at the Buffalo Creek.

As early as 1798 the Society of Friends in the City of Philadelphia had sent some of their number to the Indians on the Alleghany, where they had been kindly received, bending their efforts more especially towards the ways of civilization, instructing their charges in agriculture and the simpler useful crafts that should ameliorate their condition and make them more self-helpful, extending these self-sacrificing endeavors at a little later day to those upon the Cattaraugus Reservation.

At this time the greater part of the Indians in Western New York, more than 2,000 in number, were settled in three or four villages on the Buffalo Creek Reservation, along the banks of Buffalo Creek and its branches and of Cazenovia Creek, four or five miles east of the village of Buffalo. The most central of these and the nearest to Buffalo was called Seneca village and was clustered near the council house, which stood about twenty rods from Buffalo Creek on its northwest bank, at a point now marked by the angle between Archer street and Seneca street, near the present street-car barn. Near by lived Seneca White and other well-known Indians, and their straggling cabins were scattered to the eastward on both sides of the Aurora road for a distance of a

mile or more. About four or five miles southeastward, the vicinity of what is now called Lower Ebenezer, was the Onondaga "castle" or village, where Col. Thomas Proctor found twenty-eight "good cabins" at the time of the council of 1791. Here, too, was their council house, which stood on the southern bank of Cazenovia Creek. Some five or six miles northward from the Seneca village was the largest of these Indian villages, called Jack Berry's town, or more commonly Jackstown, which was a stronghold of the Proctor party, as was also a smaller cluster of cabins northeastward from Seneca, called Turkeytown.*

It is difficult to determine just where Mr. Hyde located his school, but it would seem to have been in the immediate vicinity of the council house of Seneca village. There is in the possession of the Buffalo Historical Society a manuscript "Account of the Seneca Indians and Mission," written by Mr. Hyde, and dated August 8, 1820, from which we learn something of the many difficulties and trials which beset his endeavor. His position had been a subordinate one and, far from having derived any advantage from having accompanied the proffered missionary, the prejudices excited by Mr. Alexander became a serious embarrassment to his own introduction. After waiting some seven months he opened his school, and at the annual meeting of the Society, April 7, 1812, it was reported that "his conduct has been prudent and upright and he has succeeded in erecting a school house near the center of the Seneca settlement, where he now resides." Not only prudent and upright in his conduct, he was deeply conscientious in his devotion to duty, and there was something pathetic in the story of his brave struggle against constant discouragement. He says: "The war took place last summer (1812), which threw everything into confusion on the frontier. Several times the school was interrupted

*My information as to these localities comes from Mrs. Martha E. Parker who lived with her aunt, Mrs. Asher Wright, at the mission from 1836; from Benjamin C. VanDuzee, the printer for the mission, who began his work there in 1841. Their recollection has been confirmed by MS. notes left by late Orlando Allen. Mrs. Parker is now living (1903) at the Cattaraugus Reservation and Mr. Van Duzee resides at Hamburg. Both are well past eighty years of age.

few scholars attended, but were very irregular. After the war the school revived for a short time, but soon diminished, none of the first scholars persevered. During the six years that I professed to act as a school teacher, I had several sets of new scholars, and not one of them made proficiency that promised to be of any use to them. My heart was deeply affected at the prospect which forbid the hope that anything would ever be effected in this way."

From year to year he persevered despite all disappointments. Although commissioned by the Society only as a teacher, the thought of evangelizing the Indians took even a deeper hold upon him and shaped his course. Oftentimes he was ridiculed by those who thought such efforts as his own were but wasted with such a stolid people, but this stimulated him to renewed endeavor and "a full determination that the enemy would not always triumph." Of these earlier years he gives no record, but it is evident that the chiefs were not willing to receive other permanent workers than himself, although he had won their confidence and respect. He says: "The summer of 1817 Mr. Butrick lived with me I indulged the hope that his meek and affectionate manner would interest the Indians in his favour and influence them to listen to his instruction, but they stood aloof from him, and when I pressed them to attend to his instructions, they answered they would not have a minister stay among them."

In that year he received a visit from Rev. Timothy Alden, a missionary licensed by the Society for Propagating the Gospel, whose published letters give us occasional glimpses of those early days of the Seneca Mission:*

"On Tuesday evening the 20th of August, 1817, we arrived at the Mission House occupied by Jabez Backus Hyde, who has had the care of the Indian School for five years in the Seneca village of Buffalo Creek, four miles from its entrance into the Lake. From all the intelligence I had been able to collect I had very little expectation of preaching to this part of the tribe, from the circumstance that my predecessors, the Rev. Messrs.

*"Account of sundry Missions performed among the Senecas and Munsees in a Series of Letters with an Appendix, by Rev. Timothy Alden, President of Allegheny College, New York. Printed by J. Seymour, 1827."

Cram and Alexander, some years ago, after a formal introduction to the chiefs in council, could have no permission address the Indians on the subject of the Christian Religion. My reception, however, was far more favorable than I had anticipated. On Wednesday, in company with Mr. Hyde, I called on some of the natives, and particularly on King (Young King) and Pollard, two influential chiefs. The business of my mission was made known to them and they were pleased to express their approbation of the object. Pollard said that he was glad I had informed the chiefs of my wishes that they might have the opportunity to communicate them to their people. King and Pollard promised to give notice of the meeting which they preferred to have on the Sabbath, and Jacob Jamieson was engaged to intercede on the occasion. He had lately returned from Dartmouth College, where for about two years he had been a student and is considered as one of the best interpreters to be found among the Senecas. At the time appointed we met at the school house in Seneca, as the village of Buffalo Creek is sometimes called, which was crowded with the tawney habitants, while a considerable portion stood without at doors and windows. Ten chiefs were present, of whom was the celebrated Sogweewautan, who is extensively known by the name of Red Jacket. Of the shrewd remarks which this famous orator has frequently made to missionaries in reference to ministers of the Gospel you have doubtless been apprised. As I did not call on him on the previous Wednesday it occurred to me that he might have thought his services neglected. It was grateful to me to learn that when Mr. Hyde informed him of my arrival and of my wish to preach to the Indians he expressed his unqualified approbation of the object taken for my accommodation and offered nothing in the way of objections, as he had formerly done to those who had ceded me. . . . The Indians are much attached to Mr. Hyde and his family, who have been of no small advantage to them by precept and example. The school, consisting of about thirty boys, is in as prosperous a state as could reasonably be expected, yet the indefatigable instructor is not disheartened at the tardy progress of his pupils. Mr.

has written a series of discourses involving in plain and intelligible language suited to the capacity of the natives, the leading historical and doctrinal parts of the Bible, a number of which he has delivered with the assistance of an interpreter to the Indians and much to their edification."

A year later, August 28, 1818, Mr. Alden wrote: "On the 14th of July we arrived at Mr. Hyde's habitation in the first village of the Buffalo Indians and repaired to the cabin of Captain Billy, one of the aged chiefs, and stated to him my wish to preach to his people. We agreed on the following Sabbath for addressing the Indians of this place and Captain Billy promised to see them informed of the meeting. . . . On the Sabbath, the 19th of July [1818], we met the Indians at Seneca agreeably to appointment. Billy, Pollard, Young King, Twenty Canoes and other chiefs were present. Red Jacket and several more were at Tonnewanta. Of Indians and squaws from all parts of the Buffalo reservation there was a larger collection than when I visited them last autumn. There were many more than could be accommodated in the Council House where we assembled together. I had an able interpreter in Thomas Armstrong, who, like Hank Johnson, was taken in infancy, adopted and brought up as a member of the tribe. After singing, Mr. Hyde read the Lord's Prayer in Seneca, which he had recently translated. This was the first time these Indians had heard it in their native tongue, as previously stated to them that their friend and teacher would repeat to them in their language the prayer which was taught us by Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world. . . . Mr. Hyde has resigned the charge of the school which he had under his care for five years. He thought it would be advantageous to the Indians to suspend it for a season. They now begin to express their desire for its re-commencement. At the present time Mr. Hyde is busily employed in acquiring the Seneca, gradually preparing a Grammar of the dialect and translating into it the Gospel according to the Evangelist John. In this important labor he is assisted by Thomas Armstrong, with whom he was providentially brought to an acquaintance when greatly needed, but not knowing where to find one so competent.

Mr. Hyde has the confidence of those with whom he resid more than any other man." Regarding this, Mr. Hyde say "At this time I was translating the third chapter of John, as it was my first attempt I proceeded very cautiously. Eve opportunity an Indian of intelligence called on me I read r translation to ascertain whether it was correct."

It was probably about this time (1817-18) that Mr. Hy was designated by the Society as a catechist and his lab were devoted even more strenuously to the spiritual enlig enment of the Indians among whom in the spring and su mer of 1818 more interest seemed to be awakened in religi matters. He tells us: "The 16th of August five young n of the best families among the Senecas came to the Sch House, where I and my family had gone that day to carry a meeting among ourselves. They came in and informed that they had come to learn the Will of God made kno in His word. They had agreed to observe the Sabbath listen to the instruction of the Word of God. For i weeks they stood alone, encountering all the ridicule opposition were pleased to bestow. The 15th of Septem four other young men of similar character joined us similar professions; their wives were won over by t husbands; three elderly women joined us; two of them mothers of the young men, the other was a white wom captive taken when a child, and one old chief, a captive t when a child, the father of the young men." At first hymns and prayers were in English and Mr. Hyde spo the Indians through his interpreter, but in October some caroras visited them on the Sabbath and conducted the ing in the Indian language. This aroused much interes Mr. Hyde began to instruct his followers in singin Wednesday evenings. The meetings were crowded an school house became too small for their needs. Finally of the old chiefs who had stood aloof, professed an a ment for the teachings of Christianity and attende meetings.

Being advised of this encouraging change, the New Missionary Society sent two commissioners to meet the in council, with the result that the Senecas, Onondag

Cayugas on the reservation entered into a covenant with the commissioners, by the terms of which the Society engaged to send them teachers free of expense, the Indians agreeing to receive them, listen to their instructions and advise and counsel with the Society. Mr. Hyde says there was only one chief of considerable note who absented himself and did not sign the covenant.

After the commissioners left, the Pagans charged the Christian party with selling themselves to be the bond slaves of the ministers "who would eat up their land and consume them off the earth," and in the spring council which followed, in June, 1819, a furious discussion took place, with sharp recriminations, in which Red Jacket was violently prominent, but after a stormy session of four days, commissioners of the United States arrived to discuss the relinquishment of certain lands, and in this even more engrossing discussion the subject of religion was dropped, and finally the council dispersed without any decision on that point and every one was left to think and act for himself.

So many difficulties now arose between Mr. Hyde and his people and with his interpreter that from the 1st of January, 1820, until the 17th of April he suspended his labors among them.

In the meantime, in fulfillment of its promise to provide additional teachers, the New York Missionary Society sent Mr. and Mrs. James Young of Orange Co., N. Y., who left New York in the autumn of 1819 and were eight days on their journey from that city to the Tuscarora village, where they were to remain until the mission house under construction for them at the Buffalo Creek should be completed. With them was Miss Esther Rutgers Low of New York City, a young lady of but twenty-one years of age, who was sent by the Society, as an assistant in the school. Her service among the Senecas was but brief, for two years later she married Rev. David Remington of Buffalo, who then became a missionary to the Mississippi Choctaws. She was the mother of Miss Elizabeth H. Remington and of the late Cyrus K. Remington of Buffalo. The former preserves a

very interesting account written by her mother of that long journey in 1819.

The new house which they were to occupy at the Seneca village was located near the site of the later mission house (built in 1833), which is still standing (1903) north of Seneca Street, close by the old Indian cemetery, Buffalo Street at the present time passing between these landmarks of the past. Miss Low states that it was a log house two stories high, the second floor being reserved for the school. Here Mr. Young and his companions established themselves about January 1, 1820, the journey from the Tuscarora village being made in a large country wagon, on which their household goods were piled, over rough roads with mud so deep that despite an early morning start they were compelled to stop for the night at a tavern half way to Buffalo. Another day was consumed in reaching the house of Mr. Ranson in Buffalo, which stood on the spot afterwards occupied by the Universalist Church on Main Street, near Chippewa. Here they were hospitably entertained and on the third day through still greater perils of mud and unbroken forests, made their way to their final destination.

Their work of instruction began at once. Besides usual English classes, the ladies of the family taught Indian women and girls how to knit and to sew; and David Gamut would have called "the difficult art of Psalmsody" was taught with some success to a class of young men who came for the purpose two evenings in each week. It is said that many of them had good voices and were fond of singing. When summer came and their garden vegetables were ripe they found many dusky guests who were glad to be taught by practical demonstration how such things could be cooked and generously served. The Indian palate developed an especial vocation for squash and the resources of the mission were sorely taxed by the constant call for "more."

On the 5th of September, 1820, Rev. Timothy Young again visited Buffalo Creek and gives us in his letter to Albert Holmes of Cambridge, Mass., an interesting view of the situation:

"On Tuesday, we arrived at the mission house in the

populous village in the Buffalo Creek Reservation, still occupied by Mr. Hyde, who, having passed through many tribulations and discouragements in his benevolent and arduous labors continued for about nine years for the temporal and spiritual welfare of the Senecas is now rejoicing in the prospect of a better time, which already begins to glimmer on this benighted people. . . . The Indians are greatly pleased at the labors of Mr. Hyde in translating and printing from time to time portions of the Holy Scriptures. He will shortly have finished a selection from the Bible to the amount of about one hundred copies of Seneca and English in opposite columns. He has spared no pains or expense to cause many of the Indians to be instructed in the art of singing. In almost every cabin he entered a singing book was immediately produced and many pieces of our best church music were sung by note in just time and by words prepared by Mr. Hyde in their vernacular tongue. . . . Mr. Hyde under the patronage of the New York Missionary Society, with the humble but honorable name of a Catechist, delivers regular discourses from Sabbath to Sabbath in the village of his residence and occasionally at Kataraugus and Tonewanta, when a cavalcade of nearly twenty of the principal characters of his important charge accompanies him thirty miles from respect to this faithful laborer in the vineyard. . . . Although Mr. Hyde is sometimes absent on the Sabbath, yet his people steadily hold a meeting at which several of the chiefs pray, repeat passages from those parts of the Bible already translated and give an exhortation. They have a decent and comfortable place for public worship in their Council House, which by a resolve of long standing is the chief council fire-place of all the Six Nations. The present is a new building 42x18 feet and is well constructed of hewn logs. It is shingled, glazed, arched and sealed and furnished with neat and commodious seats and a good chimney, all the work of the Indians. The monthly concert of prayer is very observing and on every Thursday evening the singers meet together to perfect themselves in Psalmody and for religious instruction."

He then describes a meeting of this character which he

attended September 7th, and gives the words of the "Ades Fideles" as sung in the Seneca language. His address was interpreted by George Jemison, a grandson of Mary Jemison and a brother of Jacob, to whom reference has been previously made:

"On Thursday, the 21st of September, we had the pleasure of witnessing the operation of an Indian School conducted by James Young, his wife and Miss Low. It is in the midway situation between two of the principal villages on Buffalo Creek and was instituted under the patronage of New York Missionary Society. The house lately erected is well calculated for the designed object and is furnished with a fine-toned bell of about 150 pounds weight. A lower story divided into a competent number of rooms affords comfortable accommodations for the worthy and indefatigable mission family. The upper story, consisting of one spacious room, the chimney being the center, with the fixtures and appurtenances for reading, writing, cyphering, sewing, knitting and spinning, is very convenient for the complex business of this flourishing seminary. A building on the plan of this construction may be considered as a good model for such an aboriginal establishment. We were highly pleased at the order and decorum which marks the conduct of pupils, both male and female, and at the proficiency they made in the various branches to which they had attended. The school is daily opened and closed with prayer, when a hymn in Seneca, which many of the children of both sexes are instructed by Mr. Young, sing with great propriety and exhibit a very interesting scene. He states not more than fifteen boys have attended the school of this place from day to day and about an equal number of girls, but that the previous winter the number of boys was forty-five and twenty-five. On the Sabbath, the 24th of September, the Council House was well filled with the aborigines amongst them were the chiefs Pollard, Young King, Chief, Tall Peter, Seneca White and White Seneca. On the following day we took our departure from the Indians and our leave of the faithful laborer in this vicinity Mr. Hyde, his worthy consort, and family. It is truly

ful to witness the wonderful providential alteration for good, both spiritual and temporal, which has taken place among the aborigines of this region since my last visit in 1818; this to be attributed to no small degree in Providence to the edifying example of the mission family."

Towards the close of the year 1820 negotiations were in progress for the transfer by the New York Missionary Society of this mission station and that at Tuscarora village to the United Foreign Missionary Society, an organization formed July 28, 1817, by the united action of the Presbyterian, the Dutch Reformed and the Associate Reformed Churches of New York City. In December, 1820, when this transfer was pending, two commissioners, Rev. Stephen N. Rowan of New York and Rev. Henry P. Strong of Phelps, N. Y.,* were sent to obtain the consent of all concerned. They sat in council with the Senecas, Onondagas and Cayugas at the Buffalo Creek, December 14, 1820, when the chiefs met their wishes and declared that they were now willing to receive a settled minister. Adjourning from the council house to Mr. Young's residence, Rev. Mr. Rowan joined in marriage the interpreter, Thomas Armstrong, and Rebecca Hempferman, both white captives taken in infancy by the Senecas during the Revolutionary War, who had been adopted by their captors and brought up as Indian children.

At the same time Jonathan Jacket, youngest son of Red Jacket, was married to Yeck-ah-wak, a young woman from Cattaraugus. This is said to have been the first Christian marriage among the Senecas. Mrs. Remington states that when the ceremony was ended Mr. Strong said to Armstrong, "Thomas, with us we salute the bride, that is we kiss her; it is not in the ceremony, only it is a custom and a pleasure and you can do as you like about it." Thomas interpreted it to his wife and after due and solemn deliberation responded: "We have considered it and as we do not see any profit in it we will omit it," which was therefore done.

*MS. record written by Rev. Francis A. Vinton in 1869 in possession of the A. B. C. F. M., Boston, Mass. Miss Low's narrative says this was Rev. Paschal H. Strong, corresponding secretary N. Y. Home Missionary Society, which is more probably correct.

In January, 1821, the Seneca Mission was formally transferred to the United Foreign Missionary Society and September 19, 1821, Rev. Thompson S. Harris of Bound Brook N. J., a recent graduate of Princeton College and Seminary and a licentiate of the Presbytery of New Brunswick, was appointed missionary for the Buffalo Creek Reservation whither his young wife, Marianne La Tournette, accompanied him.

For some reason which is unexplained, these changes brought about the retirement of Mr. Hyde, who had labored so long and faithfully in this difficult field and to whom those who followed were indebted in the largest measure for all that opened the way for subsequent success. R. Timothy Alden speaks of meeting him in 1827 and says "He was ordained several years ago and has been diligently laboring in vacant congregations of white people in sun parts of the Gospel Vineyard; but neither forgets nor is forgotten by, the Senecas, who were first led under the great Head of the Church, by his instructions and example, to acknowledgment of the truth. The seven hymns, in Seneca which he composed and published, have been sung for many years and the chiefs having requested him to enlarge the number, are much gratified by his recent prompt attention to their wishes. With his knowledge and the aid of which he can avail himself, he might soon translate at least one or more Gospels into the Seneca dialect."

On the 2d of November, 1821, Mr. Harris reached his mission station and records in his journal the pleasure felt in "the neatness and simplicity of our family arrangements." Very fortunately his earlier journals have been preserved, enabling us to see from the almost daily record which he penned, somewhat of the unwonted experience which now occupied his life. There are many expressions of deep personal feeling, an unfailing reliance upon the mercy and goodness of God to which he and those who shared his work with him looked for help and guidance in difficult ways too often beset with grievous disappointments. Its phrases often seem stilted to our unaccustomed ears, but there is throughout a genuineness which

mands our respect and compels our sympathy, and here and there we catch such glimpses of his surroundings as are of no small interest in picturing men and manners among those rude neighbors of Buffalo in its early years.

On the day following his arrival he met with the natives for purposes of worship. He tells us that these services were held in their council house about a mile distant from the station and his first impressions were not unfavorable: "Congregation very attentive during service to the subject treated of. Much more order than could have been expected from persons so ignorant and no more accustomed to discipline, but it is natural and perhaps constitutional."

During the first year of his service at the mission Mr. Harris found that he had much to learn of Indian ways, but he seems to have been a quick-witted scholar and to have applied himself with conscientious devotion and with much tact to a knowledge of the strange people among whom his lot was cast and to have succeeded in gaining their confidence and trust. Within a week of his arrival a council, which was well attended by the chiefs, was held at the mission house, when his letters from the United Foreign Missionary Society were delivered and explained and the way opened for his work. The principal speakers mentioned by him were "Little Johnson" and the celebrated Captain Pollard, who seems to have been one of the foremost among the Senecas to welcome whatever might lead to their instruction and to the advancement of his people in ways of civilization. In his speech he thanked the Great Spirit who had thus brought them face to face and the good society who had sent a minister "who could explain to them the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ contained in the Good Book," and promised that they would "listen with all possible attention to the explanations which should from time to time be made from the Word of God, for their best good and the salvation of their souls." It was evident that for all of this the way had been opened by the labors of Mr. Hyde during the ten years prior to Mr. Harris's coming, for he found a large and important following among the influential chiefs. Perhaps the most devoted of these throughout his ministry was Seneca

White, who lived until about 1870. On the 12th of November, Mr. Harris reports in his journal an interesting interview with this chief and with his brother, John Seneca White told him "that in his younger days looking around him and seeing so many of his neighbors (white) as well as those of his own nation addicted to proper and sinful practices, some getting drunk, others obeying their parents, others addicted to gamboling and frolicking, etc., he had made up his mind to abstain from these things, to act justly and uprightly with all so far as was in his power; he had seen the great misery which conduct had brought upon those who engaged in it, as well as on their friends; that in looking back upon the conduct which he himself had trod he had some sorrow because he found nothing which could merit anything at the hands of God for he well knew that sin was mixed with all nations . . . and it was his constant wish that his sins might be pardoned and he accepted through Christ."

The Pagan party, under their famous leader, Red Jacket, were by no means inactive, and their persistent opposition continued through many years, brought many difficulties and discouragements to the struggling mission and its adherents. Mr. Harris had brought a letter to the Indians from the U. S. War Department commanding the Indians and the school, and this in no small measure strengthened their hands. On the 5th of December, 1821, Mr. I. had an interesting interview with Captain Jasper Parker, United States Agent for the Six Nations, of whom he said "He appears to be friendly to our establishment and anxious for the improvement of the people. He says that his and mine in regard to this people are one, they both tend to one result, i. e., the happiness and prosperity of the people; only his line of duties lies in one way and mine in another but that both should go on together. He stated a conversation which took place between him and Red Jacket this morning. Jacket came to him and wished to know his opinion, whether he did not think that the Black-coats were not coming in among them in order to take away their lands. He told them it was no such thing, their lands were safe."

to them by Government and that they could not be deprived of them as long as that Government exists. That there is no incumbrance whatever except the right of pre-emption, which only relates to the right of a company's purchasing them provided they wish to sell. He promptly told him that he was an opposer of missionaries who had been sent him by people who wished their best good; that not only so, but that he was opposing Government, who was very desirous of having them instructed and their children. And now you dare to oppose missionaries and societies and Government? Can you, a single man, presume to fly in the face of all these and violently resist them? Ah, well, but what had been the result of those numerous tribes who had received missionaries among them? What had become of them? They are extinct; they are forever gone, so that the name even is no more remembered. Well, and has dissipation and war had no effect in bringing about this catastrophe? Oh, yes, but liquor and sin and swearing all have come in this way. And after giving him a good scolding and telling him that all was in vain and that his people would become Christian in spite of all his efforts they parted 'about as good friends as we met.'"

At this time Little Beard was still living and was the principal chief at the Tonawanda Reservation and on the evening of December 10th, he came to see Mr. Harris who says of him that "he appears to be an honest candid man; he said he was very glad to see me and wished to let me know that his people wish to have a school-master from the Board,—a good Christian man, not lazy but swift, and one that knew a good deal and who would not set an example to his boys by which they would be induced to drink rum; this he said, 'no good.'"

On the following morning the missionary was gratified at receiving a visit from Young King, who seemed much pleased at the prospect of improvement and said: "Ten year ago Indians no work, no fence, no cattle, no corn,—all dark. Now good many cattle and boys some work,—by and by, maybe ten years,—boys work, make good roads and good fence, and have everything good."

At the mission station, besides Mr. and Mrs. Harris and the teacher, Mr. Young and his wife, there were two assistants, Miss Van Patten and Miss Reeve, who had been sent especially to instruct the Indian women in spinning and weaving and similar industries. When the Indians gathered at the mission house on Christmas day "it was proposed to them that as the mission house was more central to the three villages and as it would much accommodate them in bringing their children to and from Sunday school, and as it would better suit our women, some of whom were feeble and in ill health and not able to walk so far, it could perhaps with a little expense be as suitable a place for publick worship as any other and as it would be likely to accommodate both the people and the mission family, the question was put to them whether they would agree to meet here or at the Council house, and whether they would consent to assist in moving the school house, which stood at Mr. Hyde's former residence, for the purpose of a weave shop for the squaws?" The answer, which required a fortnight's deliberation, did not savor of that gratitude which the minister expected. They thought the council house, a mile distant, was good enough for them and should be for any one else: there was nothing in it which could be stolen, and that the mission women could afford to walk a mile for the sake of doing good, while the removal of Mr. Hyde's school house would be a useless trouble and expense. Mr. Harris thought their reply savored of "considerable impudence," but there was no help for it; the services were held at the distant council house and a new school house was begun at the station. The work had been interrupted by reason of the recent changes, but by appointment Mr. Young opened school April 10, 1821, with fifteen or sixteen scholars, with the understanding that as soon as the building was ready the children should be received in the mission family instead of returning from day to day, but when the time came a council was held May 22 and the chiefs gravely informed the missionary that they did not wish to have their children instructed in agriculture as reading and writing were quite sufficient for the purpose.

of the Gospel. Moreover, they were unwilling to have the schoolmaster correct their children and the outcome seems to be summed up in the brief entry in Mr. Harris's journal, May 23rd: "Mr. Young ready to go into school, but no children came." Prejudices and misunderstandings stood in the way, and it was not until July 1st that after many councils with the chiefs, fifteen children were sent by their parents to live with the mission family. By the 10th of July twenty-four had been received and the journal comments very hopefully upon their seeming intelligence and interest. None the less they were Indian children, resentful of discipline, and only a week had passed when several of the boys deserted the school, with such bad effect in the way of example that September 24th all the girls ran away, to the great grief of the good missionary and the teacher who found little help and less comfort in appealing to Indian parents, who manifestly did not care.

On the 2nd of November, 1821, the first report of the mission to the Government was made in the form of a letter to the Secretary of War of which a copy has been preserved. This is of much interest as a picture of the actual situation at that early day:

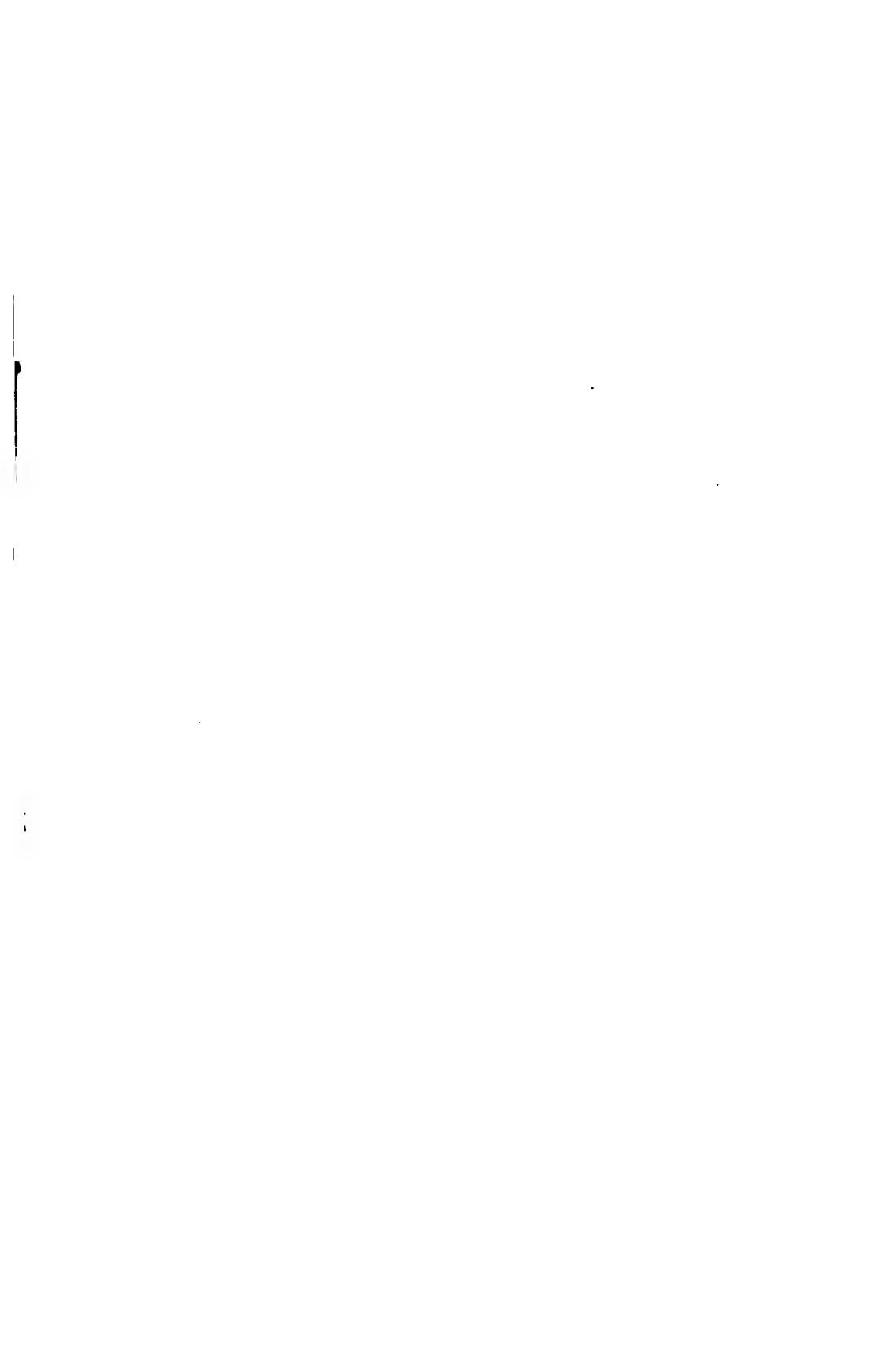
The establishment with which the undersigned have the happiness as well as honor to be connected, under the superintendence and patronage of the United Foreign Missionary Society, is situated about four miles east of Buffalo on the Indian Reservation, in that vicinity. Its immediate site is within 70 rods of one of the branches of the Buffalo Creek which enters into the lake at Buffalo, and is nearly central to the whole population on the Reservation. The number of individuals which are at present employed in educating the Indians at the station consists in all of six souls: a minister of the Gospel and wife, and one infant child; a teacher and wife and one female assistant. Of these the teacher and wife have been on the ground three years, the others have been but one. The teacher on his arrival was directed to erect a block-house 24 by 28 for the accommodation of his family and school and to open a local school on the usual plan; the children coming every morning and returning again at night. In the course of time this method of conducting the school was found to be deficient, because it did not nor could not secure the punctual attendance of the

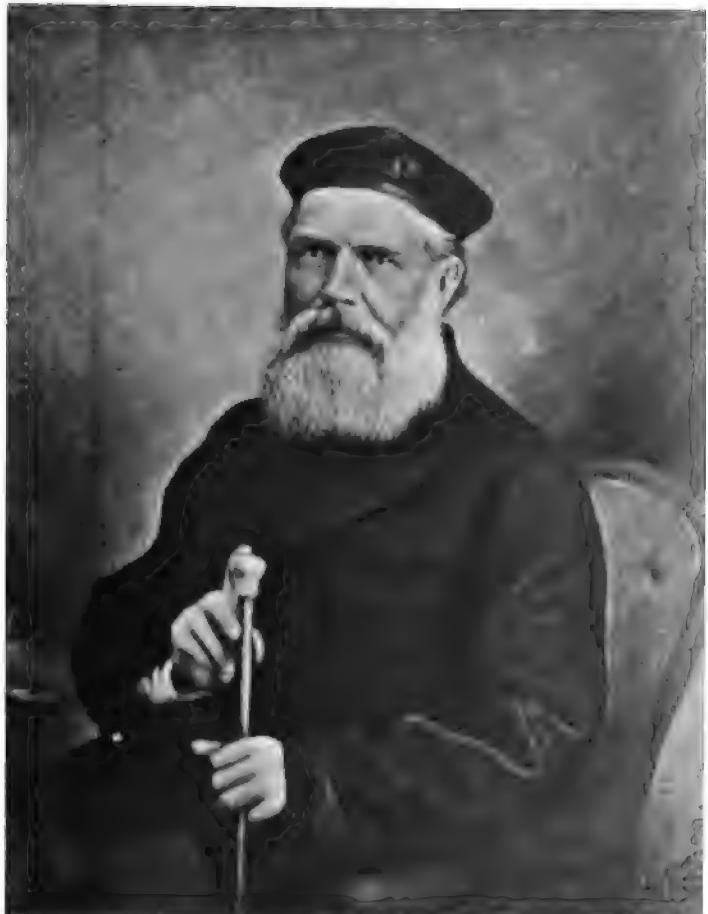
children, scattered as they were over the Reservation. It was judged proper by our Board that a frame house should be sufficiently capacious for the accommodation of the minister many scholars as should be judged expedient to receive under superintendence of the family and to conduct the establishment upon the plan projected at the South and with which the Executive is in some measure acquainted. The necessary buildings were completed for the reception of the youth on the 1st of July, 1848, about 20 children taken under the immediate care of a Christian family.

Upon the present plan of instruction it is our calculation primarily to introduce the children to the knowledge of the English language and to open to them through this school sources of information which are so highly valued by the Directors of youth in this happy republick, believing that (it) is of highest importance that the children among the Six Nations be rounded as they are by a dense population of whites, should be made acquainted as early as possible with the language of the community, with which they will in time in all probability be conversant.

This plan of instruction also supposes it highly proper together with the advantages to be received in the training of a Christian family, the children should be taught the common branches of agriculture and be made acquainted with those mechanics which may be of inestimable use in promoting their civilization. That the influence of sober and industrious habits they may learn to support themselves by cultivating the small remains of that soil whose whole of which they were once the sole proprietors, but which have been too often diverted from them by the cruel hand of avenging sold through their own ignorance, for the merest trifle. But the accomplishment of all this much time, labor and additional expense will be indispensably necessary. To complete the establishment under our superintendence it would seem important that no less than different teachers should be employed in this work. Particular attention is needed in connection with the establishment, not only to lessen the expenditures of the mission which are increasing but also by having a well cultivated farm in immediate vicinity natives may be excited to those industrious habits which are seemingly calculated to raise them to a level with enlightened

The improvements belonging to the establishment consist principally of the aforementioned buildings, together with a garden, a grove and about 12 acres enclosed with a substantial fence, an orchard and meadow. It was not discovered till a pa-





REV. ASHER WRIGHT,
MISSIONARY TO THE SENECAS, 1831-1875.

buildings had been commenced that the site selected for their erection was composed of a bed of almost solid limestone with a thin layer of earth above. Much labor and expense have been necessary in digging the cellar and well, the first of which only is completed.

The moveable property belonging to the establishment chiefly consists of implements of husbandry intended for the boys; a loom, wheels and the necessary apparatus for the instruction of the girls and a set of carpenters' and shoemakers' tools, together with those articles of household furniture which would be found indispensable for a family of 30 persons.

For the full accomplishment of the objects embraced in our plan much time, patience, perseverance and more funds than we can at present command, are absolutely necessary. For the further prosecution of our measures we look with confident and buoyant hopes to the foster hand of Government, which has been so long, and we hope faithfully, extended for the protection and relief of its red children, will not be withdrawn from patronizing those institutions which have been formed for the amelioration of our Indian brothers which, in the language of a member of our board, "are in the full tide of successful operation."

To this work we have devoted ourselves for life, expecting no other reward than that of an approving conscience in the discharge of our duty, hoping and believing that in the use of the proper means many will yet arise from among this people who shall continue to enlighten and bless this nation down to the latest generations.

Sir, Yours most respectfully,

T. S. HARRIS,
JAS. YOUNG.

The year 1823 proved to be an important one in the history of the mission, bringing some realization of the hopes of its leaders, and witnessing the first organization of a church society among these Indians of its especial care. The laxity of the marriage relation among them had been the cause of great solicitude with Mr. Harris, who had earnestly remonstrated with the chiefs over the extent of this evil and its unhappy consequences. On the 6th of January after one of their meetings, nine of the young men expressed their desire to be married by him "in a lawful Christian manner, for the purpose of setting their own minds at rest and also as an example to their nation." There is a

touch of homely humor in the narrative as given in Mr. Harris's journal. "They concluded by asking if it would be in our power to gratify their wish of preparing a supper for the parties to be married, provided they found the provisions. They were told that we would be disposed to gratify their wishes as might appear to be proper. They would at once see the propriety of our not adapting any of the funds of the Board to such an object. But as they had generously offered to contribute all the materials of a supper on this occasion I would leave it with our females on whom the burden would chiefly fall, to say whether it would be in their power to gratify their wishes in this respect or not. Upon the sisters expressing their consent they left us exceedingly pleased." The school also seemed to prosper in its small way and March 10th Mr. Harris writes: "Our school is certainly becoming more and more tractable: the whole number is 17. The progress they make in the knowledge of household business and in the various branches of study which occupy their attention the most of the day is truly gratifying. There is one class of six or seven who read fluently in the N. Testament, another who spell in words of two or three syllables and one or two beginners. They also make tolerable progress in learning the English language."

The teacher, Mr. James Young, had been for some time engaged in preparing a hymn book in the Seneca language. This work had been attempted by Mr. Hyde as early as 1820 as well as the translation of portions of the Holy Scriptures. In that year, as we have already seen, Mr. Alden wrote that Mr. Hyde printed 100 copies of these selections with the Seneca and English in opposite columns and in addition had composed and published seven hymns in Seneca. It is much to be regretted that no copy of either of these publications is known to be in existence. On the 27th of March, 1823, Mr. Harris writes in his journal: "At the close of the singing this evening we had the satisfaction to state to the congregation that the printing of the India Hymn Book prepared by the teacher for the use of the school and for the congregation was now completed.

was also stated that the printing and binding of the whole number of copies (which is 500) will cost near \$40.00 and that as only \$20.00 had been appropriated by a few benevolent white men for this object, we expected that they would assist us in defraying part of the expense of printing; that they might either agree to pay the remaining sum in whole or in part to take the books at 25c apiece, not however before they had examined them a little for themselves and see whether they could derive benefit from them. One or two of the hymns were then interpreted and sung by those who can read, verse by verse. They appeared exceedingly pleased and pronounced it 'was good' and said that they should cheerfully take upon themselves to pay at least part of the expense; but supposed that as the books would be equally useful to all the Seneca nation on the five reservations it appeared proper that the expense should be divided, not that one should be eased, and another burdened, but that all should pay an equal portion. They therefore advised that the teacher keep the books in his possession until the approaching June council when the necessary expense should be defrayed out of their annuities."

But one copy of this hymn book is known to be in existence now,* but in 1829 the American Tract Society republished what is doubtless the same, "Hymns in the Seneca Tongue by James Young," the collection comprising twenty-nine hymns or psalms in Seneca, with the English versions on opposite pages, the same volume containing "Christ's Sermon on the Mountain, translated into the Seneca Tongue by T. S. Harris and J. Young," in which the Seneca and English versions also face each other. A copy of this edition of 1829 was found in the leaden box placed in 1855 in the cornerstone of the Thomas Asylum when this first of its buildings was demolished and the box opened in 1901.

Sunday, the 10th of April, 1823, was the date of forming the first church organization among the Seneca Indians. Mr. Harris tells us that it was a delightful spring morning. "About 12 o'clock the people had pretty generally collected to view the solemn feast, everything having been previously

*Owned by the Buffalo Historical Society.

arranged. Discourse from I. Cor. 6-20: 'For ye are brought with a price, therefore glorify God in your body and in your spirit which are God's.' After sermon the candidates were called forward and questioned on some of the plainer truths of the Bible and as to the sincerity of their desire to devote themselves to God in that covenant which is well ordered and sure in all things. After expressing their assent, the nature of baptism was explained more fully to their comprehension. They then knelt down one by one and were baptized in the name of the Father, the Son and Holy Ghost and were invited to the table. It was still and solemn and our prayer is that our God and father would condescend to ratify in heaven the sincere service of us frail imperfect mortals here on earth. The audience consisting of 150 persons was as solemn and orderly as could be reasonably expected. Thank God that he has planted his infant church in this heathen land. Look down O Lord and visit this vine and the vineyard which thy right hand has planted. Next Sabbath was appointed for baptising the young children of these who were for the first time admitted to the sealing ordinances of the church."

Besides Mr. and Mrs. Harris and Mr. and Mrs. Young, there were now in the mission family as assistants, Miss Phœbe Selden of Hartford, Conn., and Miss Asenath Bishop from Homer, N. Y. Four of the Indian chiefs were at this time admitted to church fellowship: Seneca White, of whom Mr. Harris wrote: "He is decidedly the nearest earthly friend we have in this country and the pillar of his people"; John Seneca, who was Seneca White's brother; James Stephenson and Tall Peter. There were, therefore, ten members of this church at its first organization. In 1824 Henry Twoguns and Captain Pollard were admitted to fellowship and Pollard's wife joined the church in the following year with two others. Among the five who were added to its membership in 1826 were White Seneca, another brother of Seneca White, and their father the old White Chief, who was generally known as "Father White." Mr. Harris says of him: "This man is above 80 years of age, is a white man, was taken captive by the Indians in their

wars, has lived with them ever since, grew up to be a mighty hunter and great warrior and has long been a chief of much influence and is yet a sensible affectionate and friendly old man." In 1827 twenty-two were added to their number, including Seneca White's mother and his wife, also the wife of Red Jacket. In 1828 nine were added, bringing the membership up to fifty-two persons. On the 10th of October, 1823, Mr. Harris writes: "For the first time since our location among this people Red Jacket has this day paid us a visit and given us the privilege of a short interview. He appears rather friendly than otherwise, but we are quite suspicious nevertheless that his heart is secretly at work in endeavoring to execute his dark designs of mischief and opposition." In this he was not mistaken, for two days later Seneca White reported that Red Jacket had proposed to the young chiefs of the Christian party that they should turn the teachers "neck and heels out of doors," take their buildings and let a young man (Jacob Jemison), who had been away at school teach the children, pay him out of the annuity money and have "a respectable school without the interference of these malicious Black Coats whose only aim is to entrap us with their pretended displays of friendship, that they may the more successfully practise their frauds and impositions and eventually lay us waste forever."

This attempt failed, but a few months later this wily leader of the Pagan party succeeded for a time in his plans of opposition. In 1821 a law had been enacted forbidding the residence of white men upon Indian lands. This, Mr. Harris says, had been introduced "for the express purpose of gratifying Red Jacket." In the early winter of 1822 a petition had been presented to the Legislature from the principal chiefs of the Christian party, signed also, it would appear, by "the friends of Christianity and civilization in this and adjoining counties" praying that the law be altered "so that ministers of the Gospel and mechanics of good moral character might be excepted." This failed of success and the statute remaining unchanged, Red Jacket and his followers with whom "some white pagans joined," entered a formal complaint against the mission family remaining on

the reservation, so that February 23, 1824, the District Attorney, Heman B. Potter, notified Mr. Harris of this, adding, "I don't see but that I must proceed to remove you, but I advised postponement till I could write you, but after a reasonable time to hear from you I shall be obliged to proceed."

This was a crushing blow, but there was no escaping it. By the middle of March, 1824, the mission was broken up. An appeal to the Legislature had been made without success, but a year later the law was changed and Mr. Harris returned to the mission house to resume his work in June, 1825.*

The schoolteacher, Mr. James Young, did not return to the mission with Mr. Harris at this time and his place was filled by Gilman Clark, who served until in 1827 he was compelled to resign "on account of ill health." An important coadjutor at this time was Hanover Bradley, who with his wife (Catharine Wheeler) had joined the family at Christmas, 1823, as steward and farmer, afterward becoming a catechist and always rendering valuable service to the struggling mission. The other assistants were Miss Asenath Bishop, who came February 23, 1823, and remained eighteen years until November, 1841, and Miss Nancy Henderson, who served for six years from 1824 until 1830. To these were afterward added Miss Phoebe Selden, 1826 to 1833; Miss Emily Root, 1827 to 1833; and Miss Rebecca Newhall, 1828 to 1832. From 1828 to 1830 or 1831 a Mr. Morton was in charge of the school and his wife was one of the assistants.

Upon his return Mr. Harris was given a general superintendence of the missions at Cattaraugus and the Tuscarora village in addition to his own at Seneca, and from this time his journals describe his frequent visits to the more distant stations where he saw many hopeful signs of progress. The Society of Friends had done much for the material and moral elevation of the Indians, especially on the Allegheny and later on the Cattaraugus reservations, but their quiet ways were not his own and one may read between the lines

**Missionary Herald*, Vol. 20, pp. 132-162.

a certain satisfaction with which he records the shrewdness of logic shown by one of his own flock of whom he says: "In a conversation by one of these young converts with a Quaker, the latter stated to him his view of the work of the spirit under the similitude of a cord let down from heaven and attached to every man's heart and that when this cord was touched by the finger of God the motion was invariably felt at the lower extremity. 'It may be so,' said the man, 'but I still have my doubts whether that is just so. I have been a good deal accustomed to fishing. I have frequently cast in my hook well baited; I have sometimes felt very certain after it has sunk from my sight that I felt the bite of a fish. On examination I found I had no fish and the bait undiminished. Now it might possibly have been a fish that thus deceived me or it might have been the Devil. So, friend, I am afraid the Devil has more to do with this cord you speak of than you think for.' "

July 31, 1826, the United States Foreign Missionary Society was merged in the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and these Indian missions were then formally transferred to that control.

September 15, 1826, Mr. Harris writes in his journal: "It seems that our Mission School is considered by the host of strangers who visit these regions in the travelling season as a great curiosity and with many we hope a matter of special and delightful interest. The proximity of our Station to the Village of Buffalo affords great facility of gratifying those who are capable of being wrought upon by the novelty of an Indian School. Scarce a day passes but several carriages stand at our yard fence loaded with visitors. To-day the school has exhibited before about 30 persons, among whom we had the pleasure of counting the Hon. the Secy. of the Navy of the United States* and suite, who expressed themselves highly gratified with the intelligent countenances and the agreeable and surprising proficiency of the children. A young gentleman, a native of England, appeared so much interested as to stay the greater part of the

*Samuel Lewis Southard.

day and left with the mission on his departure a donation of \$10.00."

March 5, 1827, he mentions that at their monthly concert of prayer held at the council house a request was made that those should rise who wished Christians to pray for them. "Among the rest was the wife of the celebrated pagan chief, Red Jacket, who says that she feels she must repent; that she is an old and wicked sinner, and wishes to be remembered in the prayers of Christians. There is something peculiar in the case of this woman. She has for a long time had great struggles of conscience in conforming to heathenish customs. But she states she has done it out of regard to the feelings of her husband by whom she was overawed. She has recently conversed with him on her desires to become a Christian. He has told her plumply that the moment she publicly professes such an intention, that moment will terminate forever their connection as man and wife. She has deliberately made up her mind to seek the salvation of her soul and if he leaves her for it he must go. She hopes to gain more than he has to give her; the salvation of her soul she views of far more importance than all that; the Lord Jesus she must seek and hazard all consequences. I understand that her husband has really fulfilled his threat, and we humbly trust that He who said 'he that loveth father or mother, son or daughter, husband or wife more than Me is not worthy of Me' will strengthen her to take up her cross and bear it. She is about 50 years old."

Red Jacket carried out his threat, repudiated his wife and plunged deeper than ever into dissolute dissipation. It is worthy of note, however, that before his death he returned to his wife and to her home, where he ended his days, un-reconciled, however, to the last that his people should have departed from the pagan faith and pagan customs of the ancestors. May 20, 1827, Mr. Harris tells us that there were at that time 70 or 80 scholars at the mission school and adds, "It is our intention if the Lord will and provides they pursue the subject until they are able to read, to tempt a translation of certain parts of the Sacred Scripture into their language." The first results of this worthy int

tion were seen in the translation of the Sermon on the Mount which was published in 1829, as before noted, by the American Tract Society, together with the 29 hymns translated by Mr. Young. In November, 1829, the Gospel of St. Luke, translated by Mr. Harris into Seneca, was also published by the American Tract Society in an edition of 1,000 copies.

It is much to be regretted that with the exception of a few scattering leaves the journal of Mr. Harris subsequent to 1827 cannot be found and that similar journals were not written by his successors. Further details of the Seneca Mission for the most part only can be found in the scanty notes published at times in the columns of the *Missionary Herald*. In 1828 Mr. Harris reported: "The chiefs and people resolved to build a small chapel to cost \$1700.00 by subscription among themselves, to be 41 by 51 ft., one story, arched ceiling, vestibule, small tower, cupola, bell and etc.: to be painted and to hold 400 persons: to be paid for \$1000.00 in cash and the rest in lumber."* February 19, 1829, his report states that "many of the people are away furnishing lumber for the meeting house."† This was the old Seneca church painted white, with belfry and bell, which stood until recent years north of Seneca Street, in about the middle of what is now called the Indian Church Road, near the old Indian Cemetery. Its completion is thus noted in the *Buffalo Patriot*: "The new meeting house at the Seneca Mission near Buffalo was dedicated to the worship of Almighty God on Wednesday, August 19th [1829]. Rev. T. S. Harris, Supt. preached from Genesis xxviii.-17. ["This is none other but the house of God and this is the gate of heaven."] Rev. S. Eaton of Buffalo and Rev. Hiram Smith of Collins assisted. Singing by the natives. Cost little more than \$1600.00 and (except about \$270.00) was defrayed by the Indians."‡

By reason of some dissatisfaction which had arisen

**Missionary Herald*, Vol. 24, p. 150.

†*Missionary Herald*, Vol. 25, p. 215.

‡*Missionary Herald*, Vol. 25, p. 334. When the Senecas were forced to abandon the Buffalo Reservation, 1843-4, the building was suffered to fall into decay, and was finally blown down. The gilded arrow which was its weather-vane is now preserved by the Buffalo Historical Society.

among the Christian Indians, Mr. Harris resigned from their ministry June 28, 1830, and for some months the mission was in charge of Mr. Hanover Bradley, the steward and catechist. By the records of the American Board it would appear that at this time Rev. Hiram Smith, Rev. Joseph Lane and Rev. John Elliot were in service there for short periods, but no details of their services are preserved.

On the 9th of November, 1831, began the long ministry of Rev. Asher Wright, which lasted for forty-four years and until his death, April 13, 1875. To this life work of devotion to the spiritual and mental elevation of an alien race he brought rare qualities of mind and heart, an untiring patience, a gentleness of soul with a firmness of purpose that endeared him to the people to whom he ministered, so that by those of that ministry who still live and by the children of those who have passed away, his name and memory are still held in an enduring affection.

He was born at Hanover, N. H., in 1803, and had but just graduated from Andover Seminary. He brought his young wife (Martha Egerton of Randolph, Vt.,) with him, but two months after their arrival she died and January 21, 1833, he married again. His second wife, Laura M. Sheldon of St. Johnsbury, Vt., (born 1809) was well suited to be his helpmeet and the sharer of his labors. This gentle soul became no less than he; a missionary in the truest sense of the word. Especially was she devoted to the welfare, physical, mental and moral, of the Indian women and the Indian children with whom henceforth her life was passed. They became her people who loved her as she loved them. For their good no self-sacrifice upon her part was too great. No one in suffering or need, in distress of body or sorrow of soul ever appealed to her in vain, and her earnest labors in works of charity and love bore rich and lasting fruit. She outlived her husband many years, but her endeavors for those she too had learned to love never ceased until her death, January 21, 1886. Those of us who were so fortunate as to know her in her later years, gentle and kindly in her ways and venerable with the snows of age, remember

that sweet face as one would remember the features of a saint.

The coming of Mr. Wright to the Seneca Mission brought immediate results. In 1832, thirty-five new members were added to the little church, among whom were the celebrated chiefs, Young King, Captain Billy and Destroy Town: among them also was an Indian youth, James Young, educated at the Mission School, who evidently had taken the name of his instructor, the first schoolmaster, and is mentioned by Mr. Wright as "James Young, the scholar who aided Brother Harris in his translation of the Gospel of St. Luke."*

The building, still preserved (1903) and known to us as the "old Mission House" which stands on the west side of Buffum Street, north of Seneca and diagonally opposite to the former Indian Cemetery, was built after Mr. Wright's arrival at the station. Mrs. Martha E. Parker, widow of Nicholson H. Parker, and Mrs. Wright's favorite niece, who came to join the mission family in 1836, when as a girl of fifteen she was adopted by her aunt, states that this building was erected in 1833. Mrs. Parker is still living on the Cattaraugus Reservation and although she is well past eighty years of age, her memory is very clear and stores up many reminiscences of those early days of the Seneca Mission. The earlier buildings have disappeared, but this remains in good condition throughout and is so closely associated with interesting features of our local history that if possible it should be preserved.

For thirteen years after its erection the Senecas retained their lands on the Buffalo Creek and during all that time the mission house was the center of all the formative civilizing influences which helped to advance these Indians toward self-helpful and better lives. Here their children were taught farm and garden work as well as to read and to write English; here the Indian women and girls were taught to spin and weave, to knit and to sew; and here all heard the message of the Gospel as it was told them by Mr. Wright and those who were his helpers.

**Missionary Herald*, Vol. 28, p. 407.

It was soon after Mrs. Wright's coming to the Seneca Mission in 1833 that she saw the famous captive Mary Jemison, the "White Woman of the Genesee." She was on her death bed and grieved at heart because she could not remember the prayer she had learned at her mother's knee. On the night of their capture her mother had told her that she thought she herself would be killed, but her child's life might be spared and bade her never to forget her name or her childhood's prayer. In the weary years of a long life among the strange people that had become her own, it had been forgotten, but when Mrs. Wright kneeled at her side and repeated the Lord's prayer, the memories of childhood returned and the tears streamed down the aged, furrowed cheeks as she said, "That is the prayer my mother taught me."

Scarcely less touching was the story of that other captive, the old White Chief, as told by Mrs. Wright. He was the father of Seneca White, John Seneca and White Seneca, and as Mr. Harris's journal relates, Father White had been an early friend of the Mission, becoming himself a Christian and adopting in his age the ways of civilized life as did his children. He had been, Mrs. Wright says, very tall with a fine, erect form, and delicate features. He was naturally very white, and when young had long brown hair, although when the missionaries first saw him it was white as snow. He was amiable and affectionate in disposition and the Indians testified that his whole life had been remarkably upright. He told Mrs. Wright his story and she recorded it in the simple, pathetic way in which it was told. He was a very small child when he was made captive and it was but natural that growing up among the Senecas, he had become, as Mary Jemison had become, bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh. He could remember his mother, but he had never been able to learn who his parents were or where they had lived, save that it was in the Susquehanna Valley. When he became a Christian he was much impressed with the thought that this had been the religion of his parents and kindred and that he might now be able to find in another world the friends from whom he had been separated.

in this. When he was dying he sent in haste for Mr. and Mrs. Wright who found him in tears: "One thing," said he, "gives me great uneasiness. I understand no language but the Indian. I am afraid when I go into the other world that I shall not be able to communicate with my own white friends, because I shall not understand their language."

The missionaries comforted him by their assurances that in heaven one would be understood by all and that all would be the children of God, and so brought peace to his troubled soul as it fared forth on that last great journey.*

In those years both Mr. and Mrs. Wright travelled on horseback through the swamps and forests on their errands of mercy, carrying in their saddlebags the food and medicine for which need had arisen, visiting the log cabins of the Indians or the distant log school houses which had been built at Onondaga village, Jack Berry's town and elsewhere, where the assistants, Asenath Bishop, Rebecca Newhall and Phoebe Selden, lived and taught. It must have been lonely housekeeping, for some of them were miles away from the mission house, but once a week on Friday evening, all gathered at that central station and spent the night there; and Mrs. Parker, then Martha Hoyt, who was the housekeeper, was like Martha of old, "troubled about many things" in the limitations of a self-denying housekeeping, where bread, pork and potatoes were the prevailing diet and where tea, coffee, pies, cake, sugar and asparagus were forbidden luxuries that "were not allowed in the house." Eggs were not excluded as sinful luxuries, but think of custards without sugar! or of a "warm drink" made with hemlock tips! She says that the big Dutch oven was kept very busy baking for the weekly gathering so that there might be an abundance for the Friday supper and that the faithful teachers might be able to take some good biscuit back with them when they returned to their own solitary housekeeping on Saturday morning.

Mr. Wright had a natural aptitude for linguistic study and, it is said, was master of seven languages. He soon ac-

*H. S. Caswell, "Our Life Among the Iroquois," pp. 53-56.

†Caswell, "Our Life Among the Iroquois," p. 23.

quired a familiarity with the Seneca tongue and under his instruction his wife, like himself, became adept in its use. They overcame its difficulties so that Mr. Wright was able to preach to his dusky flock in their own speech. One of his noteworthy labors was the elaboration of a peculiar system of orthography for the written language with its various accents, more perfect in this respect than that which had been used by Mr. Hyde and Mr. Harris, and the first book printed in this way was a small primer in paper covers 7 by 4½ inches in size, prepared at Boston in 1836 for the use of the mission school. A literal translation of the Seneca title page is: "Beginning Book, Mrs. Wright she wrote. Mr. Jimerson he translated. The old men they printed. Boston their reside at, 1836." They keenly felt the need of printing facilities that should be near at hand and under their own control and the way opening by which they were enabled to procure a hand printing press, in 1841 Mr. Wright installed the Mission Press; equipped with fonts of especially prepared type for printing books and papers in the Seneca tongue. Mr. Benjamin C. Van Duzee came in that year to reside at the mission house and was employed as a printer. The press was set up in a "lean-to" attached to the house and its earliest publication was the first number of a small eight-page periodical entitled "Ne Jaguhnigoages-gwathah," "The Mental Elevator," which thus began its career November 30, 1841. This first number states on its last page: "This paper is printed at the Seneca Mission Station. It is the first effort of the sort in the Seneca language and is designed exclusively for the spiritual and intellectual benefit of the Indians. Will not Christian friends aid us with their prayers?"

Of the Mental Elevator nineteen eight-page numbers were printed in all. They appeared at irregular intervals, nine of them having been printed at the Buffalo Creek Reservation, the ninth number bearing date April 1, 1845. In 1846, when the Buffalo Creek Reservation was given up, the press was removed to the Cattaraugus Reservation, where it continued in its useful work, and there ten more numbers of the Mental Elevator were published, the first at the Cat-

taraugus station, being Number 10, June 3, 1846, and the final issue, Number 19, April 15, 1850. In this series was published a translation into Seneca of the first eight chapters of Genesis and part of the ninth, also the 19th and 20th chapters of Exodus, the Epistle General of St. James and some shorter passages of Scripture. No. 2 contains the Lord's Prayer in Tuscarora verse; No. 4 gives the Seneca version of Dr. Watts's hymn, "Go, preach my gospel," etc. Numbers 6, 8, 9, 10, 15 and 19 contain articles in Seneca with the English on the opposite page; and a few notices, obituaries, etc., in English occur.

Among the publications of the Mission Press while at the Buffalo Creek Reservation, the following are known:

Go'-wana-gwa'-he'-sat'-hah Yon-de'-yas-dah'-gwah. A Spelling Book in the Seneca Language with English definitions. Buffalo Creek Reservation, Mission Press, 1842.

Regarding this Mrs. Wright wrote in 1855: "This work is still unfinished. These sheets contain the definitions of several hundred Seneca words and a tolerably complete explanation of the grammatical principles of the language, except the verb. In respect to the verb no complete analysis has yet been effected nor is there much reason to expect the accomplishment of this object until some competent Seneca scholar shall have become a universal grammarian."

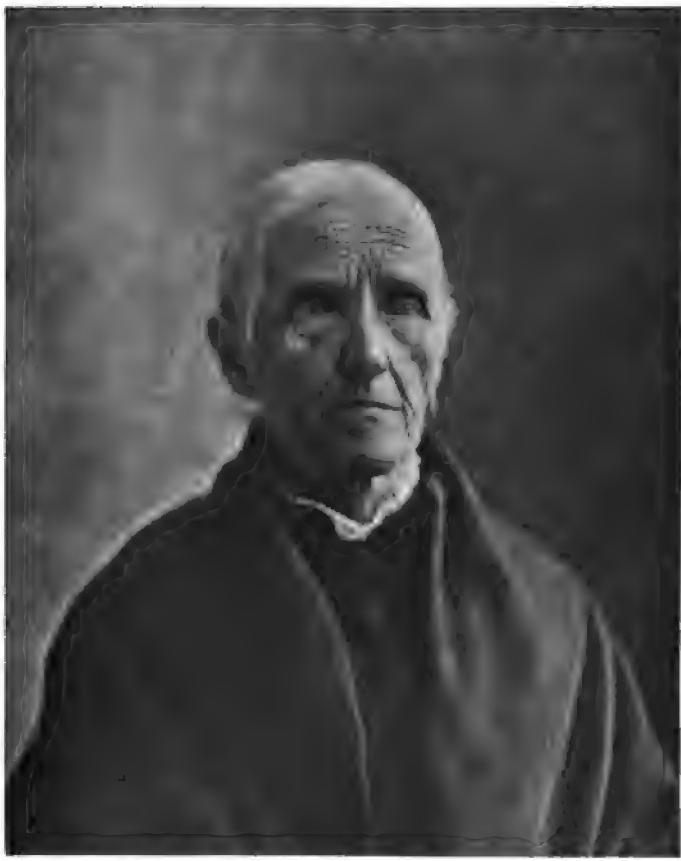
In 1843 the Mission Press issued a new edition (the third) of the Seneca Hymn Book which had originally been prepared by Rev. T. S. Harris and James Young. It was now enlarged to contain 111 hymns and was a small book $5\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in size, bound in sheep covers. In 1844 Mr. Wright published a small sixteen-page pamphlet containing such portions of the Revised Statutes as related to gambling, horse-racing, profanity, disturbance of the peace, etc., stating in his preface that it was done to encourage his people "to act the part of sober and respectable inhabitants of a civilized community." Its title is: "Extracts from the Revised Statutes of the State of New York, Volume I. Part I. Chapter XX, Title VIII. Of the Prevention and punishment of immorality and disorderly practices. Seneca Mission Press, 1844."

In 1846 when the Buffalo Creek Mission was finally closed, the Mission Press was taken by Mr. Wright to the Cattaraugus Reservation, where, as has been noted, the publication of the Mental Elevator was continued and other pamphlets and books were issued. Among these were the gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark in pamphlet form, 8 by 5 inches, without covers and without date. Mr. Van Duzee went with the press to the Cattaraugus and while he remained as printer, there was issued in February, 1847, "The First Book for Indian Schools. Printed at the Mission Press, Cattaraugus Reservation, 1847." This little book, 5½ by 3½ inches in size, in paper covers, contains in its 72 pages a thoughtful preface by Mr. Wright explaining some of the difficulties in teaching Indian children; a series of lessons for their use and a number of English poems. Mr. Van Duzee was soon succeeded by another printer, Mr. H. M. Morgan. Then the press was taken to Gowanda, where Mr. Morgan printed a still later edition of the Seneca Hymn Book in a cloth-bound volume, 6 x 4 inches, (without date) containing 232 pages and about 129 hymns, also a series of periodical pamphlets containing selections from Scripture and hymns in the Seneca tongue.

The press was finally destroyed by fire while still at Gowanda.

The treaty of Buffalo Creek, January 15, 1838, as amended June 11, 1838, ratified by the United States Senate and proclaimed by President Van Buren in April, 1839, came very near accomplishing the removal of all the Indians of the Buffalo Creek and the other Western New York reservations from the State. So much dishonest corruption had entered into this sale of these reservations to the Ogden Land Company, that the strenuous efforts of those who exposed the frauds practiced, especially the endeavors of the Society of Friends in Philadelphia and Baltimore, finally resulted in the compromise treaty of May 20, 1842, by which the Senecas retained the Allegheny and Cattaraugus lands, giving up the Buffalo Creek and Tonawanda reservations to the Ogden Land Company, although the Tonawanda Senecas ultimately regained their land by purchase. It had

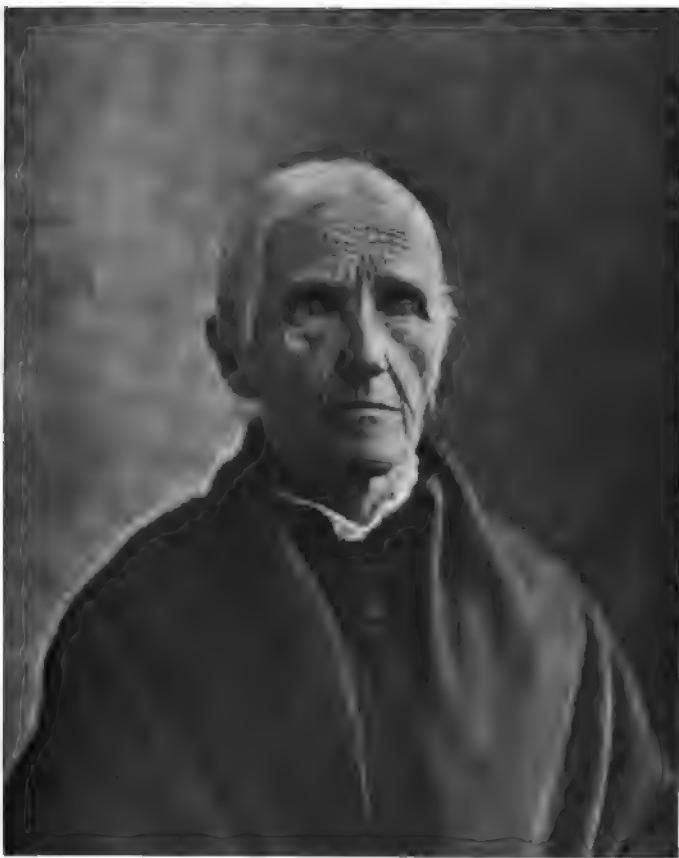




MRS. ASHER WRIGHT.

been a trying time for the missionaries, who had used every exertion to aid the more honest of the chiefs in their hard-fought struggle. The four years which followed the treaty of 1842 were years of bitterness while the removal of the Indians to the Cattaraugus and the Allegheny was being effected. Mr. and Mrs. Wright with the mission family remained at the Seneca station until 1846, when they, too, with saddened hearts followed their people to the upper station on the Cattaraugus Reservation to continue their self-sacrificing labors there to their life's end.

With their departure the story of the Seneca Mission at Buffalo Creek ends. Fifty-seven years have gone by since that day and have wrought wonderful changes. A great city now includes within its borders what were then the forests and swamps of the Indian reservation and with its well-built streets unheedingly stretches beyond the humble borders of that old time mission. The spreading trees of walnut and oak which even then shaded the mission burying-ground, are still preserved within its deserted enclosure, but the bones of Red Jacket, of Pollard, Young King, Mary Jemison and of all those once famous in council or in war who at last slept beneath their branches, have been taken thence and the place that knew them in life and in death now knows them no more. The old mission house alone still stands, a witness to the self-sacrifice and devotion to works of mercy, charity and love of those who labored there in days long since gone by and with unselfish hearts and humble souls, without hope of other reward than His, sought only to do their Master's bidding.



MRS. ASHER WRIGHT.

been a trying time for the missionaries, who had used every exertion to aid the more honest of the chiefs in their hard-fought struggle. The four years which followed the treaty of 1842 were years of bitterness while the removal of the Indians to the Cattaraugus and the Allegheny was being effected. Mr. and Mrs. Wright with the mission family remained at the Seneca station until 1846, when they, too, with saddened hearts followed their people to the upper station on the Cattaraugus Reservation to continue their self-sacrificing labors there to their life's end.

With their departure the story of the Seneca Mission at Buffalo Creek ends. Fifty-seven years have gone by since that day and have wrought wonderful changes. A great city now includes within its borders what were then the forests and swamps of the Indian reservation and with its well-built streets unheedingly stretches beyond the humble borders of that old time mission. The spreading trees of walnut and oak which even then shaded the mission burying-ground, are still preserved within its deserted enclosure, but the bones of Red Jacket, of Pollard, Young King, Mary Jemison and of all those once famous in council or in war who at last slept beneath their branches, have been taken thence and the place that knew them in life and in death now knows them no more. The old mission house alone still stands, a witness to the self-sacrifice and devotion to works of mercy, charity and love of those who labored there in days long since gone by and with unselfish hearts and humble souls, without hope of other reward than His, sought only to do their Master's bidding.

NARRATIVES OF

EARLY MISSION WORK

ON THE NIAGARA FRONTIER AND

BUFFALO CREEK.

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REV. JOHN OGILVIE, D. D.

FIRST PROTESTANT MINISTER TO VISIT THE NIAGARA REGION (1769).
FROM THE ORIGINAL PAINTING BY COPELEY, OWNED BY THE CORPORATION OF TRINITY
CHURCH, NEW YORK.

NARRATIVES *of* EARLY MISSION WORK ON THE NIAGARA AND BUFFALO CREEK

I.

QUAKERS AMONG THE SENECA.

By FRANK H. SEVERANCE.

The first visit of a Protestant missionary to the region of Buffalo Creek and the Niagara, of which we find record, was that of Rev. Samuel Kirkland, in the summer of 1788.* "His object in this journey was to ascertain, and furnish to the Board of Commissioners in Boston, a particular account of the situation and numbers of the Senecas, their disposition towards the Christian religion, the prospects of usefulness to a missionary residing among them, and also to be present, by invitation and request, at a treaty to be held in their country." ("Life of Samuel Kirkland," by Samuel K. Lothrop, Boston, 1848; p. 281.) He reached the Seneca

*A distinguished Protestant missionary had visited the Niagara in Johnson's army in 1759, but as his coming hither was apparently in the capacity of chaplain to the British troops, and not as a missionary to the Indians, it would be hardly permissible to begin the record with him. This was the Rev. John Ogilvie, a native of New York, and a graduate of Yale College. Being a Dutch scholar, he had been appointed to the mission at Albany in 1748, going thither the following year. In connection with his parish work, he was active for many years as a missionary among the Mohawks. He was a favorite with Sir William Johnson, who in 1756 asked the Lords of Trade to grant him an increase of salary. In 1755-56 we find him often in attendance at councils at Fort Johnson. He joined the expedition against Niagara, and remained with the army until the close of the war. He it undoubtedly was who officiated at the burial of Prideaux at Fort Niagara, being the first Protestant clergyman to conduct religious services on the banks of the Niagara. He became rector of Trinity Church, New York, and shared in translating into Mohawk the Book of Common Prayer. He died Nov. 26, 1774, aged 51. Our engraving is from an oil portrait by Copley, owned by the Corporation of Trinity Church.

village on Buffalo Creek, June 26, 1788. His personal reception was cordial, but the Senecas showed no desire for his form of gospel ministration; "they preferred," says Lothrop, "an Episcopal or Roman Catholic, who would baptise their children without any evidence of personal regeneration in the parents." Mr. Kirkland was a Calvinist, and his earlier missionary work among the Oneidas, and the Senecas at Kanadesaga (near the present town of Geneva, New York), was carried on, as at this time, under the auspices of the "Board of Correspondents, in the Colony of Connecticut, New England, appointed and commissioned by the Honorable Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge," the first Protestant organization, apparently, to concern itself with missionary work in our region.* Mr. Kirkland's visit in 1788 was partly to promote a project of union among Indian tribes; this came to naught, nor is there trace of any further missionary work among the Senecas for some years.

The first work for moral and social betterment among the Indians of Western New York, which can be regarded as bearing fruit, was done by the Society of Friends. As early as 1791, his confidence won by the friendliness of Quakers whom he met while on a visit to Philadelphia, Cornplanter had proposed that they take two Seneca boys to educate. This request turned the attention of the Quakers particularly to the Senecas on the Western New York reservations. Sacarese (various spellings) was chief sachem of the Tuscaroras at this period, and a man of distinction in the especial phase of the history of this region which we are here presenting. In 1794 he attended a treaty at Canandaigua, where he met four Friends from Philadelphia. In William Savery's Journal the following record of this meeting is found: "29th [Oct.]. Sagareesa, or the Sword-carrier, visited us: he appears to be a thoughtful man, and mentioned a desire he had, that some of our young men might come among them as teachers; we supposed he meant as schoolmasters and artisans. Perhaps this intimation may

*For an account of earlier visits by Catholic missionaries, see "Old Trails on the Niagara Frontier," by Frank H. Severance.

be so made use of in a future day, that great good may accrue to the poor Indians, if some religious young men of our Society could, from a sense of duty, be induced to spend some time among them, either as schoolmasters or mechanics." It is, therefore, to Cornplanter, the Seneca, and to Sacarese, the Tuscarora, that credit is due for the first suggestion that resulted after some years in the Quaker establishments on the Alleghany, Cattaraugus and Tuscarora reservations.

In 1795 a committee was appointed by the Yearly Meeting of Friends of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, etc., "for promoting the improvement and gradual civilization of the Indian natives."* Acting under this plan, in May, 1798, three Friends came among the Senecas at the Cornplanter reservation on the Alleghany, obtained permission to settle, and entered upon the work of secular teaching, and helping the Indians to better agricultural methods and ways of living; but there was little, if any, religious instruction, which—as appears from some of the journals printed in the following pages—won for these devoted and practical Quakers the disapproval of later missionaries on Buffalo Creek. The Friends on the Alleghany located at an ancient village called Genesangohta, near the line dividing New York and Pennsylvania, and nearly in the center of the Indian settlements on the Alleghany; their largest town, called Jeneshadago, being nine miles below, some fifteen miles above the present site of Warren, Pa. There they and their successors continued to reside and teach even to the present day.

In 1799 "Friends went from this settlement to the Cata-
rogus [Cattaraugus] River, distant about forty-five miles,
where a large number of Senecas reside, who had requested
a set of sawmill irons and other aid. The chief being gen-
erally from home, a letter was left with a white man at Buf-
faloe, who has been adopted into their nation, informing
them that a set of sawmill irons would be given them when

*"Proceedings of the Committee appointed in the year 1795 by the Yearly Meeting of Friends of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, &c., for promoting the Improvement and Gradual Civilization of the Indian Natives." Second Ed., Phil., 1805.

they were prepared to build a mill; and if they left off their very intemperate use of strong drink it might be some encouragement to help them further."* In 1801 the Friends report that "the resolution against the introduction of strong liquor [on the Alleghany] continues to be supported and it is said the Indians of Buffaloe Creek have also made some stand against it." To these Quaker brothers, beginning with the good counsel of Jacob Lindley at Buffalo in 1797, as appears from his journal, following—is to be credited the first movement for temperance among the Senecas since the Abbé Piquet had preached against the traders' brandy at Fort Niagara in 1751.

In 1803, "Friends visited the Senecas at Buffalo Creek, and found a saw mill just finished, for which we had supplied them with the irons; a visit was also made to the Tonewantas. At both places, and particularly the latter, many had left off the use of whiskey and other strong drink, and were improving in habits of industry."

In 1793, John Parrish, William Savery, John Elliott, Jacob Lindley, Joseph Moore and William Hartshorne, Quakers, were deputized by the Friends' "Meeting for Sufferings," and with the approval of President Washington, to attend a treaty to be held at Sandusky. With John Heckewelder, the famous Moravian missionary, they reached Fort Niagara May 25th, and on June 5th sailed from Fort Erie. Returning, they were again at Fort Erie Aug. 22d, and Messrs. Lindley, Elliott, Moore, and Parrish (John the Quaker, not Jasper the interpreter) made a "religious visit" to Friends on the Canadian side of the Niagara. The best account of this tour is given in the "Journal" of William Savery [London, 1844]. Although some of these Friends engaged in religious and missionary work on the Niagara at this time, it is not recorded that they visited the Senecas on Buffalo Creek. Four years later Jacob Lindley again visited the region, and met the Indians on Buffalo Creek. His journal of this visit is the first of the collection that follows.

*"Proceedings Yearly Meeting of Friends," etc., Philadelphia, 1805.

II. JACOB LINDLEY'S JOURNAL.

HIS ACCOUNT OF HIS "RELIGIOUS VISIT" TO THE
FRIENDS IN CANADA, AND TO INDIANS ON
BUFFALO CREEK, IN 1797.*

On the 13th of the 10th month, 1797, I parted with my dear wife and children, and in company with my beloved friend and fellow-traveller, James Wilson, proceeded[†] to George Valentine's. We spent the evening at Joshua Baldwin's, in company with Jesse Kersey, Isaac Coates and wife, John Baldwin and wife, and Moses Mendenhall. Here also we met with our mutually endeared friend, and companion in the journey, Joshua Sharpless. Next day, went to John Scarlet's, in the Forest, where we dined, and then resumed our journey over a rough road, up the Schuylkill to Reading, and thence to Maiden creek. Lodged at Thomas Lightfoot's; and on the 15th, attended Maiden creek meeting, where we were, I humbly hope, owned of the Master, and refreshed together. Here we met our other companions,

*Several families of Friends had settled in Canada, mostly in the Niagara district and around the west end of Lake Ontario, about the year 1792. There had been subsequent emigration to this section from Pennsylvania and New Jersey. In 1797 the Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia sent a deputation to visit these Friends and enquire into their condition, material and spiritual. James Wilson, three others and Jacob Lindley performed the journey, and it is the latter's account of it that we here print. He had been on the Niagara four years previously, as we have shown (*ante*, p. 168.) Another committee, consisting of Isaac Coates, William Blakey and others, made a similar visit in 1799.

† From Philadelphia.

Oliver Paxson and James Langstaff. After a short time spent in religious retirement, at our kind friends, John and Eunice Starr's, we set out, five in number, accompanied by our friend Samuel Lee, as a guide; and pursued our journey up the various windings of the Schuylkill, up hill and down, and along the side of the Blue mountain;—viewing the awful works of the Almighty, in the great display of his wisdom and power, in the visible creation.

16th [Oct.]. Set out early, and rode over the second Blue Ridge, Tuscarora, Locust, Mahonoy, Broad, and Little mountains; and so passed into Roaring creek valley, in view, frequently, of majestic, high, towering mountains, and awfully tremendous, deep vallies. The most of the way very stony, and tiresome for man and beast; yet somewhat alleviated by the wonderfully variegated prospect of nature's capacious garden,—far exceeding Solomon's architecture, in all its glory. Lodged at Catawissa; and next day crossed the north branch of Susquehanna, and rode to Jesse Haines's, at Fishing creek, where we dined. Then resumed our journey, and rode to our truly hospitable friends, William and Mercy Ellis's, where we met with a kind reception.

18th. Took leave of William Ellis's family, and went on to the widow Harris's, where we were gladly received, and dined on venison; the young men having killed three deer the preceding day. In the afternoon, proceeded along a champaign road to Lycoming, then took a northerly route, pursuing the meanders of the stream, along rich vallies, abounding with exceeding lofty pines, button-wood, &c. Arrived at Kyle's before sunset, having passed through two little towns, one on the east side of Lycoming creek, called by that name, and the other on the west side, called Newberry. Next day, being fourth of the week, we set out about break of day. Our dextrous landlord, Kyle, had lately faced a wounded bear, that was in full pursuit of him. He jumped over a large log, and when the bear rose upon it, he turned, and struck him in the breast with his knife, and killed him. We travelled a rich valley for seven or eight miles, then ascended and descended several formidable Al-

leghany hills, over mire and stone, and round about huge trees, that had been blown up by the roots, eighteen miles, to the Block-house. Refreshed there, and went on, over very miry, stony, rough, rocky and hilly roads, to Peter's camp, a feeding place on Tioga river. Thence descending Tioga branch, our road was much improved, through exceeding rich vallies, amid as high towering pines and hemlocks as I ever beheld. The man where we lodged said he had measured them upwards of two hundred feet in height.

Thence we proceeded down the Tioga, crossed the Cownesky, Canistiere, and Cohocton, each larger than Brandywine, and wonderfully adapted to bring the amazing hemlocks, pines, and other produce, to markets on the tide waters. After ascending and descending a very formidable sprag of the Alleghany mountain, we arrived at Dolson's, on Mud creek. Lodged there, and next morning, set out very early, and rode five miles to William Kersey's, to breakfast. His house is on the bank of Bath lake, remarkable for having no inlet, nor outlet, covering about forty acres surface, always clear, and abounding with fish, having twenty-five or thirty feet depth of water. Proceeded to Bath, a thriving village;—had an interview with Judge Williamson, and entered my protest against horse-racing, and exhibition of plays, which were commencing there. Then resumed our journey, on a north-east course, over some bad swamps, to the head of Crooked lake, about twenty miles long, and perhaps three or four broad, situated amongst a number of elevated hills. We proceeded along the east side, through an exceeding rich soil. Here we saw a wild bear, the first I ever beheld. Rode hard through many deep sloughs, and round trees, fallen across the road, till after dark, when we arrived near the north-east end of Crooked lake, where the company of Jemima Wilkinson have a mill. Tarried all night at Thomas Lee's, a kind friendly family.

22nd. Being first-day, we had a meeting with the family and about twenty or thirty friendly people, to a good degree of satisfaction. After dining, we set out, and rode nine miles to Judge Powell's, who lives in a great house. Next

day we met an Indian on the road, and proceeded on to Job Howland's, his wife a Friend, and he a friendly man. Had an opportunity in his family and lodged there.

On the 24th, we visited Nathan Comstock's family. He had six goodly children. Then proceeded to Abraham Lapham's, and had a solid opportunity in his family. Next day, had a meeting at Nathan Herringdon's, which was attended by forty or fifty solid people; and ended to a good degree of satisfaction, though the life and power of the gospel did not rise so high, as I have experienced it, at some times. Returned to Nathan Comstock's to lodge, and had a solid opportunity in the family. On fifth-day had an appointed meeting at this place, where Truth rose into a comfortable degree of dominion; for which, our souls did praise the Lord, our helper. After the public meeting, we had the professors of Truth selected,—among whom were Abraham Lapham and Esther his wife, John Howland and wife, Jeremiah Smith, his wife and her son, Caleb Mackumber, a promising young friend, Jared and Otis Comstock, and their wives, with old Nathan and Mary Comstock, and divers other young people, with whom we had a close, searching season. After which we rode to Jacob Smith's, on Mud creek. Tarried there all night, and were hospitably entertained. We had a satisfactory religious opportunity in the family, together with some others.

27th. Set out, and travelled on twenty-five miles to Berry's, on Genesee river. The road generally good. Passed a number of well-improved farms, with good frame houses and barns,—sometimes two and three in a mile. We frequently met some of the poor natives, which always awakened my sympathy on beholding them. The country is generally fertile for grass and grain, abounding with numbers of stately oxen, fine sheep, and milch cattle. The housewives being generally Rhode Islanders, Connecticut, and Bay State people, have large dairies, and make excellent cheese. This country is abundantly adapted for grazing, a vast proportion of it being low and exceeding rich bottoms.

When we arrived at Genesee, no provender was to be had; so we had to turn aside to several farm-houses, to seek

horse feed. After crossing the river, it was late; and worse than that, we took a wrong path, just entering the wilderness, and went a mile and a half—so had to return, and it raining, we had seven miles to steer along a small path, sometimes hard beset to make it out, to the Big Spring, where we arrived about half past seven, to a very smoky cabin, kept by a genteel German bachelor. Turned our horses out, and the floor was our bed.

28th of the month, and seventh of the week, set out at break of day, to encounter the waste, desert, howling wilderness. It snowed most of the day. The path was small through the woods, abounding with beech timber; the limber branches of which bowed across our path with the weight of snow, and wet us much, which made it very disagreeable. Added to this, twelve miles of the way was through swamps and sloughs of water, among roots and logs, terrifying to the horse and his rider to encounter. In the evening, got to firmer ground, and rode several miles. At length, perceived a large rock, under whose shadow, we proposed to take sanctuary for the night; having rode upwards of forty miles. My horse lost a shoe, just entering the miry road, and would not eat feed, which made it an exceedingly discouraging, trying day, to both body and mind. We attempted to get fire, but did not succeed. The snow blowed in under the ledge of our venerable mansion, and the night being cold, made it truly a suffering season. I durst not look back to New Garden, the contrast was so great; yet some discouraging thoughts would irresistably dart in upon my mind, with a language, what if thou should die here, and return no more. But a small degree of sustaining faith was vouchsafed, to resign the will.

29th. First-day. Glad to see the light of the returning day, we left the shadow of our mighty rock, and set forward, with my lame and tired horse. Met several poor Indians in the woods, and were overtaken by six men, who crossed the Genessee twelve hours before us. We crossed the great plains, the path generally good, and arrived at Buffaloe creek before sunset. Next day crossed the river, and rode twelve miles to Asa Schooley's in Canada. Ar-

rived there with thankful hearts, and met a kind reception from them, their children and neighbours who came in; several of whom remembered my former visit here.

31st. Visited four families, Joseph and Anna Marsh, Daniel and Patience Pound, John and Mary Herrit, and John Cutler's. Next day, visited the remainder of professors about Black creek, Adam and Sarah Burril, Joseph and Anna Stevens, Abram Webster's and Joseph Haven's. The day following, we attended a meeting at Asa Schooley's, to a good degree of satisfaction; then went eight miles to visit Obadiah Dennis, and his parents, and returned the same evening.

3rd of 11th month. Took our journey down Niagara river. Passed the great falls,—the day being dark, smoky, and wet, we made no stay to satisfy curiosity; but the transient view and awful voice impressed ideas at the majesty of heaven. In the evening, arrived at William Lundy's, and next day visited Jeremy Moore's family, and Benjamin Hill's. Went to our friend John Hill's, who received us kindly—we found him and family in a tender frame of spirit.

First-day, the 5th. A meeting was held at John Hill's, amongst a number of Friends and neighbours, to a good degree of satisfaction. It was a contriting season, through heavenly regard, mercifully extended. Next day visited four families, and the day following had an appointed meeting at John Taylor's. A number collected, and it was a favoured season.

8th. Took leave of the Short Hills settlement;—the weather cloudy, and snow falling daily for several days past, occasions us some awful thoughts, when, or whether ever, we are to see our dear connexions again. Here appears some hope of a meeting being opened. Rode eighteen miles, and lodged at Jeremy Moore's. Next day went to Thomas Mercer's to breakfast; after which we went to see the great whirlpool, which is about three miles below the great cataract. At this formidable vortex, the river makes a bend at a right angle, which, by the velocity of the rapids above, has washed the opposite bank into a marvellous cove

of about thirty acres dimensions. The water appears immeasurably deep;—the river below, containing and passing all the waters of the many northern, stupendous lakes, and mighty rivers, is contracted to a space, perhaps not exceeding eighty yards in width, curbed by banks, no doubt one hundred and fifty feet perpendicular, which carry every appearance of the ravages of revolving years having gradually worn the tremendous falls, from some miles distance below, to their present station.

After viewing this marvellous display of omnipotent power, we returned to J. Moore's to dine;—attended a meeting at two o'clock, where several Friends and friendly people gave us their company; and I took my farewell of them, in the feelings of the heavenly Father's love, extended towards them; recommending them to the teachings of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the word of his grace, as the alone infallible teacher. Returned to J. Moore's and were edified together.

10th. Parted with my kind friends and relatives, amidst a conflux of tears. Rode past the great falls, which excite wonder and astonishment, as oft as viewed, and echo the voice, that the Power who made and sustains us, is almighty. The mist, aspiring to the neighbourhood of the clouds, resembles the smoke of many furnaces; and the sound of the cataract, awful and profound as a mighty ocean, shakes the adjacent shores to a degree so as to make windows and doors jar and rattle. The waters on the British side have visibly altered their position within four years past; at which time I visited them before. I think they wear faster on that side of the island, than on the side of the United States; the falls being ten feet higher on the American side, than the other.

We called to see Martha, the widow of John Birch, after which, pursued our journey; the weather being cold, and the roads frozen and icy. Arrived at Asa Schooley's, and the evening assumed the prospect of an approaching snow storm, which roused some keen emotions of mind respecting our several homes. Mud, rivers, rocks, deserts, mountains,

being formidable difficulties in travelling, without the addition of snow.

11th. Cloudy and some rain. Took leave of our kind friend Asa Schooley and family. His son-in-law, and John Cutler, Jr., accompanied us to Niagara ferry; where we parted with them in mutual tenderness of spirit. Crossed the great Niagara river, and went on to Buffaloe creek, where were a number of Onondaga Indians, stately sized men. The sight of those poor aborigines always excites sympathy in my heart. On first-day, the 12th, a great fall of rain occasioned our remaining stationary, which was trying, more especially as we were within twelve miles of the little meeting at Black creek, where we had designed to tarry till second-day. We have now been traversing these great woods and waters nearly two weeks; in which time, we have not enjoyed one pleasant clear day; and almost every other day there has been some fall either of snow or rain.

On second-day, the 13th, set out early, and rode four miles to Stony creek, which overflowed its banks, and the road we had to cross it was but a few perches above very large falls, which had such a tremendous aspect, that on resorting to our reason, and consulting one another, we deemed it most prudent to return to expensive lodgings, at Buffaloe creek. The sun broke out, the clouds subsided, and the weather moderated, which was some mitigation of our disappointment and fruitless anxiety. This day seemed to pass as tardy as a long summer or harvest day. I walked up and down the lake. Many Indian Chiefs and warriors, women and children, are on the move to get the British annual presents.

This evening, we had an interview with Farmer's Brother; he was accompanied by four other chiefs, and Major Jack Berry, who interpreted. We pointed out the design of Friends, in attempting to better the condition of the natives; at which he seemed pleased. I mentioned our apprehensions of distilled spirits being extremely injurious to Indians, and also to white people; withal informing him, that there were five of our company, who had travelled sev-

eral weeks, through snow, rain, and frost, and had not drunk one drop of it. He replied, he knew we drank no spirits; but that *he* did not know when he had enough. He said much about the supremacy of the Great Spirit; also was anxious to know our opinion of the diurnal motion of the earth. This subject appeared to have puzzled him, not understanding the principles or power of attraction and gravitation; and he treated it as a false hypothesis, advancing as a proof, that if the earth turned round every twenty four hours, consequently the lakes must be emptied. I told him those were subjects which belonged to learned and great men; but our concern was, that love, and peace, and good works, might increase amongst all nations; for this would be pleasing to the Great Spirit; such he loved, and made happy in another world. Which he said was "very good."

14th. Set out early; crossed a very rapid, roaring creek, and went on to Twelve-mile creek, which overflowed its banks, the roaring rapids proclaiming no mercy, having seventy feet fall in about forty perches below the fording place. This made it a serious subject to think of venturing to cross above. At length, we explored the stream below the rapids, and found it divided into four branches; which, on trial, we found practicable to ford. Then, thankful for the recent preservation, we pursued our route, and crossed another copious stream. But evening approaching, we had to look out for a place to encamp. At length, passed a bark cabin, occupied by twenty-one Indians. So we got a brand cut of their fire, to kindle ours, and crossing a small stream, found a vacant cabin; then tying our horses to the bushes, we kindled up a large fire in front, and lodged tolerably comfortable; notwithstanding the night was cold, attended with some squalls of snow.

15th. The roads still heavy, with terrific slotches, black as tar, and so deep that a strong horse could just plunge and blunder through. The waters continuing high, we contemplated Tonnewant, the largest of these streams in this howling wilderness, not rideable,—therefore concluded to go by the Indian village, eight miles round, in order to ferry over. After a tedious ride, we arrived there, and found

about a dozen Indian houses and huts, containing about 150 inhabitants; amongst the rest, a Frenchman who has an Indian wife. We purchased some corn and milk of him. He had a cobling, small canoe, into which we put our saddles and baggage, and passed over, one at a time. We drove the poor, fatigued horses in, cold and snowy as it was; and they swam across the river, about forty yards over.

With hearts devoted to return praise to the Preserver of men, the Lord our mighty helper, we resumed our route; contemplating the difficulties which our primitive worthies must have encountered, in their first visits to Friends in America.

Passed through a champaign country, abounding with vast poplars, bass-wood, cherry, red oak, &c. and notwithstanding our detention at Tonnewant, we rode about thirty miles. Came to a bark house and took up lodgings; tied up our poor horses again, made up a fire, and composed ourselves as well as we could;—the night very cold, and threatening snow. Next morning decamped early, and travelled on till we crossed the Genessee river, and got to good lodgings; for which favour, with the many deliverances experienced in our varied trials, my soul desires to return the tribute of thanksgiving and glory, to the supreme Controller of events.

Many are the sufferings, which travellers experience in this uncultivated part of nature's garden. We passed, and administered relief to a poor woman and four children, on the bank of a large creek, which they durst not pass, by reason of the swell. They were out of money, and out of bread, their horses lost, and the man, whose name was Bradshaw, away, hunting them. She received our gratuity, with many descending tears. After we had rode about five miles, we overtook the horses, and got a man who accompanied us from Buffaloe to take them back. We were touched with a feeling of sympathy for every fellow creature under difficulty, in these inhospitable wilds.

Next day we travelled on through the snow, which was descending plentifully, and reached Danbury, where we obtained good lodgings. The day following, pursued the

mountain road, (rightly named) and crossed ten hills, and as many vallies, the ascent and descent equally difficult and dangerous, for man and beast. After riding about seventeen miles, through a habitation of wild beasts, where no man dwells, nor perhaps never may, we arrived at a cabin, fed our tired horses, and proceeded to Bath, along the banks of the Cohocon, passing through many a dismal mire. Here we could procure no provender for our horses, tired as they were, and the riders hungry and cold; so we pressed on to Dolson's, at Mud creek.

19th. Proceeded on to the Painted Post. Crossed the Cohocon, Canistiere, Tioga, and Cownesky. Saw several deer, and one beautiful buck, wading the Tioga. Put up at Salisbury, having rode thirty-two miles. I often felt my mind wafted to New Garden; it being the time of our Quarterly meeting. I now consider that we have been greatly favoured, in that those several mighty waters which we have passed in the last seventeen miles, were rideable, considering the abundant fall of rain and snow. Our lodging was on the floor, with our saddles for our pillows, and mush and milk for supper. Next morning, rode ten miles to breakfast, then for twelve miles saw no human inhabitants; but the country was inhabited by wolves, deer, and bears, which their numerous paths in the snow, abundantly evinced. Also, for several days, we met with no animal food but venison. We called at half a dozen houses to buy some bread, to support us through the wilderness, but could not obtain a single crumb;—the inhabitants generally subsisting on mush, made of corn beat in a mortar.

We rejoiced to take our leave of the waters of Tioga, having ascended them for upwards of thirty miles, and crossed it twelve times in twenty miles. Then encountered the rugged Alleghany mountains, to the famed Block-house. Fed our horses, and called for supper, which was thus served up: coffee, without cream; buckwheat cakes, without butter, and venison broiled, without gravy. I joined Joshua Sharpless in a wish for the fragments of our Quarterly meeting dinner; but all in vain.

21st. Set out at break of day; ascended and descended

a very large rugged mountain, to Trout Run, the head source of Lycoming creek; which stream we followed to its junction with the west branch of Susquehanna, thence crossing the Loyalsock, we proceeded to the hospitable mansion of our kind friend Samuel Wallace, where we were courteously entertained. The contrast between this and our late lodgings, was so great as scarcely to be described. Here, we parted with our friends and fellow travellers, Oliver Paxson and James Langstaff.

Next day, attended Muncy preparative meeting, to a good degree of satisfaction. Dined at William Ellis's, and then in company with him and his wife, proceeded to Fishing creek; where, next day, we attended an appointed meeting, to my comfort; being possessed of a hope that Truth's testimony is likely to prosper amongst them. Dined at John Eves's, and then went on to Catawissa, and lodged at James Watson's.

25th. Attended Catawissa monthly meeting; where we met a body of qualified Friends, beyond my expectation; and it was to me a favoured season. Went on to Charles Chapman's to lodge, and had a religious opportunity with them and their nine children.

Next day, attended Roaring creek meeting, which was large, and mostly composed of goodly looking Friends; yet it proved a laborious, searching season; but in the conclusion, was favoured with a solemn covering. Dined at Nathan Lee's, then went on to Bezaleel Hayhurst's, who is married to a granddaughter of Thomas Ross.

27th. Took our leave of the family about sun-rise, and ascended and descended the several huge piles of earth and stone, dividing the Susquehanna, Schuylkill, and Delaware waters. About the middle of the afternoon, crossed the upper branches of Mahoning creek, and thence to the waters of the Schuylkill, down which we descended to Mosher's tavern and lodged.

From thence, pursued our journey home, where we arrived in safety, having been absent about seven weeks, and travelled upward of a thousand miles.

NOTE—To make our record of early (Protestant) missionary visits in the Niagara region more nearly complete, it should be recorded that as early as May, 1785, the Moravian missionaries Jungman and Senseman came down from their establishments at the west of Lake Erie, and made a brief halt at Fort Niagara, then passing on to Oswego, and thence by Fort Stanwix and Albany to Bethlehem. There is no account that they preached, either to Indians or white men, on the Niagara.

Missionaries were sent to the Western Reserve, now included in northeastern Ohio, by the Connecticut Missionary Society, as early as 1800. The Rev. William Wick had settled at Youngstown, O., in 1799. In December, 1800, the Rev. Joseph Badger visited him there, Badger being the first missionary sent to that region by the society named. He preached "all over the Reserve, and along the shore of Lake Erie as far as Sandusky." In 1801 the Rev. Ezekiel J. Chapman was sent from Hartford, Conn., to the Reserve, and in June, 1803, was followed by the Rev. Thomas Robbins, in 1805 by Rev. Calvin Chapin, and the Rev. David Bacon and in 1807 by the Rev. Archibald Bassett. Mr. Bacon was specially appointed "to labor among the Indians south and southwest of Lake Erie." ("Early Ecclesiastical History of the Western Reserve," by Rev. W. E. Barton.) It is probable that several if not all of these missionaries traveled westward by way of Buffalo Creek, and preached here, in passing, either to whites or Indians.

In the *American Pioneer*, vol. II. (Cincinnati, O., 1843), is a letter from Joseph Badger, dated Plain Wood Co., [O.] Feb. 25, 1843, in which he writes, obviously speaking of himself: "The first missionary to this n. w. region of Ohio came under the patronage of the Connecticut Missionary Society, in the year 1800. He arrived at Youngstown in the last week of December, and preached there the last Sabbath of the month. . . . The want of roads and bridges over streams, made traveling difficult and dangerous; the missionary however visited all the settlements excepting one, in 1801, and the 28th of October laid his course for New England, on the Indian path from the Reserve along the lake shore to Buffalo. . . . The missionary arrived in Buffalo on the 1st of November, was confined there with a fever 11 days, then rode to Bloomfield and was detained by sickness three weeks, . . . and reached his family residence in Blanford about the 1st of January, 1802, having been absent from his family more than a year.

"At a meeting of the missionary society, he agreed to move to the West; made preparation and began his journey in February. After a long and wearisome journey, he arrived at Buffalo about the last of April [1802], with his wife and six children. Where that large city now stands there was only four or six log cabins. Here was the end of all but Indian residences for nearly 80 miles, and only an Indian path. He had a man to go before the team and chop out all that was necessary to open the passage. His team, a wagon and four horses, was the first that ever crossed Buffalo Creek. He was four days passing through the wilderness to the first house in Pennsylvania." He subsequently settled at Austinburg near the Cuyahoga.

Of all the Protestant missionaries in our region, Elkanah Holmes is foremost in interest, yet data regarding his work among the Senecas and Tuscaroras are very meager. His own letters, printed in the following collection, are the principal source of information about him, but they relate only to his first year in the field. He appears to have lived for a number of years at Schlosser. James Cusick, a Tuscarora, brother of David, told Henry R. Schoolcraft that Elkanah Holmes came to the Tuscaroras in 1807, and that he was their first missionary. "Afterwards, when Mr. Holmes was removed, another missionary was sent to the Tusca-

roras by the American Foreign Mission [?], namely, the Rev. Mr. Grey, who remained until last war [1812]. After his dismissal in 1816, another missionary was sent by the Board of the New York Missionary Society, the Rev. James C. Crane." He adds that succeeding missionaries to the Tuscaroras were the Revs. B. Lane, John Elliot, Joel Wood, Mr. Williams and Gilbert Rockwood, incumbent at the time Mr. Schoolcraft collected data for his "Notes on the Iroquois," 1847. The Baptists organized and built a church on the Tuscarora reservation in 1836, and in 1838 James Cusick was ordained; he preached and established churches among the Six Nations during several years. The Cusicks were able men. Nicholas was an interpreter. David Cusick was probably the only full-blooded Tuscarora author. His pamphlet, a collection of Indian traditions, first published at Lewiston in 1825, is one of the strangest and rarest books relating to our region.

III. REV. DAVID BACON'S VISITS TO BUFFALO IN 1800 AND 1801.

FROM MEMORANDA BY
THE REV. D. M. COOPER, OF DETROIT.

The Rev. David Bacon left Hartford, Conn., August 8, 1800, to visit the Indian tribes bordering on Lake Erie, according to the resolve of the trustees of the Missionary Society of Connecticut. His wages were fixed at 110 cents per day, with authority to appoint an interpreter at his discretion, and stated the sum he was to pay, which he says "is more than double he expects to pay." The society made him a present of a small Bible, at a cost of 12s. 9d. The outfit of the missionary for this expedition was of the simplest kind. Afoot and alone he was to make his way towards the wilderness, with no luggage more than he could carry on his person, thankfully accepting any offer of a seat for a few miles in some passing vehicle. Such was the equipment with which the good people of Connecticut sent forth their first missionary to the heathen.

The earliest intelligence from him was in a letter, dated Buffalo Creek, September 4, 1800.* He had not been sick since he left Hartford but two or three days, and then he was able to walk several miles in a day, and says further: "I was much fatigued at first, but can now travel 25 miles in a day with ease. I found opportunity to ride, in the

*Published in the *Evangelical Magazine*, Hartford, Conn., November, 1800.

whole, about 150 miles. Both the friend and enemies of religion have conducted towards me as though they were commissioned to help me."

He was very kindly received at Canandaigua by Capt. Chapin, the Indian agent at that point, who gave him a string of wampum, and a long and suitable letter to the Seneca chiefs at Buffalo Creek, in order that he might [take] a speech from them to the Western tribes. Capt. Chapin also gave him a letter to his brother who was a merchant at Buffalo Creek. He reached that point September 1st, and found Capt. Chapin's brother, as also the principal sachem and Capt. Johnston, the interpreter. The old sachem,* after learning the purport of the Rev. Bacon's mission, and of his desire for a speech to the western tribes, approved of the proposal, "and said he would notify the chiefs to meet me the following day at one o'clock. Six of them came at the appointed time, and with them Capt. Johnston. The business was soon explained to them, and they listened with the greatest attention, and said they expected to grant my request, but must defer the matter until the second day, that they might have an opportunity to consult among themselves. The second day, when they met us as proposed," their great orator [Red Jacket], in the midst of a large concourse of Indians, delivered a speech to the missionary, and another for him to write down for their Western brethren. They also gave him a curious string of wampum to go with their speech.

Mr. Bacon sailed from Buffalo Creek on the fourth day after the date of the preceding letter, and by a speedy voyage arrived at Detroit on September 11th, thirty-eight days after leaving Hartford. He returned to Hartford about the middle of December, 1800, and reported to the meeting of the trustees on the business of his mission. At that meeting it appears his work met the full approval of the board, and on the 30th December he received his new and enlarged appointment. In the meantime he took a wife. The young couple left Mansfield, Conn., for the West on the 11th Feb-

*Probably Farmer's Brother, who was chief sachem at this time.

ruary, 1801. A brother of Mr. Bacon accompanied them and wrote an account of their trip, from which the following extracts are made:

"There was something romantic in leaving home, perhaps never to return, to go to the great West and live among the Indians, learn their language and lead them to God. The weather was very cold, but we did not suffer. We had a good sleigh and two good horses. Although we did not leave Bethlehem until near noon, we were at Canaan before dark; stopped at a noisy country tavern. We were a large company all together in the bar-room; some were drinking, some were swearing, and some telling stories. We had never stayed at such a place before, and it was a new experience. What we here saw was common in nearly all the public houses where we stopped. At that time every thing was done by sleighing. The roads were full. Sometimes we would meet 30 or 40 sleighs loaded with wheat going to Albany and Troy to market. This made travelling to the West rather unpleasant. We, however, got along very well; had fine sleighing until we got to Geneva, where the snow left us. We dragged along on bare ground and mud to East Bloomfield. Here we remained until spring, when the roads were settled. Mrs. Bacon and myself were a kind of wonder to the people of East Bloomfield. That we, so young, should be willing to forsake home and friends and good old Connecticut, and go among the wild sons of the forest they thought strange indeed."

"About the first of April we started for Buffalo, having sold the sleigh and things we could not carry. We had two good horses, and one man's saddle, and a Mackinac blanket for the other horse. Mr. Bacon and wife would ride on two or three miles, while I trotted along on foot, as best I could. After a while he would tie his horse to a tree, and go on with Mrs. Bacon. When I overtook them, I rode on ahead a mile or so, and tied, and then went on again. Thus we did till we reached Detroit, about 250 miles by land. There was no wagon road, only a path through the woods, sometimes rather obscure, the trees marked to show the way.

"We crossed the Genesee River at Rochester, where there

was only a house for the ferry-man, I think. At Batavia there was only a log tavern. From that to Buffalo there was only one log house. We remained at this log-house over the Sabbath. The next day we reached Buffalo. As the lake was not open we had to remain there a number of weeks. The town was full of Indians, many of them drunk. There was a large village of them on Buffalo Creek. Red Jacket was the chief. Here Mrs. Bacon and I saw for the first time what were then called wild Indians. We were first afraid, but in a short time ceased to fear. They were a miserably degraded specimen of human nature. I thought then there was little hope of doing them good by teaching or preaching. We waited for a vessel to take us to Detroit until we were tired. Then we concluded to go by land and 'ride and tie.' We crossed at Black Rock and went down on the Canada side to Niagara Falls. There was at the Falls a good tavern where we took breakfast, but there was no other house, and I think there was none on the American side. Upper Canada was then almost an unbroken wilderness—no public roads. We came to London on the River Thames. There we had to remain a number of weeks, and were kindly treated."

After that they pursued their journey and arrived at Detroit May 9th, three or four weeks earlier, they say, than would have been possible had they waited for a vessel from Buffalo.

IV.

LETTERS OF THE

REVEREND ELKANAH HOLMES

FROM FORT NIAGARA IN 1800.

HIS WORK AMONG THE TUSCARORAS, THE SENECA,
AND IN BUFFALO.

Efficient and earnest teaching of the Gospel in these parts began with the labors of the Rev. Elkanah Holmes. In the report made by the Board of Directors of the New York Missionary Society at the annual meeting, 1801, the circumstances of his employment are set forth as follows:

"The Society has already been informed of the measures taken by the Directors for accomplishing the desirable purpose of introducing the Gospel and establishing a Christian settlement among the Chickasaw Indians. . . . Their first undertaking having been thus far countenanced by the Lord of the harvest, and their resources being by no means exhausted, the Directors felt it their duty to turn their eyes to some other quarter which might invite a new mission. An event, which they cannot but account providential, pointed out the North-Western Indians, especially the Tuscarora and Seneca nations, as the most proper objects of their next attempt. The New York Baptist Association,

who were already known to some Indian tribes, wishing to carry still farther among them the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, but destitute of the requisite means, recommended the Rev. Elkanah Holmes, one of their number as a suitable missionary. In this gentleman, who had formerly experience of similar service, the Directors found those solid, evangelical principles, that zeal, that natural sagacity and disposition for enterprize, and that acquaintance with Indian character and custom, which rendered him peculiarly fit for the contemplated mission. They accordingly took him into the employment of the Society, and having furnished him with special instructions, set him apart to his work by solemn prayer.

"The Mission being designed both by Mr. Holmes and the Directors, rather as a Mission of experiment than a permanent establishment, he was employed for six months; but not so limited by his appointment as to prevent his spending a longer time in making excursions of inquiry among the remoter tribes. For his compensation, while engaged in this labour of love the Directors have voted a salary at the rate of three hundred and seventy-five dollars per annum, besides his traveling expenses.

"All the accounts which have been received from him, and of him, are singularly gratifying. At Niagara, Mr. Holmes was treated with a politeness and respect by Major Rivardi, the commanding officer, which facilitated his introduction among the Tuscaroras, and merits the gratitude of the Society. This reception by the Indians, both of the Tuscarora and Seneca tribes, has been respectful and affectionate. The principal chief of the latter has proposed to place his grandson under the care of the Society, and has accompanied the proposal with a series of remarks which evince shrewd observation; the most unlimited confidence in the Society; the stress which is laid upon this experiment, and the unspeakable importance of its faithful management and happy termination.

"Mr. Holmes being unacquainted with the language of the Indians to whom he was sent, had no resort but an interpreter. Happily he found among the Tuscarora Indians

from the neighborhood of Stockbridge, one well qualified, named Nicholas Cusick,* and who, he writes, has rendered him eminent service. The Directors allowed him fifteen dollars a month for the interpreter, during his continuance with them.

"Not having heard from Mr. Holmes for some months, they conclude that he has penetrated among the Indians farther west." [A foot-note states: "Mr. Holmes returned a day or two after the meeting of the Society."]

The following documents afford the best account of the work of Mr. Holmes among the Seneca and Tuscarora tribes :

FORT NIAGARA, October 9, 1800.

REV. AND DEAR SIR: Through the goodness and mercy of the Lord, my health is recovered; I have not had a fit of the fever and ague for better than a fortnight. I have preached to the Indians four times this week; every one of the chiefs and a great part of the rest of the tribe, appear very anxious to hear, and very attentive when they do. Their conduct towards me, from the first day that I came among them to the present, has been as kind and friendly, and more so, than I could expect from such real pagans; for they were really so, as much, if not more, than any of the Indian tribes in this part of the world.

Cusock informs me, that their ancient forms of marriage (and what used to be observed by other Indian nations) they have omitted for near one hundred years, and now they have no form of marriage among them. A man takes a woman without any ceremony, and they cohabit together, as long as they can agree, and separate when either of them can suit themselves better. Their children (if they have any when they part in this manner) are often left to suffer; no notice is taken of it by the chiefs, or any of the nation. They have no laws to punish any crime whatsoever among them, except murder; the nearest of kin to the murdered, will kill the murderer; but if that is not done, no one else will concern himself about it. Furthermore, Cusock, who is one of

*Usually so spelled, though Mr. Holmes writes it "Cusock."

the nation, tells me, that there is not a married couple in this village (which consists of better than two hundred souls) nor a legitimate person, old or young. For two or three years past, many of them have begun to reform, especially Sacaresa, the chief sachem. He, with several others, will not work or hunt on the Sabbath: and I expect that they will enter into a covenant before I leave these parts, to observe the Sabbath day in both the villages in this part of the nation. I understand there are about a hundred of the nation that live at Grand River, and about seventy at the Oneida.

One thing more, which I think is to their praise—they are, perhaps, more industrious than any Indian tribe in these parts. Many of the men work in the field (as well as the women) by planting, hoeing, and harvesting their corn, etc., which (I am informed) is not the custom of the Senecas or any of the western tribes, for among them the women do all the work in the field.

I am more encouraged than ever I was, to preach the gospel to the poor creatures. I see more necessity to do it, than ever I did. My soul pities them, and my prayer to God is, that ministers of the gospel, and Christians in general, may be more engaged and encouraged to help them, and enlighten them, poor dark, benighted souls—poor mortals, they are perishing for want of knowledge. Methinks the soul that has experienced the power of redeeming love, and enjoyed the glorious light of the Gospel, cannot help praying for and pitying the poor Indians, who sit in darkness and in the shadow of death.

I expect to set out next Monday to visit the Senecas, if the Lord will, and if they receive me and will hear me, to tarry with them about four weeks, and return from thence to the Tuscaroras, and tarry with them until the first of December, and then set off from this place to visit a village of the Senecas, called Tantawanta, thirty miles from this, on my way to New Stockbridge, and to the Tuscaroras in that neighborhood, and from thence to Brothertown, and from thence, by way of Albany, home.

Cusock, who is now with me, and is (I believe) a pious

soul, and a careful and good interpreter, must go home about the first of December, and I can do nothing without him here; there is no one in these parts that I can trust to interpret for me, when he is gone.

The inclosed address, I believe, is a faithful one. The chiefs, by the help of Cusock, have been above three weeks preparing it. It would have been signed and sent to you sooner, but the sachem and two of the chiefs were called to a great council with the Senecas. The subject matter of the council, and the result, has been something extraordinary, which I purpose to inform you of hereafter.

Excuse mistakes. I have not time to revise or correct what I have wrote—the mail will be closed in a few minutes. I must not forget to mention that Major Rivardi has conducted towards me like a gentleman and a disinterested friend. I wish that the Directors would return him their thanks for his and his worthy Lady's kind treatment to me, and my beloved Cusock.

Now, dear brother, I must conclude, desiring that you and all my ministering brethren in New-York, would praise God for his goodness to me, and pray for me.

May the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all.
Amen.

ELKANAH HOLMES.

REV. J. M. MASON,
Secretary to the Directors of the Missionary Society.

[ENCLOSURE IN ABOVE LETTER:]

ADDRESS OF THE TUSCARORA CHIEFS, TO THE DIRECTORS
OF THE NEW YORK MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

FATHERS AND BROTHERS: Attend! We the Sachems and Chiefs of the Tuscarora nation of Indians, desire to speak a few words to your ears: we thank the Great Spirit above, who made Heaven and earth, and all things, that he has put into the hearts of a number of our white brothers in the City of New-York and parts around it, to form a great council of friendship for us and for the rest of our red brothers.

Fathers and brothers: We also thank you for the good

talks you send us by the hand of our father Elkanah Holmes. It much rejoices our nation, both old and young. We also thank you that you send our father Holmes to visit us. We know he is a true friend to Indians, and we love to hear him open his mouth to speak about the Great Spirit above.

Fathers and brothers: We should be very glad to have our father Holmes live among us, or some other good man that you would send to teach us the meaning of the beloved speech in the good book called the Bible; for we are in darkness; we are very ignorant—we poor. Now fathers and brothers, you have much light; you are wise and rich. Not but two in our nation can read in the good book, the Bible. We wish our children to learn to read, that they may be civil and happy when we are gone—that they may understand the good speech better than we can: we feel much sorrow for our children—we ask you, fathers and brothers, will you not pity us, and our poor children, and send a schoolmaster to teach our children to read and write? If you will, we will rejoice, we will love him, we will do all we can to make him happy—we are poor, we cannot pay him in money or anything else.

Fathers and brothers: We think many good people, that did not want to cheat the Indians, and get their lands for nothing, but do them all the good they could, by learning them to read the good book, and sending good men among them with the good speech on their tongues, to teach them the meaning of the Great Spirit in the good book, have often been discouraged, and stop because many Indians would not open their ears, but would go in ways of the evil spirit. We are sorry Indians have done so—we are afraid some of us shall do so too, and the Great Spirit will be angry with us, and that you will be discouraged, and stop, and say, "Let them alone, there is nothing can be done with Indians."

Fathers and brothers: Hearken—we cry to you from the wilderness—our hearts ache while we speak to your ears. If such wicked things should be done by any of us, we pray you not to be discouraged—don't stop—think poor Indians must die as well as white men. We pray you, therefore,

never to give over and leave poor Indians, but follow them in dark times, and let our children always find you to be their fathers and friends when we are dead and no more.

Fathers and brothers: Once more attend. According to your request, in your talk to us we have opened our ears. The talks of our father Holmes makes us glad when he speaks, although he has been very unwell part of the time since he has been with us; sometimes he must lie down on the bed when he speaks about the Great Spirit to us. We have used him as kind as we were able—we are poor. When he goes to visit our brothers (the Senecas) we will make his path as smooth as we can; some of us will go with him; we will be children to him.

Fathers and brothers: We will send you talks as often as we can. We are glad you say you wish always to keep the chain of friendship bright and shining; we wish so too—we and our forefathers have been long under dark clouds; no friends to help us to know the will of the Good Spirit. We will now believe you to be our friends; we will open our ears to any good men you send among us; we will use them kind; and we let you know we are pleased with all you say; and that we speak one heart to you by delivering eight strings of wampum to you, according to the custom of our forefathers, by our father Holmes, who will give them to you, and tell you more about us than we can write. May the Great Spirit help us to remember each other.

Farewell.

SACARESE X, Sachem.

WILLIAM X PRENTUP, Chief Warrior.

ISAAC X CHARLES, Warrior Chief.

LONG X BOARD, Warrior Chief.

ISAAC X, Warrior Chief.

HENDRICK X, Second Sachem.

KAASONTAW X SAGOHWIHEAGH, Warrior Chief.

GEORGE X PRENTUP, Warrior Chief.

BILLA X PRENTUP, Warrior Chief.

Witnesses: NICHOLAS CUSOCK. THOMAS X GREEN.

NIAGARA, TUSCARORA, October 6, 1800.

FROM MAJOR RIVARDI, COMMANDING AT FORT NIAGARA.

FORT NIAGARA, October 8, 1800.

I Certify, that the Chiefs of the Tuscaroras convened at this post, have, in my presence, expressed an ardent wish of having a school established at their village. Such a measure, if it coincides with the views of Government, would no doubt enable the rising generation of the Tuscaroras to advance rapidly towards civilization.

The Rev. Mr. Holmes seems to have gained the confidence and affection of the chiefs. He deserves it by the pains which he takes to inculcate in them principles of morality. That he may be successful is the sincere wish of

T. I. ULRICH RIVARDI.

MR. HOLMES TO SECRETARY MASON.

FORT NIAGARA, October 29, 1800.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER: Through the kind providence of God, I arrived the 14th of this instant at the Seneca Castle, five miles above where the Buffaloe empties into Lake Erie. Immediately (with Cusock my interpreter) I waited on the chief sachem (called Farmer's Brother) and made known my business to him and desired the favor of him, and the chiefs of the nation, to meet me in council. He informed me that he had heard of me before, and that he would consult the chiefs, and, as soon as they could be ready, he would let me know it. I then took my leave of him, leaving Cusock to tarry in the town, and rode to a village of white people, consisting of five or six families, at the mouth of the Buffaloe.

On Friday following, Cusock came to me, and informed me, that the chiefs had concluded to meet in council in the afternoon of that day, and had sent him to desire me to attend. I proceeded without delay to the castle. When I arrived I found the sachems and chiefs with about one hundred Indians, assembled in the council-house, and about fifty more round the house. A few minutes after I was seated, Red Jacket, the second sachem, addressed me in a short speech, complimenting me, according to their custom, upon my ar-

rival, and letting me know that they were now ready to hear what I had to say to them.

I then rose, and addressed him as I thought proper, and delivered the talk (as they stile it) from the Directors of the Missionary Society. And after Cusock had interpreted it to him, I made a few more observations, and presented the talk from the Oneida and Muhheconnuk* chiefs. And when Cusock had interpreted that, I addressed him again as I judged the case required, and concluded by letting him know that I was ready to speak more fully to them about the Great Spirit above, and Jesus Christ, whom he had sent into the world to save sinners, if they would consent to hear me; and desired them to consider the talks that had been sent to them, and what I had said, and give me an answer as soon as they thought proper. Whilst I was speaking to them, a number of their young men made a great laugh, and lay down, kicked up their heels, and one made a very un-decent report. I endeavored to keep from being discomposed. The chiefs did not appear to approve of their conduct, and at the conclusion of my address, they were very silent.

The chiefs consulted about half an hour, and then Red Jacket replied to me in a very decent manner and in flattering language, stiling me Father of the Six Nations, expressing their joy at the good talk that had been sent them by the Good Society of Friendship at New-York, and from their brothers the Oneidas, Muhheconnuks, and Tuscaroras, and at what I had said unto them; that they were all convinced that there was no snare or deceit in my business—and concluded with saying they were all willing that I should speak the good word to them, and desired that I would preach to them the next day, at 12 o'clock, about Jesus Christ. I then replied, expressing my joy and thankfulness for their condescension, and my readiness to comply with their request. I then took my leave of them and returned to Buffaloe.

The next day being an uncommon rainy day, I looked

*Mohegan.

upon it no ways consistent with duty for me to turn out, or any ways probable, if I did, that the Indians would; but the next day, being Lord's day, I set out early in the morning, and with much difficulty reached the Castle about 12 o'clock, the waters being raised so high by the rain, I had to swim my beast twice by the side of a canoe.* I waited upon the chief sachem; he consulted some of the chiefs, and they concluded that the people could not be notified so as to meet that day, but that they would meet the next day at 12 o'clock, and desired me to attend. I let him know that it would be a pleasure to me to comply with their request.

The next day I met about one hundred of them in the council-house; as they had never been acquainted with any modes of Christian worship (for I understand, that they never would admit a missionary among them before) I proceeded with them in the same manner as in a common council, as you may see by the inclosed, dated the 20th of this instant—and the day following at Buffaloe, the chief sachem, and several of their principal men, met me, where he made the inclosed speech of that date.

Last Lord's day I preached to them again at the Castle. Then I undertook to inform them of the modes and customs of Christians in public worship; of keeping the Sabbath; the duty of prayer; and, lastly, I endeavored to preach the doctrine of repentance. During the whole, they gave good attention. One of the chiefs appeared to be under solemn impressions. After I concluded, Red Jacket thanked me and requested me to visit them again next month, and say more to them about Jesus Christ.

At Buffaloe, where I made my home whilst I was visiting the Senecas, I preached seven or eight times to the white people on evenings. They never had but one sermon preached in the place before.

I left Buffaloe last Monday and reached this place yes-

*This is probably the first mention in history of a flood in Buffalo Creek, at what is now South Buffalo, an event which has been repeated once or more every year since the visit of Missionary Holmes. It may be noted that the inundations were disastrous, long before the channel was obstructed by piers or abutments of bridges.

terday in great hopes of seeing my worthy friend Major Rivardi before he left the place; but alas! I was two hours too late. He is removed from the command of this post, and one Major Porter now commands here.

I purpose, if the Lord will, to be with the Tuscaroras until the middle of next month, and then to return to the Senecas, and continue with them until winter.

I have had my trials and my joys since I left New-York. The Senecas are great Pagans. They sacrifice white dogs to the Great Spirit, as they call the Supreme Being. They worship him by dances, which last two or three days. They keep certain days of feasting. They have forms of marriage among them, but seldom observe them. They are very incontinent. Many of them are great drunkards. But, as I expect to procure a more full account of their ways and customs, by a certain person that has lived above twenty years among them,* I omit saying any more for the present.

I must conclude, but not without requesting the continuation of your prayers to God for me. With esteem, I am, dear sir, I hope, your Brother in Christ.

ELKANAH HOLMES.

REV. J. M. MASON,
Secretary to the Directors of the Missionary Society.

[ENCLOSURE WITH THE ABOVE:]

The following address was made to me by Red Jacket, the second sachem of the Seneca Nation, on Monday, the 20th day of October, 1800, in the Council House, at the Seneca Castle—it being the second public meeting that I have had with the Nation:

“FATHER: We are extremely happy that the Great Good Spirit has permitted us to meet together this day. We have paid attention to all that you spoke to our ears at our last meeting. We thank the Great Spirit, who has put it into the minds of the great society of friendship at New York, to send you to visit us. We also hope that the Great Spirit will always have his eyes over that good society, to

*Most likely Horatio Jones.

strengthen their minds to have friendship towards the poor natives of this Island. We thank the Great Spirit, that he has smoothed your way, and has protected you through the rugged paths, and prevented any briars or thorns from pricking your feet. As you came on your way to visit us, you called on our brothers (the Oneidas, Muhheconnuks and Tuscaroras) who were well acquainted with you. We thank them for the pains they have taken in sending this good talk with wampum. [At the same time holding the talk and wampum in his hand.] We are convinced that what they say of you is true, that you came purely out of love to do us good, and for nothing else; and that there is no deceit in your business, or in the good people that sent you.

"Father: We now request you to speak something to us about Jesus Christ, and we will give attention."

He then addressed his people and requested them to give good attention to what I was about to say, and make no noise, but behave in a becoming manner.

I then proceeded and endeavored to preach Christ to them. When I had concluded, Red Jacket rose and made the following speech to me, after consulting the chiefs:

"Father: We thank the Great Good Spirit above, for what you have spoken to us at this time, and hope he will always incline your heart, and strengthen you to this good work. We have clearly understood you, and this is all the truth you have said to us.

"Father: We believe that there is a Great Being above, who has made Heaven and earth and all things that are therein, and has the charge over all things—who has made you whites as well as us Indians; and we believe there is something great after death.

"Father: What you say about our loving the Great Spirit, we know to be truth, as he has his eyes over all things, and watches all our movements and ways, and hears all we say, and knows all we do.

"Father: We Indians are astonished at you whites, that when Jesus Christ was among you, and went about

doing good, speaking the good word, healing the sick, and casting out evil spirits, that you white people did not pay attention to him, and believe him, and that you put him to death when you had the good book in your possession.

"Father: That we Indians were not near to this transaction, or could we be guilty of it.

"Father: Probably the Great Spirit has given to you white people the ways that you follow to serve him, and to get your living: and probably he has given to us Indians the customs that we follow to serve him (handed down to us by our forefathers) and our ways to get our living by hunting, and the Great Spirit is still good to us, to preserve game for us. And, father, you well know, you white people are very fond of our skins.

"Father: You and your good people know that ever since the white people came on this island, they have always been getting our lands from us for little or nothing.

"Father: Perhaps if we had had such good people as you and your Society to have stepped in and advised us Indians, we and our forefathers would not have been so deceived by the white people, for you have the great and good God always in your sight.

"Father: We repeat it again—we wish you and the good people of your Society, to make your minds perfectly easy, for we like what you say, and we thank the good Society for their good intentions, and that they have sent you to visit us.

"Father: You do not come like those that have come with a bundle under their arms, or something in their hands, but we have always found something of deceit under it, for they are always aiming at our lands; but you have not come like one of those; you have come like a father, and a true friend, to advise us for our good; we are convinced that there is no snare in your business; we hope that our talk to you at this time, will be communicated to your good Society at New York, and that the Good Spirit will protect you and them in this good work that you and they have undertaken; and we expect that the bright chain of friendship shall al-

ways exist between us; and we will do everything in our power to keep that chain bright from time to time."

He then took up the strings of wampum that accompany this talk, and continued his speech to me as follows:

"Father: You and your good Society well know that when learning was first introduced among Indians, they became small, and two or three nations have become extinct, and we know not what is become of them; and it was also introduced to our eldest brothers the Mohawks; we immediately observed, that their seats began to be small; which was likewise the case with our brothers the Oneidas. Let us look back to the situation of our nephews, the Muhhecon-nuks; they were totally routed away from their seats. This is the reason why we think learning would be of no service to us.

"Father: We are astonished that the white people, who have the good book called the Bible among them, that tells them the mind and will of the Great Spirit, and they can read it and understand it, that they are so bad, and do so many wicked things, and that they are no better.

"Father: We know that what you have said to us, is perfectly good and true. We here (pointing to himself and the Farmer's Brother) cannot see that learning would be of any service to us; but we will leave it to others who come after us, to judge for themselves.

"Father: If it should be introduced among us at present there might more intrigue or craft creep in among us; it might be the means of our fairing the same misfortunes of our brothers; our seat is but small now; and if we were to leave this place, we would not know where to find another; we do not think we should be able to find a seat among our western brothers.

"Father: We repeat it again. We hope that you and your good Society will make your minds perfectly easy, for we are convinced that your intentions are good."

He then presented me seven strings of wampum, saying, "We wish that this may be delivered with our speech, to your good Society that sent you to visit us."

We the subscribers, assisted as interpreters when the foregoing address was delivered, and assisted the Rev. Elkanah Holmes to commit it to writing—And do hereby certify, That the above is as near to the phraseology and ideas of the speaker, as we are able to recollect.

WILLIAM JOHNSTON,
NICHOLAS CUSOCK.

The following address was delivered to me the 21st day of October, 1800, by Farmer's Brother (Chief Sachem of the Seneca Nation) at the house of Mr. John Palmer, at Buffaloe, it being the third public meeting I have had with them:

"FATHER: We wish you now to attend. We thank the Great Good Spirit, that we have an opportunity to meet together this day. We have something more to say to you. Yesterday after we heard your good talk, we had not time to speak all that we had to say to your ears.

"Father: We now address ourselves to you and your good Society. There have been several applications made to our nations by the government of the United States and the Quakers, to send some of our youth to them to get learning.

"Father: We felt ourselves at that time very happy, that such loving union and friendship did take place between the white people of the United States and us.

"Father: I then gave up one of my grandsons to the United States to get learning, in hopes that this youth, when he got learning, would be of great service to our nations, to inform us of the good customs and ways of the white people. What we agreed upon was, that he was to remain with them five years; thinking by that time he would gain knowledge of the good ways and manners of the white people. Two years after he had been at Philadelphia, I and a number of other chiefs of our nation went there upon public business. When I arrived there I was anxious to see my grandson. And how was I surprised when I first saw him—he was in a tavern. The next place I saw him at, was in a house, gaming. And further I saw him in a bad

house, where were bad women. What was my astonishment to see him in such company, and he but only a boy yet. And besides, I saw him dancing in a house where they teach dancing. Then all my expectations fell of thinking he would ever be of any service to our nations, for we know of no such things among us, of boys of such age as he was, going into such company and following such bad ways.

"Father: Some time after I returned home, I had business to Genesee, where some of my people lived, where I found this young man in soldier's dress. The first request he made to me was, for two miles square of land, to support him to go about and attend to other business.

"Father: While this grandson of mine was at school, we were looking to see how he would turn out; intending if he did well, to send several more of our youth to be learned by the white people; but finding he has turned out so bad, our hearts fell, concluding that if we send more of our boys, and they should learn such bad ways as he had, that our land would be cut into small pieces, and our nation dispersed and ruined.

"Father: We have now a particular favor to ask of you and your good Society. I have a mind to try once more. I have another grandson which we wish that you and your Society would take under your protection, and learn him the good customs of white people, and keep him from all the bad ways, for we believe from the good words we have heard from your mouth, and the good talk sent to us by your good Society, that if you and they will be so kind as to favor us poor Indians by accepting this boy to teach him the good ways that you know and practice, we are in great hopes that he will be of great use to us Indians, by telling us of your good ways, to open our eyes to see how to walk in your good paths.

"Father: If you and your good Society will accept of this boy and take him under your care to instruct him, we will not undertake to direct you what you shall learn him, for we give him up altogether in your hands, to do with him as you shall think best, for we believe you are all good,

wise men, and that you pity Indians, and know what will be for our good, and what to do with this boy better than we can tell you.

"Father: You and your good Society know, that we Indians are poor. We are convinced that it is very expensive to give learning to youth. We think that you are so good, and have the welfare of Indians so much in your heart, that you will not expect us to pay anything for the education of this boy, for we are so poor that we are not able.

"Father: We have now fully explained our mind to you about the business that we had not time to mention to you yesterday. And we now pray that the Great Good Spirit may bless you and the good Society that sent you to visit us; and that he will protect you on your journey; and that you may not meet with any difficulty on the way, nor fall over any stumbling-block to hurt you; but that you may arrive safe to see your good Society, and that you may have a joyful meeting, and find your children all in good health.

"Father: We also pray that the Good Spirit may always have his eyes over this boy that we now give up to you and your good Society, and that you may have it in your power to plant good things in him. We now deliver these strings of wampum to you, to accompany our talk to that great and good Society at New York, that sent you to visit us."

We the subscribers, assisted as interpreters when the foregoing Address was delivered, and assisted the Rev. Elkanah Holmes to commit it to writing—And do hereby certify, That the above is as near to the phraseology and ideas of the speaker, as we are able to recollect.

WILLIAM JOHNSTON,
NICHOLAS CUSOCK.

The foregoing application to me was very unexpected at the time, but I returned for answer to the sachem, that I was not prepared to take the boy home with me at my own expense, but if they would fit him out, and be at the ex-

pense of taking him to New-York, I would venture to take charge of him this winter, and until next summer, and if the Directors of the Missionary Society did not think proper to accept of him, I would endeavor that he should be returned to them again without any further expence.

He is to be amply provided for with clothes and money to go with me to New-York, according to my proposal. He is between thirteen and fourteen years of age. He is of the first family in the nation, by his mother's side, and, therefore, is now a chief, according to the custom of the nation, and will be entitled to the first place in the nation, if he lives and does well. His father is a white man, a half-pay officer in the British service. His mother was part white, and the boy so white, that he would scarcely be suspected to be any ways related to the Indians. He speaks English very well. He has been to school, and I am told can read and write considerably well for such a boy. He is very active and sensible, and appears to be of a good disposition. He is well recommended to me by several white people. For these and several other reasons, I was induced to accept of him in the manner I have mentioned. I hope it will meet with the approbation of the Directors of the Missionary Society, and with the blessing of God.

ELKANAH HOLMES.

NOTE—Prior to coming to Western New York as missionary Elkanah Holmes had compiled a small book entitled "A Church Covenant; including a summary of the Fundamental Doctrines of the Gospel." (New York: Printed by John Tiebout, at Homer's head, No. 358, Pearl Street. For the compiler, 1797.) His characteristic independence is shown in the preface, in which, after stating that his compendium of faith and church order is compiled from different authors, he says: "I have not only presumed to abridge, but even ventured to add a few articles of my own composition. Besides, I have arranged the passages of Scripture, throughout the whole, in such order, as to me appeared most likely to assist the reader in determining whether the doctrines advanced are agreeable to the word of God or not. Whatever errors are in it, they are mine; no one is to blame for them but myself; I have adopted the whole as my present creed. I have concluded to venture (if the Lord will) to live and to die in the faith that I have herein advanced." It is highly probable that a work into which he had put so much earnestness, was Mr. Holmes's companion in his missionary work on Buffalo Creek and among the Tuscaroras. Its perusal reveals the character of his teachings. It and the missionary's Bible were, plausibly, the first books brought to Buffalo. A fac-simile of the title page is given herewith, from a copy in possession of the Buffalo Historical Society.

A
CHURCH COVENANT
INCLUDING A SUMMARY
OF THE
FUNDAMENTAL DOCTRINES
OF THE
G O S P E L
COMPILED

By ELKANAH HOLMES.

So then every one of us shall give account of himself to God.
Rom xiv 12.
Find up the Testimony, seal the Law among my Disciples.
To the Law, and to the Testimony — Isai. viii. 16, 20.

—
NEW-YORK
Printed by JOHN TIEBOUT, at HOMER'S HEAD,
No. 358, PEARL-STREET,
FOR THE COMPILER.

1797

[Elkanah Holmes' work: Fac-simile of title page. See p. 204.]

V.

VISIT OF REV. LEMUEL COVELL

TO WESTERN NEW YORK AND CANADA,
IN THE FALL OF 1803.

The Rev. Lemuel Covell of Pittstown, Rensselaer Co., New York, and Elder Obed Warren of Salem, made a missionary tour through Western New York and into Canada, in the fall of 1803, under the auspices of the Shaftsbury Baptist Association. This association was made up of Baptist churches in Western Massachusetts, Southern Vermont and Rensselaer and Saratoga counties, New York. Constituted in 1780, by 1798 the body numbered forty-seven churches, twenty-eight ministers and 3460 communicants. As early as 1801, while yet some of the territory embraced in the organization had scarcely emerged from a pioneer condition, the attention of the Shaftsbury Association was turned to the field for missionary work to the westward. In the year named Mr. Covell proposed that a fund be raised by contribution, "for the purpose of sending missionaries to preach the gospel in destitute parts of our frontier settlements, and as far as we may have opportunity among the natives of the wilderness." This was the first step toward systematic missionary effort in Western New York, on the part of the Baptists, and was anticipated among other orthodox denominations only by the Presbyterians who, as we have seen, were represented in the field in 1800 by Elkanah Holmes—himself a Baptist. No one appears to have under-

taken a missionary tour to the westward for the Shaftsbury Association until 1802, in which year Caleb Blood made a journey of ten weeks, "through the country from Cayuga to the head of Lake Ontario," for which he received \$30, and expended \$22.34 on his mission. The editor of this volume has seen no detailed narrative of Elder Blood's journey. Mr. Covell left a pretty full journal* of the tour on which he and Obed Warren set out from Pittstown, August 23, 1803. That portion of the journal which bears on our immediate field is (with some indicated omissions) as follows:

Monday, 19th [Sept.]: We . . . crossed the Genesee river, and rode together to a small settlement, called Ganson's Settlement; where Brother Warren stopped to preach in the evening, and I rode alone to Batavia, a small village, about 24 miles west of Genesee river; where I preached in the evening, and stayed all night.

Tuesday, 20th. Brother Warren arrived about eleven o'clock in the morning; and about one in the afternoon we set off to ride through what is called the Eighteen Mile Woods. We had not proceeded far before it began to rain. This was the first time we had any rain to ride in since we left home. We were in the wilderness, without house or shelter, all the afternoon; and most of the time it rained excessively. We were soaked to the skin with water, and had very muddy riding. A little after sunset, we arrived at a tavern, just at the end of the long woods, kept by a Mr. Van Deventer. Here we found the house full of people, who had been doing town business, and were detained by the excessive rain; many of whom lived at such a distance, they could not get home that night. When we arrived they were in a very high and merry mood—some singing foolish songs—some laughing loud—some swear-

*"A Narrative of a Missionary Tour through the Western Settlements of the State of New York, and into the Southwestern parts of the Province of Upper Canada: Performed by Lemuel Covell, of Pittstown, in company with Elder Obed Warren, of Salem, in the Fall of 1803; With an Appendix, containing several Speeches to and from the Indians." Pittstown, 1804. Printed as Chap. IV., in "Memoir of the late Rev. Lemuel Covell, missionary to the Tuscarora Indians," etc., by Mrs. D. C. Brown; Brandon [Vt.], 1839.

ing—and some almost helpless: all seemed to feel, more or less, the effects of whiskey. In the midst of such a revel we could not expect to enjoy much tranquility. We were determined, however, to try how far a portion of *truth* might prove an antidote to the disorder that seemed so prevalent among them. As soon as our poor suffering horses were provided for, we informed the people of the house that we were missionaries; and that, as Providence had cast our lot among them for the night, we were willing to preach to them, if they were disposed to give their attention. The landlord made known to them our proposal, which had its desired effect. Their carnal mirth stopped, almost in an instant; they expressed a willingness to hear preaching; and within fifteen minutes there was almost a profound silence, in place of so much noise and confusion. As soon as the necessary preparations were made, I went to preaching, in wet clothes, without changing a single article of them for dry ones, and had a very comfortable time in preaching, and a very attentive assembly. After sermon a few of them went away, and the remainder treated us with all the civility and respect due to our character. This we venture to record as one evidence of the benefit resulting to society from a preached gospel, even in this world. That which will calm such tumultuous assemblies, so that sober men can enjoy peace, must be truly beneficial.

Wednesday, 21st. We rode to Buffalo, a small village, at the mouth of a creek of that name, just at the foot of Lake Erie; where, to our inexpressible joy, we met with Elder Elkanah Holmes, missionary to the northwestern Indians, and his lady, who received us with the utmost civility. This, however, was not the place of their residence—that being at Fort Slusher,* about 27 miles down the Niagara river; but Elder Holmes was waiting at Buffalo for an answer from the Seneca nation of Indians, who were holding a council at their village, about five or six miles up the Buffalo creek, on the subject of building a house at their said village for public worship, and for educating their children.

*Fort Schlosser.

We intended to have crossed the Niagara river, into the province of Upper Canada, the next day; but Mr. Holmes was not willing we should leave him till he had received his answer from the Indians; and we also had a mind to stay and hear it. We put up our horses where they might be recruiting a little, and spent three days in this place; during which time, we preached twice to the people, and had much agreeable conversation with Mr. Holmes. There is no stated meeting for religious worship held in this place, nor any religious society formed.

On Saturday the 24th, Red Jacket, the chief sachem of the Senecas, waited on Mr. Holmes, to inform him that they had pretty much got through with their consultations, and concluded to have the house built. After hearing this message, we took leave of Mr. Holmes, and agreed to attend with him, at the Tuscarora village, the next Saturday. This afternoon we crossed over to Fort Erie, in the British dominions, and put up at Doctor Chapin's, a gentleman from the State of New York, who resides there. The Doctor and his lady treated us with the utmost friendship and hospitality.

Lord's Day, 25th. We went about two miles down the river, where the people were notified to attend public worship. There was a pretty large assembly, considering the situation of the place; and the people gave very strict attention while we both preached—the one in the morning, and the other in the afternoon.

Monday, 26th. We set out this morning upon a tour down the river, and spent the week, till Friday night, in riding and preaching from one place to another, along the river and its vicinity. In the course of this week we formed an acquaintance with a number of people who treated us with the utmost friendship and hospitality and did everything in their power to afford us such information and assistance as was necessary and useful to us in the prosecution of our mission. Among others, a Mr. Archibald Thompson, who lives at Stamford,* about seven or eight

*Stamford, Ont.

miles below the Great Falls, was peculiarly serviceable to us. He nursed our horses in the best manner—found us horses to ride, accompanied us himself where we went, in many instances; in short, he seemed anxious that nothing should be lacking on his part to render the place agreeable to us, and enable us to be serviceable to the people. Besides him, many others in the same place were very kind. About two miles from the village of Newark* lives a gentleman by the name of Sweezy, a member of the provincial parliament in this province, who distinguished himself as our friend. On Friday of this week, Brother Warren preached at his house, by his particular request. While we were there, we were treated with peculiar friendship; and at evening he and his lady accompanied us to Queenston, where we had an appointment for evening preaching. After worship, when he took his leave of us, he insisted we must visit him again before we left the province; and solicited hard that one or both of us should preach at Newark as soon as we could make it convenient. This night we lodged at a Mr. Rose's in Queenston, where we received every mark of friendship that could be shown. Mr. Rose and his lady were formerly from New England; they are neither of them professors of religion, but they behaved toward us in a Christian-like manner.

Saturday, Oct. 1st. This morning we crossed the Niagara river at Queenston Ferry, and went about half a mile up the river, to a Major Beech's, where we met Elder Holmes, and went with him to the Tuscarora village, about three miles from this place. We spent the afternoon very agreeably, with the Indians, and at evening returned to Major Beech's and took refreshment. Brother Warren crossed the river again this evening, in order to spend the Sabbath at Stanford, and I concluded to stay and spend the Sabbath with Elder Holmes, among the Indians.

Lord's Day, 2d. After breakfast we went to the village; the Indians, at their usual time, assembled, and Elder Holmes delivered them a very excellent discourse, which

*Now Niagara, Ont., called Niagara-on-the-Lake.

was interpreted to them in due order. After a short pause, I delivered them a speech; signifying that, as I was sent out by the Shaftsbury Association, as a missionary, I had called to see our Indian brethren, and form an acquaintance with them; and, if it met their approbation, to instruct them in the Gospel. I was answered by their chief warrior in a short but very pertinent speech, expressive of their thanks to the Great Spirit, for putting it into the hearts of the white people to visit them, and instruct them for their good; and likewise to my brethren for sending missionaries to visit them and to me for calling to see them; and at the close of his speech, informed me, that his nation would be very glad to have me spend some time with them before I returned home. I agreed to preach to them, on my return from Long Point, in three weeks from this day. We then took leave of them, returned to Major Beech's, and took some refreshment; and at four in the afternoon I preached to the white people, at a Mr. Cook's, in the same neighborhood; and in the evening at Queenston, on the other side of the river.

[The missionaries continued to travel westward, preaching and visiting at Thirty-Mile Creek, Burford, the Mohawk settlement on the Grand river, and Long Point. The journal is here omitted until the date of their return to the Niagara.]

Saturday, 22d [Oct.]. This morning I went to Queenston, crossed the river, and went to Maj. Beech's, where I met with Elder Holmes, after an absence of three weeks, and went with him to the Tuscarora village, and had a pleasing interview with the Indians. At evening we returned to Major Beech's, where we met with a Mr. Palmer, a Baptist minister, from Peekskill, accompanied by a Deacon Bentley, from the same place, and a Mr. Marsh, from New York, with whom we passed the evening very agreeably.

Lord's Day, 23d. After breakfast we all went to the village, where we met a pretty large collection of the Indians and a number of white people; when, for the first time, I preached to my Indian brethren, by an interpreter. We spent some time with them, after preaching, and then

returned to Mr. Cook's, where I preached at four o'clock, and spent the night.

Monday, 24th. According to previous engagement, I crossed the river, and went in company with our friends from New York, and Mr. Thompson, to Newark, where I preached in the evening, and went home with my friend Mr. Sweezey for lodgings. The next morning I tarried with him till my company arrived, when I bid him and his family an affectionate adieu, after receiving the most pressing solicitation to call on him, if I ever came that way again, and his kind wishes for my prosperity and safe return home; and rode to Queenston, where we parted with Mr. Thompson, crossed the river, and proceeded to Elder Holmes', at Fort Slusher. I spent the remainder of the week with great satisfaction, at this place; preached once, and made preparations for a council with the Indians on Saturday. Elder Holmes and his lady treated me with every mark of friendship and hospitality.

Saturday, 29th. Elder Holmes accompanied me to the village, where we held a council with the Indians: I gave them a talk in writing, and agreed to meet them in council the next Monday, to receive their answer.

Lord's Day, 30th. I preached to them again, and had much conversation with them, after preaching; and then went across the river, and preached in the evening, at Mr. Thompson's, at Stanford, where to my great joy I met with Brother Warren, after an absence of almost a fortnight. The account he gave me of his tour while we were apart, added greatly to my joy and encouragement.

Monday, 31st. Brother Warren went to Newark, and I, according to agreement, crossed over to the Indian village, where I met with Elder Holmes, held the proposed council with them, and received their talk, to be presented to the Shaftsbury Association. After our council was concluded, I took a solemn and affectionate leave of them, and returned to Queenston, in company with Elder Holmes, and lodged at Mr. Rose's. The next morning we went to Mr. Thompson's, and spent the day very agreeably; and at evening

Elder Holmes preached a most excellent sermon on the nature of gospel preaching. After worship, Brother Warren arrived and we all spent the night together.

Wednesday, Nov. 2. This morning after prayer, we had a solemn parting with Elder Holmes and Mr. Thompson's family, and rode to Fort Erie, where we crossed the river and spent the night at Buffalo.

Before I proceed any further in my narrative I would beg the attention of the reader to a few remarks on the situation of the people in that part of the province of Upper Canada which we visited.

Fort Erie is at the foot of Lake Erie, just where the Niagara river falls out of that lake. In the neighborhood of this fort is a pretty large settlement, and the people entirely destitute of a preached gospel. The village of Newark lies on the south shore of Lake Ontario, just where it receives the Niagara river. There is an extensive settlement contiguous to this village, and the people almost without gospel privileges. There is a Mr. Addison,* an Episcopalian minister, who lives not far from Newark; and a Mr. Young, a Presbyterian, who lives in town; otherways the people are entirely destitute, unless now and then supplied by the Methodist riding preachers; and that very seldom. The distance from Fort Erie to Newark is upwards of thirty miles, and all the way pretty thickly inhabited on the river; and, in many places, large settlements back from the river. At the mouth of Chippewa creek, a little above

*The Rev. Robert Addison, first missionary in the Niagara district of "the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," and first rector of St. Mark's, Niagara, Ont. He was appointed missionary of Niagara, July 17, 1791, but did not reach his territory—coming from England—until June, 1792. His residence was at Niagara, but throughout a long pastorate he traveled, preached and baptised at Grimsby, St. Catharines, Ancaster, Jordan, Chippewa, Fort Erie and westward as far as Long Point. He was the first chaplain to the Parliament of Upper Canada, at Niagara and later at York (Toronto). He officiated at the burial of Gen. Sir Isaac Brock, and Col. John McDonald, who fell together at Queenston, when they were buried together in a bastion of Fort George, October 16, 1812. He was military chaplain for many years, death ending his labors, October 6, 1829, in his 75th year. His remains rest under the chancel of St. Mark's, in the walls of which edifice a tablet is placed to his memory. That church still owns his library, of several hundred volumes.

Niagara Falls, is a large and thick-settled neighborhood (almost a village), and a settlement of considerable extent up the said creek. A town by the name of Stanford lies on the river, a little below the Great Falls, that is pretty large and thickly inhabited. In this town there is a Mr. Eastman, a Presbyterian minister, who preaches stately in three different places. The village of Queenston is situated on the bank of the river, about seven miles above Newark; in its vicinity is a pretty large settlement; and within two or three miles, a small village, at the Four Mile Creek. These two villages, and the adjacent settlements, are entirely destitute of stated preaching.

[The journal gives an extended account of religious conditions in this part of the province; mentions that besides two Episcopalians, one of them Mr. Addison, the other "a Mr. Phelps, not far from the head of Lake Ontario"; three Presbyterians and "a German of the Lutheran order," settled about ten or fifteen miles from Queenston, there were no ordained preachers in the district "except the Methodists, and not many of them. . . . The mission of Elder Blood, according to appearance, was attended with many happy consequences. . . . Mr. Dunlap and Mr. Proudfit have each made a tour in that country, and have left evident traces of their usefulness." After a long exhortation to his brethren to prosecute the work, Mr. Covell continues:]

On our return from the province of Canada, let me invite the reader to call and make a short visit with the poor savages. Elder Elkanah Holmes is appointed by the New York Missionary Society, as a missionary to the north-western Indians. His labors have been chiefly with the Senecas and Tuscaroras; and much of the greater part of the time with the latter. The greater part of the Senecas are well inclined to receive the gospel, and the maxims of civilization; though there are some of them opposed to it, which causes some trouble, and in some degree retards his success with them; notwithstanding the balance of circumstances is much in his favor with them. With the Tuscaroras he has been much more successful. In less than two years, he has had the happiness to prevail on them to aban-

don many of their savage notions; they have entered into solemn covenant with him, to abstain from the use of spirituous liquors, of all kinds; to observe the Sabbath as a day of religious worship, and to do everything in their power to restrain licentiousness among the rising generation, and become acquainted with the Christian religion. To this covenant they adhere, with a scrupulosity that might be an admonition to white people. There is a very convenient house erected in their village (at the expense of the State) for the purpose of meeting for worship and educating their children. They have an English school taught by a young Indian, who has a good share of English learning, and is a very sober, respectable man. The solemn and orderly manner in which they attend public worship; the correctness and melody of their singing, and the solicitude and affection with which they listen to a preached gospel, afford incontestible evidence of the success of his labors among them; and at the same time, hold out the strongest inducements to prosecute the missionary business among other tribes of the same color. . . . On the morning of Thursday, the 3d of November, we left Buffalo and pursued our journey homewards. . . .

NOTE—In an Appendix to his journal, Mr. Covell tells of the council which was in progress at the Seneca village, as to building a house to serve as church and school, for the decision of which Elder Holmes was waiting when the missionaries arrived in Buffalo. “At this council, the principal chiefs of the Oneida and Cayuga nations were present. The object was to effect a reconciliation between the two contending parties, so that the house might be built, the missionary received and the nation instructed in the principles of the gospel and civilization, by general and amicable agreement. Much depended on the result of this council. The famous orator, Red Jacket, was a strenuous advocate for receiving the gospel and building the house; and a majority of the nation were on his side. After counselling together on the subject upwards of ten days, they came to a conclusion to have the house built, and invited Mr. Holmes to meet them at their council house.” Mr. Covell gives the speech of Red Jacket on this occasion, in which that orator avowed a friendliness to the work of the missionaries in curious contrast to his attitude a few years later, in the days of Hyde and Harris. Mr. Holmes’ reply to Red Jacket, on the occasion referred to, is also given, as is also Mr. Covell’s own talk to the Indians at Tuscarora village, October 29, 1803.

VI.

VISIT OF GERARD T. HOPKINS.

A QUAKER AMBASSADOR TO THE INDIANS WHO
VISITED BUFFALO IN 1804.

NOTE.—In 1804 an Indian Committee of the Baltimore Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends, went on a mission to the Indians at Fort Wayne. The party consisted of George Ellicott (a relative of Joseph Ellicott), Gerard T. Hopkins and Philip Dennis. Returning from Fort Wayne, by vessel down Lake Erie, these Quakers arrived at Fort Erie on May 10th. The journal of the mission, written in 1804 by Gerard T. Hopkins, was published as a pamphlet in that year, and reprinted for private distribution in 1862, with an appendix compiled by George Ellicott's daughter, Mrs. Martha E. Tyson. The following extract, relating to the visit in Buffalo and on the Niagara, is from a copy containing important manuscript corrections and additions supplied by Mrs. Tyson. Gerard T. Hopkins was an approved minister of the Society of Friends.

8th (Fifth month [May]). During last night lay at Presqueile,* and this morning put on shore the passengers bound for that place, after which the wind heading us, we lay at anchor the rest of the day. Presqueile is a town on the American side of the lake, containing about forty houses, several of which are stores. A small garrison of the United States is stationed here.

9th. About 10 o'clock last night, a light favorable breeze sprung up, which encouraged us to proceed. The vessel had been all night and during the day under sail. At 8 o'clock in the evening we dropped anchor, within four miles of Niagara river. Our commander says that the channel lead-

*Presqu' Isle, now Erie, Pa.

ing into the harbor is rocky and dangerous, and deems it imprudent to attempt an entrance at night.

It is a pleasing reflection, that we are so near to the end of our passage over the lake; and we are gladdened with the hope, that we shall shortly prosecute the remainder of our journey over terra firma, where we shall not be subject to the impediments of opposing winds, and be freed from the dangers of storms. Lake Erie is a very beautiful body of water, 300 miles in length and generally fifty to sixty in width. Much of the distance we have sailed has been out of sight of land. The water of the lake appears to be of a beautiful deep green color, but when taken up in a glass vessel is to be admired for its transparency. I think it is, without exception, the sweetest water I ever drank.

10th. At 4 o'clock this morning our anchor was again hoisted, and in about half an hour we were safely moored at Fort Erie. This is a small fort on the Canadian shore of the lake, garrisoned by the British. Immediately on our arrival we set out on foot for Buffalo, distant five miles, a town situated at the junction of Buffalo Creek with Lake Erie, and near the commencement of the outlet of the lake, commonly called Niagara river. The object of this excursion was to obtain a conveyance across the country to the nearest line of public stages. We were successful in an application to one of the inhabitants, who agreed to furnish us with a light wagon, to be in readiness two days hence. Here we met Erasmus* Granger, an agent of the United States in the Indian Department. We had conversation with him at considerable length on Indian affairs. He tells us that many individuals amongst the Indians of his district (who are of the Six Nations) are turning their attention to agriculture.

About mid-day we returned in a small boat to our vessel. After dining on board, we went on shore at Fort Erie, and joined by our Commodore and Lieutenant Cox, a passenger with us from Detroit, we engaged a light wagon to return with us at four o'clock tomorrow morning, to view the

*Erastus.

Falls of Niagara, distant about eighteen miles. We extended our walk for a considerable distance along the shore of Lake Erie; it is here composed of a solid body of limestone, beautifully marked.

11th. This morning we set out for the Falls of Niagara; our road passed near the margin of Niagara river, from the lake to the Falls, a distance of eighteen miles, which afforded us a view both of the river, and of the adjacent improvements. The land is generally under cultivation and is tolerably improved. The soil appears rather cold and stiff; but some of the meadows are nearly equal to the best I ever saw; some of the farms belong to members of our Society, and we are told that there is a meeting of Friends not far distant from the Falls. Considerable emigrations are making from the United States, to this as well as other parts of Upper Canada, owing to the very advantageous terms upon which the British Government dispose of the land, being scarcely removed from a gift.

We reached a Canadian town called Chippewa, to breakfast, after which we walked to the Falls, a distance of two miles. This was a walk, of which every step seemed to increase curiosity and surprise. Our attention was soon arrested by a cloud which hangs perpetually over the Falls for the height of 600 feet, arising from the dashing of the waters. [There is a continual increase in the velocity of the water, from the commencement of the river to the Falls. From the town of Chippewa to the Falls, the velocity is very great; the water dashes against the rocks, rising many feet in height, from the force, occasioning a very confused appearance, and incessant roar. It is observable that within a short distance of the Cataract (no doubt owing to less fall), the water seems to make a tremulous pause, as though in doubtful suspense.]*

As we advanced to the Falls the solid earth and rocks shook, or seemed to shake, under our feet, whilst the roar of the waters so overpowered every other sound that, notwithstanding

*Passage in brackets is in the original MS., but not in the journal as printed.

standing we were tete-a-tete, it was necessary to raise the voice to a very loud key in order to be heard. Meanwhile the cloud above mentioned issued continually in what we sometimes hear called a Scotch mist.

There is a common saying, "Those who know no danger, fear none." This was our case on returning to the extremity of an over-jutting rock, called Table Rock, opposite to the great cataract, in order to gratify our curiosity, in a peep down the precipice which is more than 150 feet perpendicular. In passing afterwards a short distance below this rock, we were alarmed with the discovery, that the place on which we had stood was but a thin shell, the Falls having undermined the rock for many feet. Proceeding a little lower down the Falls, we again found that our second stand was almost as baseless. We, however, supposed that the danger was not equal to our apprehensions, as the names of great numbers of visitors were cut in these rocks, near their extremities. I shall not attempt to give a particular description of the Falls of Niagara, which has been done by persons who have visited them, for the especial purpose of gratifying the curious. [Sufficient to say, that the waters of Lake Superior, Lake Michigan, Lake Huron, Lake St. Clair, Lake Erie and several small lakes, all pass over the cataract, on the way through Lake Ontario, and thence down the River St. Lawrence, to the ocean; that the river is here but three-fourths of a mile in width; that these waters pour down over a perpendicular height of more than 150 feet, the whole of this width; that the noise from this vast fall of water is to be heard for the distance of forty-five miles, and finally, that the scene appeared to me whilst on the spot, to be awful, diversified, and sublime, beyond description.]* After we had gratified our curiosity in a view of them we returned to Fort Erie, and after night were rowed in a small boat to Buffalo town, in order to be in readiness for setting out homeward in the morning.

12th. The person who has engaged to take us on our journey this morning has disappointed us. The circum-

*Passage in original MS., omitted from the printed journal.

stance is a trial, as we have become very anxious to reach our homes. Being at leisure we accompanied the Indian agent in a ride, four miles above Buffalo Creek, to an Indian village of the Senecas, one of the tribes of the Six Nations.

They are making considerable progress in agriculture, live in tolerable log houses, and have a number of cattle, horses and hogs. We saw many of them at work; they were preparing the ground for the plough by rolling logs, taking up stumps, etc.

We also saw among them a large plough at work drawn by three yoke of oxen, and attended by three Indians. They all appeared to be very merry, and to be pleased with our visit. The land upon which these Indians are settled is of a superior quality. We saw amongst them Red Jacket, Farmer's Brother, and several other distinguished chiefs. Many of these Indians wore in their ears, and round their necks, strung upon strings, several descriptions of lake shells. Here we met with Saccarissa, a principal chief of the Tuscarora tribe. He has come for the purpose of being assisted by the agent in vesting fifteen thousand dollars in the purchase of land from the Holland Land Company. They have greatly declined hunting, and are becoming agriculturists. The Tuscarora Indians removed from North Carolina many years ago, and were received into the then Five Nations, or Iroquois Indians, who gave them a small tract of country, which they now think wants enlarging. It is a fact, that the Six Nations have stock in the Bank of the United States to the amount of more than one hundred thousand dollars, from which they draw regular dividends. This is money which they received some years ago from our Government for the sale of their lands. The chiefs and principal people took the advice of General Washington, in making bank stock of their money.

13th. This morning we set out from Buffalo in a farm wagon drawn by two horses, and traveled 32 miles through a rough and inferior country.

14th. Proceeded 23 miles and reached Batavia, a new town, handsomely situated. We have had a muddy, dis-

agreeable road, through a country too flat to be desirable. The land is pretty rich, and very heavily timbered. We have been all day followed by millions of mosquitoes; crossed a handsome stream called the Tanawantae, and were told at the Ford that a little distance above us 120 rattle snakes lay dead. These snakes were killed by some fishermen with their spears, the warm weather having brought them out of their dens. People are making settlement here very rapidly.

[From this point they traveled across the Genesee, passing near Hemlock Lake, and thence to Canandaigua, where they got the stage; then on by Geneva, Cayuga Lake at the long bridge, Utica, down the Mohawk to Albany by the Hudson to New York and by stage to Baltimore, where they ended their journey, May 27, 1804, having been absent "three months and four days and traveled about 2,000 miles."]

VII.

VISIT OF REV. JOSEPH AVERY.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT IN POSSESSION

OF HIS GREAT-GREAT-GRANDDAUGHTER, MRS.

H. B. DOW, ROCHESTER, N. Y.

Tuesday, Aug. 27, 1805. Set out* on this mission in the afternoon and lodged at Mr. Hyde's.

Wednesday, 28. Morning, rode to Lenox and attended to the business of my suit in court; then rode to N. Lebanon. There was at 3 o'clock a sacramental lecture. Messrs. Perry, Moss, Waters and Robbins were present. It rained before I arrived. Two sermons were preached, and I preached the last. Went to Mr. Churchill's for lodging. We had a ministerial chat in the evening, and Mr.

*From Tyringham, Berkshire Co., Mass. Joseph Avery was a missionary in the service of the Berkshire (Mass.) Missionary Society, and made several journeys through New York State in the latter years of the eighteenth and early years of the nineteenth century. On his father's side he was descended from Christopher Avery who with his son James, reached Salem on the ship *Arabella*, ten years after the coming of the *Mayflower*. Both father and son were men of distinction in the colony; it was the latter who in 1656 built the house in Groton, Ct., known as "the Hive of the Averys," a quaint, roomy structure which sheltered eight generations of his descendants. It was burned in 1894, and subsequently the site was deeded to the Avery Park Memorial Association, and there in 1900 a monument was dedicated to the old colonial Avery, who in his day was a judge, and second in military command under Governor Winthrop. The missionary Avery, whose journal is here printed, founded many churches, among them one in Bloomfield, Monroe County, which in 1899 celebrated its 100th anniversary.

Williston and Wood, returning from a mission of 15 weeks from the Hampshire Society attend with us an hour or so.

Thursday, 29. I set out early; it [was] soon rainy; when I came to Schermerhorn's Tavern it rained hard from 9 to 2, when it came only a mist. Rode to Albany, 20 miles, in the afternoon; in the whole, 27 miles.

Friday, 30. Rode to Bern 21 miles, visited two families.

Saturday 31st. Visited three families; preached in the afternoon at a conference, and a prayer-meeting of the church.

Lord's Day September 1st. Preached three sermons to an attentive audience; one man 28 years of age said he had never heard but two sermons in his life before then. Three dollars were contributed.

Monday, 2d. Rode to Cobus-Kill. Made an appointment to preach the last Sabbath in my mission at Old Schohare.

Tuesday, 3d. Rode to Springfield, 30 miles.

Wednesday, 4th. Attended the funeral of a Mr. Brusler's daughter who moved last Spring from West Hampton. His son married a daughter of Mr. Charles Taylor, from Tyringham. After the funeral I rode.

Thursday, 5th. Rode to Paris. Called on Rev. Messrs. Steel and Horton, besides visiting seven families in my way. I arrived at Verona on Friday the 6th of the month.

At Verona I spent two Sabbaths and the days of the week between, only one day I went to Vernon, 12 miles. I was in the town eight days; I preached 8 times, visited 22 families, attended two conferences. There have been no new instances of awakening since July. About that time three Baptist ministers came into the place and zealously preached the necessity of going down into the water, and altho' they made no proselytes, yet it made some disputation for a short season, and seriousness ceased in the minds of many, then apparently awakened, and no new instances since, but there remain happy fruits of the awakening; 20 are added to the church, 5 more are propounded and several more contemplate coming forward soon.

Monday 16th. I set out for Batavia, in the County of Genesee. On Wednesday in the afternoon I reached Geneva [Geneva], where Mr. Chapman presides. A number of ministers and elders of churches were assembled in presbytery; Mr. Chapman was moderator and Mr. Chadwick scribe; Mr. Woodruff, Mr. Higgins, Mr. Jones, were members. Mr. Stewart, whom I saw at Homer on my last mission mentioned in that journal, now a licentiate, was present; a man well reported of. I attended with the Presbytery until Thursday 10 o'clock very agreeably, when I left them and arrived at Ganson's Settlement* 19 miles beyond the Genesee River on Saturday 21st.

Lord's Day, 22d. Preached twice in the day to a very decent assembly in a schoolhouse; they gave good attention. Appointed a conference in the evening at Esq. Bates's; it was rainy and but few came in.

Monday, 23d. Visited four families who appeared to be glad to be noticed by ministers, they are chiefly young families in this place, appear decent, but not one professor of religion. Judge Esau [?] Plat [Platt?] is an Episcopal professor, is a decent man, hospitable and kind; attended on the Sabbath with his family.

While I was having my horse's shoe set I was conducted to a strange monument in the woods, a pile [pile] of dirt as large as 20 cord coalpit; a tree has grown out of its top about 18 inches through; it has been dug in and human bones found in it, some of a very large length; the whole contents unknown.

I travelled from this place to Batavia in the afternoon, 12 miles to Landlord Row's, where a young woman lay a corpse, who had lived in the house, a maid by the name of Hayes, her mother was niece to old Mr. —— of Tyringham. Betsy Spring was here at work.

Tuesday, 24. Attended on the funeral at one o'clock and preached; a large number of people attended with solemnity. The night before an aged woman died by the name of Munger, a widow without children; her husband

*Le Roy, N. Y.

built the house where I put up. He was admitted to bail on an indictment for beastiality, and went to the British and forfeited his bonds; his bondsmen took his estate; but not finding himself safe among the British was seen to be returning privately, but was supposed to be killed by the Tonawanda Indians for witchcraft. The woman was a decent person, and respected, but no relation here. I attend her funeral at 4 in the afternoon about two miles from this. In the evening a man by the name of Stuart, a transient man, a bachelord, supposed to have no property, after an illness of a very few days, departed this life. I preached at his funeral the next day at one o'clock.

Thursday, 26. There have been but 3 grown persons die in this place before these three since it was settled which is two years last Spring. I visited a number of families in the day and traveled about 12 miles.

Friday, 27. Continued visiting all day, and in the evening preached at the Court House.

Saturday, 28. Visited up street to a number of families.

Lord's Day, 29. Preached both parts of the day at the Court House.

Monday 30th. Left Batavia for the westward. Travelled 20 miles in the Queenstown road, mostly a wilderness.

Tuesday, Oct. 1. Went off from this road and visited a settlement called Slaton's [or Haton's?] and preached in the evening to a considerable number of people who attended decently and were glad of an opportunity to hear. They began here two years ago and never had a sermon before or a meeting of any kind on the Sabbath or any other day for religious worship. Esq. Warner is here.

Wednesday, 2d. Travelled seven miles to and on the Queenstown Road to Wilbers' Esq. Tavern. He is a very decent man. His wife is Dr. Hand's [?] daughter of Bloomfield. It was now 10 o'clock and 11 miles to the next house, and began to rain and continued most of the rest of the day. I was kindly entertained here until

Thursday 3d, when I travelled on 18 miles toward Niagara to the Tuscarora Village. Mr. Elkany Homes [Elkanah Holmes] a Baptist missionary from the N. Y.

Missionary Society, is preaching to them. He lives in a room in their meeting-house. He blowed his shell which is the token for calling an assembly, and they came together in the evening. When according [to] their custom I was introduced to them by Mr. Holmes, the chief then addressed me by the interpreter with a speech, showing their readiness to hear what I had to say unto them. I gave them a short history of my travel there and the design of my visit and then gave them a short discourse by an interpreter and concluded by a prayer in English.

Friday, 4th. Went to Niagara Landing and notified an evening lecture; but nobody came.

Saturday, 5th. Had calculated to go on in the morning to Buffalow; but it rained and the road in this side was very bad for strangers. I concluded to stay here over the Sabbath; and this day I visited every house in the village, 7 in number. There are a few more at the distance of about 2 1-2 miles. This is in the town of Ere [Erie], is 95 miles long and 20 wide. This settlement goes by the name of Lewiston. Some of the people here are very rough, the place has the name of being worse than the heathen, but I found families that appeared decent. I put up at Capt. Beech's. Mr. Ira Benjamin lives here, and Harris who married Capt. Teag's [?] daughter. This place is seven miles from the Castle. [Fort Niagara.]

Lord's Day, 6th. Preached to about 50 people. They attend soberly. One wagon load of people came 9 miles.

Monday 7. Crossed the ferry to Queenston, in Upper Canada, and traveled up on a very pleasant road by the side of Niagara River. Went down to the Falls and took a view of them, and the mills on the rapids, and then pursued on toward the outlet of Lake Eri. I called at Chipaway. Here is a river navigable with boats for about 100 miles into the country. There are people on this road from almost all parts of the world and of different professions. I put up night in a settlement of Germans by the profession of menin [Mennonists] and lodged at the house of their teacher. There are not far from them Germans who call their profession Dunkers.

Tuesday 8th, came to the ferry but the wind was so high that the flat could not cross. The lake looked like the sea in a storm and the rapids like [illegible] race.

Wednesday 9th. Crossed the ferry and travelled on the beach 3 miles to Buffalow village. This is a new settlement begun in settling but two years, mostly New England people. I visited several families and traveled on toward Batavia, visited several families and put up at Mr. Ransom's from Great Barrington. This was 8 miles from Buffalow.

Thursday 10. Progressed on. There is no house off from this road all the way from Buffalo to Batavia. I now made it an object to call at every house. It is a road of 45 [miles], I traveled 59 miles and visited 18 families. I came to Mr. Gans who married Dr. Brunson's daughter. Here is a thicker settlement for about 4 miles than any place excepting about Major Ransom's about 15 miles from this; where I should have had a meeting in the evening, but Elder Irish had appointed at the same time. Mr. Wheeler, a brother of Dr. Wheeler of Salisbury lives here, he said he had a son who had of late commenced preacher, whom he looked for soon to visit him; he is a professor and his wife and son and daughter and had buried a daughter who was a professor about 8 weeks before this. Lodged at Mr. Goss's.

Friday 11, preached in the afternoon to about 40 people at Mr. Gans. I visited all the families in this settlement to the number of 9, chiefly young and not one professor among them, and only Mr. Goss and his wife who entertain a hope—They had never any preaching before.

Saturday 12. Rode to Batavia 6 miles, visited 4 families in the way. Since I left Batavia until my return is 13 days. I have travelled 148 miles, was three days interrupted traveling, preached 5 times.

Lord's Day 13. A Methodist minister being here he preached in the morning, and I in the afternoon. [Loose note laid in the journal:] A minister I saw at Batavia by the name of Harshey, a German from Merland [?Maryland.] His profession was Meninonest [Mennonist]. They

do not baptise infants, nor require a profession of a change of heart in the subject. Those who have been baptised in infancy they do not require to be again baptised, to be admitted to their communion; but admit of it by their request. They administer baptism by pouring water, but do not deny plunging to such as desire it, and then it is done with the face downward.

Monday 14. I rode up the creek south from Batavia to No. 10 of the Second Range, 12 miles in a new muddy road, half the first part of the way without a house, was accompanied to Mr. Mackraken to No. 9. Visited 7 families and came to Mr. Hodge's, whose daughter's funeral I had attended.

Tuesday 15. Preached in the afternoon to about 30 people; rode back 3 miles and preached at a Mr. Adams's in the evening. About 20 persons attended soberly; I had a conference with them after sermon.

Wednesday 16. Came back to Batavia, visited 4 families on the way, and preached in the evening at the Court House.

Thursday 17. Called on a few families, 5 in the morning and bid them farewell, and left the place and rode to Ganson's Settlement to meet my appointment there in the afternoon. The wind blew amazing hard, the trees fell in the woods, limbs from girdled timber were thick in the air at times, and green and dry trees fell across the road in great plenty. I never felt myself in greater danger on the road in my life at the distance of 12 miles, 5 of it without a house, but I received no harm. Very few people came to the meetings, they had all quitted labor in the afternoon, as they feared to be in their lots, and their children feared to be left alone in their houses.

Friday 18. I went about two miles to see an old fort in the woods by the side of a road and the falls on Allins River about 100 rods from the fort. This river in low water will carry a grist mill, day and night; but for a mile above the falls, which are 73 feet, it now wholly disappears until two miles below when there is a greater quantity of water than above. In times of high water it runs a great

depth over the falls. Then rode 6 1-2 miles to meet my appointment at the deep springs, called Calidonia. Met with the elders of the church and members in their way of preparation in the Scotch way for communion. Many of the members could not speak and some could not understand English.

[The remaining pages of the MS. are a record of the preachings and visitations as Mr. Avery made his way eastward from Caledonia, which settlement he left Oct. 21st, visiting East Bloomfield, Phelps, Canandaigua, Manlius, Pompey, Verona, Rome, Vernon, Otsego, Bowman's Creek, Old Schoharie and Bern, at which point, Nov. 18th, the journal ends.]

VIII.

VISIT TO BUFFALO, IN 1806, OF THE REV. ROSWELL BURROWS.

EXTRACT FROM HIS REPORT TO THE GROTON (CT.)
UNION CONFERENCE, JANUARY 2, 1807.*

I now address you on the subject of my mission to the north-west frontiers agreeably to your letter of instructions and appointments to me for that purpose, dated at Newport, September 10th, 1806, in behalf of the Groton Union Conference. I am sorry that I have not just ground to give you a more favorable account of my labors than what I have. I am in some measure sensible that returns of this nature too often are painted in too strong colors to bear an examination, but I wish not to set forth anything in a different point of view than what it may absolutely appear to those that follow after me.

I left my family on the 15th of September last, and proceeded without making any stop to preach until I had ridden two hundred and twenty-seven miles to Fairfield in Herkimer County, excepting I preached twice on Lord's Day at Clifton Park where Elder Peck usually preaches, who was then absent.

I got to Fairfield the 23rd, at which place I tarried until

*From a MS. copy deposited with the Buffalo Historical Society by Lorenzo K. Haddock, Nov. 13, 1866. "Elder Burrows," Mr. Haddock wrote, "was the grandfather of Roswell L. Burrows now of this city."

the 29th and attended four meetings in this and the adjoining towns. Here are in these parts three vacant Baptist churches made up of five or six different towns; and a large number of towns in which there are a number of scattering brethren; and have no stated preaching in them. I was earnestly requested to improve the term of my mission in these parts. I found a solemn attention and humbly hope some good impressions were made.

Monday the 29th I rode thirty miles to Paris, where I preached on Tuesday, the 30th. From thence I rode 108 miles to Scipio and spent the next Lord's Day with the third church in that town and had a good season. I here learned that Elder Irish by an appointment from the Boston Missionary Society and Elder Covell* from the Shaftsbury Association had left those parts about a fortnight before on a mission to Upper Canada. Being desirous to overtake them, on Monday the 6th of October, I proceeded on without stopping to preach, until I rode one hundred and six miles to Batavia, near Lake Erie. But considering from the time they passed into Upper Canada, it was improbable I should overtake them until they had got to the end of their tour; and that it was not advisable to follow in their track, as there opens a large field for labors in these parts, I resolved to take a different route from what any missionary had done before me.

Accordingly I turned off from the main road south of Batavia about fourteen miles, where I found a large settlement, and learned there had never been any Baptist preaching there; and that they were nearly without any form of worship, excepting a few, who sometimes met for prayer and singing. I tarried here nearly a week and attended a number of meetings, and visited many families, praying with and exhorting them. I found there were scattered in this wilderness about sixteen Baptist professors, as sheep without a shepherd, some of whom seemed to have their minds stirred up to serve God, and made it manifest by

*Rev. Lemuel Covell, whose narrative of a visit in 1803 we have given, *ante* pp. 207-216.

public confession; and all the assembly appeared solemn and attentive.

I exhorted the brethren to unite in covenant, for watch-care over each other, and to maintain stated public worship, which they agreed to, and accordingly made appointment of a meeting for that purpose. From what appeared in that place there is a pleasing prospect, that, shortly, the Lord will plant a vine in that desolate land; and oh! may He cause that my labors may be blessed to its promotion! Although there appeared an opening sufficient to occupy all the time I proposed to spend on my tour, yet, as there were many other settlements equally destitute, I concluded it to be most proper to divide my time amongst them. However, they would not be denied my calling and preaching with them on my return.

Accordingly I made an appointment, and proceeded on, sixty-two miles to Buffalo, where I expected to find Elder Holmes, but was disappointed, as he resided with the Tuscarora Indians, about thirty miles north. I felt some peculiar trials from this second disappointment, being sensible of the need I had of advice and counsel from some of the fathers in the ministry, in this, to me, a new undertaking, and finding, by inquiry, there was not a person in that village, who ever made profession of any religion, and their morals corrupt in the extreme. I was almost persuaded to make no stop there. However, I concluded on giving them an offer of a meeting, and accordingly obtained a hall in a tavern, for that purpose, and gave notice through the village, but was informed, that I should most likely have disturbance. Whatever their motives were, I had a large assembly, and I here experienced sundry, singular circumstances.

My trials at first entering this place, my enlargement of mind in my improvements, the solemn attention of the assembly, and so large an assembly without a single professor (except myself), were all quite singular. I preached from Psalms, 49th chapter, and 8th verse—"For the redemption of the soul is precious."

The assembly tarried for singing and exhortation. O! may the Lord fasten conviction in some minds.

From there, Thursday the 16th, I rode eighteen miles to Eighteen-Mile Creek settlement,* where I preached to a solemn and affected assembly. It was the first time there ever was any preaching in this settlement, or any meeting for worship, although there is a circle of about ten miles, nearly sixty families, and six or eight professors, mostly Baptists. I advised, and obtained their consent to a covenant for worship, and watch-care, and some of the brethren seemed to have their minds stirred up, to promote the cause of God, and some who had not experienced religion, manifested some good degree of conviction. One respectable young man, in particular, requested my prayers for him, observing that he should not desist in his pursuit, until he obtained a sealing pardon for sin.

I made an appointment to attend here again, a week from next Lord's day; and proceeded on the next day, still up the south of Lake Erie, about fifty-five miles, to what is called "Cannidoway Creek Settlement."† The day that I entered the settlement being Saturday 18th, and very rainy, as I rode along, I made an appointment for a meeting the next day and was agreeably disappointed to meet so large an assembly, on so wet and cold a day, in such a wilderness, many of whom came, some six, and some eight miles in ox wagons. My heart was affected with compassion for the multitude, lest they be sent away empty in this wilderness; and I trust a little was blessed for feeding them. I made sundry appointments at this meeting, at all of which we had comfortable seasons, and I had much satisfaction and comfort of mind, from the opportunity I here had with a number of Baptist friends, some few of whom appeared engaged to see the cause of God promoted, while some were in a luke warm state. In all, I find about twenty Baptist professors scattered in this wilderness, who have at times attended to some form of worship. I proposed to them a

*Joel Harvey's Settlement, begun in 1804 near the mouth of the creek; now in the Town of Evans.

†Canadaway, Chautauqua Co.

covenant similar to what I had, with the brethren, I visited in other places, which was readily agreed to.

I visited sundry families in this place, and I hope to some good effect, particularly, a brother that had been for a long time, in neglect of even the externals of religion, who was brought to a confession in public assembly, and to his family in particular, manifesting to all, his purpose to live religion, and maintain worship in his family. Another brother, who was the first one I called on in this place, just before I entered his house, was conversing with his wife upon the low state of his mind, and the desire he had to hear preaching, and observed he thought he must sell and move away, which seemed to be the feelings of her mind. Immediately, upon which, I entered the house. After learning my business, the man affected great joy and gave thanks to God, that he should send his servant to visit them in their low state.

In this wilderness land, the brethren generally manifest their thankfulness to God, and the Union Conference, that they are remembered in sending preaching among them, and desire still to be remembered in sending preaching supplies. Wednesday the 22d, being about to depart on my way, we attended prayers, and God was remarkably present, while numbers prayed in succession. My soul was greatly enlarged, with desires for a blessing on this settlement, and my feelings were sensibly affected from the tears of grief that were shed by them, at the thought that we, who had had sweet communion together should part, most likely never to meet again in time; as well as from a thought, that there is no preacher of our order, within one hundred miles in any direction.

Several followed me to an appointment, about eight miles, on my return. We had a comfortable season.

Friday the 24th, I rode twenty miles to Cattaraugus, and visited the Indians there, with an idea of preaching to them, but was belated, and the Indians being hunting, it was not consistent.

I, however, had conversation with some, who could un-

derstand English, that were attentive, and one said, he thanked me, for care of his soul.

I returned from the village to a tavern, about fifteen miles, where, at about eight o'clock at night, was requested to attend a meeting with two families (who were all the settlers, within a number of miles) and a few travelers, I accordingly did, and the next day rode thirty-two miles, to my appointment at Eighteen-Mile Creek; and on Sunday the 26th I preached to a large assembly. In the first discourse, my mind was heavy, and much tried. In the afternoon I had a good season, and the solemn attention of an affected assembly.

Monday the 27th and Tuesday the 28th, I rode sixty miles to Elder Holmes at Tuscarora, an Indian settlement, with whom I tarried until the 30th, and with him attended two meetings with the Indians. I experienced much satisfaction from the interview, he being the only elder, I have had any such opportunity with since I came from home. His labors appear to have been abundantly blessed, with this nation, particularly for their civilization. They were before he came among them the most rude of the six nations, but now are the most cultivated, by abstaining from many of their heathenish traditions, and embracing many customs dictated by Christianity; and I hope not without some spiritual blessings, as sundry amongst them appear to be experimentally acquainted with religion.

I learned from Elder Holmes, that Elder Covil, whom I mentioned before, is no more in this life. He died the 19th of this month, in the town of Carlton, Sinclair County, Upper Canada. The natives here are in mourning for him. He was highly esteemed by them.

Brother Holmes sincerely requests that the Groton Union Conference would still consider the destitute situation of this western country, and send further supplies. For information of its necessity, he would quote his letter to the Boston Baptist Missionary Society, published in one of those numbers, perhaps the sixth or seventh.

Thursday the 30th, I rode 32 miles, to a tavern, on one

side six, and on the other side, fourteen miles without any inhabitants.

On my way I was lost, and night came on, and it was extremely dark and snowy. I now expected I must be out this night, as I could not find the path, except by feeling, and being several miles from any clearing. In this straitened circumstance, I committed my cause to God, Who conducted me through, late in the evening. Sometimes my horse was to his belly in mud, sometimes tearing my clothes in the brush, and sometimes my way was shut up by trees lying before me; but the Lord delivered me out of them all, and I got into an agreeable shelter, which at any other time would have been intolerable. It was thronged by tumultuous guests.

I soon introduced religious subjects, and treated with them on the important concerns of their souls, and soon had their attention. I asked the liberty and obtained it, and had the serious attention of all, for prayer, and in the morning the landlord requested me not to leave them, until I had prayed and taken breakfast. The family were solemn. The woman told me, she had had no opportunity to hear preaching for a number of years.

Friday 31st, I rode thirty miles, to a settlement, south of Batavia, and was some unwell, having taken cold the night before. I, however, attended meeting with them, who were very attentive to the word, and I learn they have had one meeting upon the subject of my advise, and have another appointed, and all appear engaged to give their aid, for the promotion of the Redeemer's cause. They were unanimous in their thanks to God, and to our conference, for remembering, and sending them preaching, and sincerely request that they may still be remembered. In this place, I would observe, that here is an extent of country, to the westward of Genesee river, larger than the State of Connecticut, on which there are supposed to be from twelve to fifteen hundred families, among whom there resides not one preacher, neither, have they heretofore been privileged with any missionary, excepting on the great roads, leading through to

Upper Canada, and to New Connecticut. There is a pleasing prospect, that shortly the Lord will plant a vine, at least, in the three settlements, I have particularly mentioned, and my heart feels enlarged, with desires that the Lord of the harvest, would send laborers into His vineyard.

[The Journal continues with details of preaching, and of travel, by way of Aurora, Aurelius, Pompey, Whitestown, Germantown, Little Falls, etc., arriving home at Groton December 4, 1806, having been absent eleven weeks and four days, and traveled on horseback 1300 miles. In all that time, he writes: "I was not privileged with hearing any sermon, excepting the one delivered by Elder Holmes to the Tuscarora Indians."]

IX.

A TEACHER AMONG THE SENECAS.

HISTORICAL AND PERSONAL NARRATIVE OF

JABEZ BACKUS HYDE,

WHO CAME TO THE BUFFALO CREEK MISSION IN 1811.

WRITTEN IN 1820.*

No doubt the Apostle's summary of the human character exhibited in the third chapter of Romans is a true representation of the national character of every nation and every individual that has not been renewed by divine grace. We then are to look for the different appearances in the character of nations and individuals in their different culture, circumstances, restraints or actions which bring to view or conceal their character.

Two brothers exposed to the same dangers, mutually dependent on each other, would in all probability live together like two brothers. Increase them to a band, and the regulations necessary to prevent them from destroying each other and to give success to their enterprises, would lead them to practice many things that would be called virtuous, amiable and honorable. In Christian countries where the influence of the Gospel is supposed to be felt in a degree by all, many persons can be found of great urbanity, generosity

*Now first published, from the original manuscript in possession of the Buffalo Historical Society.

and honor who from the circumstances in which they are placed and the culture of their minds, suppose themselves under indispensable necessity to take the life of their nearest friend who should offer them the least insult, or lose their own life in the attempt. This persuasion comes from the conceit that such high-mettled spirits cannot be restrained, or any character be preserved among them, only from the dread of such consequences. A regulation similar we might expect necessary in hell.

It will not be controverted I trust by any who believe the testimony of Scripture, that all men are equally depraved, that the different appearances in the character of nations, or individuals, are either produced by their different culture, the circumstances in which they may be placed, the restraints they may be under, or the particular cost and endowments of their minds directing that depravity in accomplishing the holy purposes of God, either of wrath or mercy.

I have introduced these remarks because we are hearing from every quarter of the amiableness and innocence of the heathen, who were very well off without the light of the Gospel. But to return to a more particular consideration of the character of the Indians. Those who retain their original habits are a hardy athletic race, glorying in their strength, activity and hardihood, scorning to complain under sufferings. Their privations and abstinence would appear almost incredible. Originally they had no views of personal property, further than the present subsistence. Their hospitality was only bounded by their whole possessions. To have refused a supper because it would take the family's breakfast, would have been at the price of their reputation. Their mode of subsistence and mutual dependence would ensure such a principle and establish the habit, which would become a law. All mutually dependent on the success of the chase, it became necessary to self-preservation that hunting parties contiguous and those more distant that might occasionally visit each other should make a common property of their good or ill success, if much was ob-

tained they shared bountifully, if little they shared accordingly, if nothing to bear the privation with cheerfulness was the only merit. But they were Nimrods, mighty hunters before the Lord. No doubt hunting wild beasts remarkably trains men for martial enterprises. The wars among the different tribes were bloody and exterminating, peace was rarely settled before one of the parties was reduced beyond the probability of ever being able to avenge the blood that had been spilt. This was a reduction of life, not of resources.

As all their education was oral or experimental, which would inspire confidence in the aged, and as the chiefs had the preëminence in nothing but a reputation for superior wisdom and experience, and the privilege of directing and being the first in hazardous enterprises, their influence was great though their authority was only advisory. A happy relict of this deference and respect for the aged remains with the Senecas. Trained up from infancy to self-denial Indians generally have a command of their passions and appetites. The intercourse between the sexes, if not indiscriminate, was but a little remove from it; not I apprehend from the violence of their passions but the looseness of their principles.

Indians are generally friendly and affable in their intercourse with each other. Their family government is generally mild and quiet. For one to speak at a time is taught from infancy. A child in making a request to his father or other relative addresses him by his title of relationship, as "My father," "My mother," adding not another word, let the case be ever so urgent, until he has an answer, "Here I am," or "Speak on." Indians generally address each other by some title of relationship, the younger address the elder as "My father," "My grandfather," "My older brother," "My uncle." The aged address the younger by some title of affection, as "My child," "My cousin," "My nephew," making a full pause, waiting for notice that they are heard before they proceed to open the subject. Indians have a high opinion of deliberation. A hasty opinion on subjects

of apparently small moment, they consider a mark of a weak, flighty mind. This custom of deliberation and reflection has doubtless greatly invigorated their minds and given them a solidity of judgment for which they are so justly admired.

THE RELIGION OF INDIANS.

Their manner of subsistence has doubtless done much to teach them their dependence on the providence of God. They acknowledge the preservation of their lives and their success in any enterprise to his kind interposition. It is an ordinary salutation: "Through the mercy or help of God I am alive and in health." "I thank God our preserver I see you alive and in health." They always open their councils with returning thanks to God, mentioning the particular blessings that attend them. They also close their councils in the same manner. When they have been successful in hunting they generally make a feast, professedly before the Lord, acknowledging God as the giver, and returning thanks for his benefits. The same has generally been the case, until of late, when they kill a domestic animal; they make a feast offering as they call it, and devour the animal. As far as I have been acquainted no family until within this few years has salted any provision for their use.

As far as I have been able to discover, these Indians are not idolators. They pay no worship to the Great Spirit through any similitude. They speak of God as existing or made known in four persons or sounds; whether they have reference to the name Nau-wen-ne-u, or his creating or governing the four elements, or something else I could never satisfy myself. They address these four existences, persons or sounds, without any name, as "the Great incomprehensible God," "the Creator and Governor of all things."

In the ceremonies of Indian worship is certainly to be seen at this day a shadow of the Mosaic ritual. They have annually the feast of first fruits, the feast of ingathering, the feast of atonement or yearly sacrifice, a feast in the Spring in which they present the different seeds they purpose to plant. They have numerous peace offerings, in

which individuals provide as they choose, and invite whom they please, and professedly eat before the Lord. They build altars of stone before a tent, covered with blankets, and burn Indian tobacco within the tent with fire taken from off the altar.

The first altar I discovered was about five years since.* I saw a fire in the evening in the woods a little way from my house. One of my neighbors informed me that the occasion of the fire was, an Indian performing religious rites for a neighbor that lay dangerously sick. In the morning I visited the spot, found the frame of a tent much in the shape of a sugar loaf; before the tent were stones laid in the form of an hearth; on it by appearance there had been considerable fire. I counted the stone but could not ascertain exactly how many there might have been, as some of them had been broken by the fire; there must have been ten, there might have been more. Within the tent there had been a small fire, which burnt the grass a little.

About two months after, the sick man continuing to grow worse, his father came to my house with a basket of stone on his back. I understood [from] him he was going to fit up the altar and try if he could not procure a blessing for his son. He thought the person that officiated before had not managed right. He repaired to the same place, cleared the ground, put his stones in order and raised up the frame of another tent. A little after dark he called at my house to get fire to conduct his ceremonies. I felt a strong desire to see the performance, but as no child or person went near him, I feared if I went I should be considered an intruder, and the ill success might be attributed to me. But it happened to be a very windy night; by taking advantage of the gusts of wind I could walk and not be heard. I got within a few yards of the fire, behind a log that he could not see me. I saw the old man standing by a large fire before the tent, every few minutes taking something from the fire and putting [it] within the tent. The tent was covered with blankets; the last blanket was a curtain which he drew

*In or about the year 1815.

back when he put anything in, and immediately closed it. I could not see anything on the fire. I have understood that they burn nothing on the fire before the tent, but the whole object is to kindle the sweet odor within from the fire without. I have since frequently seen the ruins of these tents and altars.

They observe eight days of uncleanness after a person has died in their house and dress in their worst attire during these days. They are not allowed to go into any assemblage of people for religious worship. The ninth day they make a feast. The appointed mourners who had met twice a day during the eight days to make lamentations, cease, and all are considered clean. These things I have repeatedly seen, and from good authority I have often heard that the same rites are observed in regard to their women as are enjoined by the Levitical law, with a little variation as to the number of days. It belongs to the next akin to avenge the blood of his murdered relation. The Indian festivals are generally conducted with singing and dancing; sometimes only singing. I suspect their singing is in an unknown tongue to themselves. I could never find one that could give any interpretation.

My purpose is only to state facts without at all discussing the subject as to the origin of Indian rites of worship.

Notwithstanding all the knowledge Indians have of God and their readiness to acknowledge him in all their blessings, they are under a miserable bondage from their belief in the power of evil spirits over their health, life and destiny. They suppose these evil spirits act through the agency of men whom they can empower to travel in mid-air over mountains, rivers, lakes, an amazing distance in one night, and inject a poisoned hair or feather into any victim they may select, which will end in death unless it can be counteracted or expelled by their conjurors. These conjurors pretend to be acquainted with the secret workings of those evil spirits, and the persons who are employed by them, which has occasioned the death of many as witches, though the conjurors dare not directly expose the persons that are thus

employed, if they have friends and influence, lest as they say they shall feel the weight of their malice on themselves. Indians generally attribute sickness, death or any misfortune to the agency of these evil spirits, against whom they have no defense but the art of their conjurors. To question their skill or dispute the power and agency of the evil spirits would be thought the height of presumption, at the hazard of life.

As far as I have been able to discover, Indians have considered it wrong to pray unto God, or ask any favor of him. They say it implies dissatisfaction with our condition and irreverent attempt to influence the Divine Being. To give thanks to God for his benefits and submit with quietness to the allotment of his providences is our duty. These sentiments, which I believe are very general, if not universal, shut them out from all application to God except the influence they may suppose their religious rites have in moving the Divine Being to be propitious to them.

Indians, as has been observed, bear suffering with great fortitude, but at the end of this fortitude is desperation. Suicides are frequent among the Senecas. I apprehend this despondency is the principal cause of their intemperance. Most of the children and youth have an aversion to spirituous liquor, and rarely taste it until some trouble overtakes them. Their circumstances are peculiarly calculated to depress their spirits, especially these contiguous to white settlements. Their ancient manner of subsistence is broken up, and when they appear willing and desirous to turn their attention to agriculture, their ignorance, the inveteracy of their old habits, the disadvantages under which they labor, soon discourage them; though they struggle hard little is realized to their benefit, beside the continual dread they live in of losing their possessions. If they build they know not who will inhabit. If they make fields they know not who will cultivate them. They know the anxiety of their white neighbors to get possession of their lands. They know in all their transactions with white men, in war or negotiation, they have prevailed against them, and they are filled with

desponding fears that it will continue to be so. Their religion affords them no relief. They know not the way to God nor how to cast their cares upon him. They are wandering in the wilderness in a solitary way, they have found no city to dwell in; hungry and thirsty their souls fainting in them. They sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, being bound in affliction. Their hearts are brought down with labor. They have fallen down and there is no helper. Thanks be to God we have reason to hope they are beginning to cry unto the Lord in their troubles. He will deliver them out of their distresses, send his word and heal them, and they will soon join in the anthems of the redeemed. Oh that men would praise the Lord for his goodness and his wonderful works to the children of men. For this let us labor, for this let us pray.

SUCCESS OF THE GOSPEL AND PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION AMONG THE SIX NATIONS.

In writing on this article I confess my information is very scanty. I shall state things as I have heard them from Indians and others, except what has passed under my own observation, hoping some abler pen will correct my errors and give a faithful statement.

The Mohawks.* I have understood from the Indians that the French sent a missionary among the tribe as early as when they were in quiet possession of Canada. The first missionary the Mohawks killed. Soon after his death the Indians were visited with a grievous sickness which carried off great numbers. They considered this extremity a judgment sent on them for their cruelty to the missionary. As an atonement for the offense and to avert the evil they were suffering they sent to the French an acknowledgment of their wrong, desiring they would send them another missionary. The French complied with their request; part of the tribe received and listened to his instruction. The mis-

*Mr. Hyde is too vague in his allusions to the early French missions among the Mohawks and other tribes to make his account of value. When he writes of his own experiences and observation among the Senecas, he makes a welcome contribution to knowledge.

sionary persuaded them that were in favor of religious instruction to remove with him into Canada and settle at the St. Regis. This part of the tribe remain there to this day in communion with the Church of Rome, but what their attainments are in the divine life of religion, and their progress in civilization, I am unable to say, only I never heard anything very favorable of either, but the contrary. The remainder of the Mohawks adhered to the British; a remnant live on the Grand River in Upper Canada. They are professedly Episcopalian, and make great account of having their children baptised. They have a church and a clergyman (who I have understood is paid by the Government) visits them several times in the year and administers the ordinances. I have understood the morals of the Mohawks are very loose, that they are much addicted to intemperance, fiddling, dancing and low dissipation. Several of the Mohawks have been educated in England but none of them as I ever learnt have proved pious useful men. Schools have been attempted, but little proficiency has been made in education.

Onondagas. The French sent a missionary to this tribe about the same time they sent the one to the Mohawks. The Onondagas killed him. The French sent out an armed force to avenge the blood. The Onondagas were apprised of their approach time enough to escape into the woods. The French burnt the towns, but before they reached Canada the Indians rallied, pursued and overtook them, and cut off almost the whole company. The Onondagas have ever since pertinaciously refused all Christian instruction. The Onondagas in the State of New York are in numbers somewhere about 300.

Oneidas. Whether any attempts had been made to instruct this tribe before Mr. Kirkland came among them I have not learnt. It must be now about fifty years since he commenced his labors with this tribe. I have never seen any journal of his labors. Mr. Jenkins his successor informed me that when he first went among the Oneidas he found the state of religion very low. It was considerable

time before he could find sufficient evidence of Christian knowledge and piety to administer the ordinances. After he had labored with them a number of years they experienced something of a revival of religion, and numbers were added to the church. The Oneidas were formerly nearly equally divided into two parties, called the Christian and the pagan party. Mr. Williams, their present teacher, commenced his labors with the pagan party. Soon after Mr. Williams commenced his labors Mr. Jenkings gave up his charge.

The Oneidas as a people are professedly Christian. Their parties are now distinguished by the old and new Christian party. Great numbers have been confirmed by the Bishop and several have been received to the communion. Mr. Williams informed me that twenty of the old church have been suspended or excluded from communion. What the attainments of some of the Oneidas may be in knowledge and obedience to the Gospel, or what progress some of them have made in the civil arts I cannot say. We would hope there are some of them who are witnesses for God and adorn their profession. But it is generally reported that the Oneidas as a people are the most intemperate and vicious of any of the Six Nations. Mr. Williams informed me that he greatly feared if the Oneidas were not removed away from the white people, all attempts would prove fruitless in preventing their total degeneracy and annihilation.

Tuscarora. The Gospel was introduced into this tribe more than twenty years ago by the New York Missionary Society. In its progress many difficulties have opposed themselves. The church at present consists of 16 members who in the judgment of charity are sound in the faith and orderly in their walk, but it is to be feared most of them are far below that attainment the Church experienced when "great grace was upon them all."

Here I would remark that the Gospel has gone a begging among the Indians. To be willing to receive it cut and dried, free of any charge or any exertion on their part ex-

cept renouncing their ancient rites and abstaining from immoralities, I fear has been too much the standard of Indian attainments, without discovering the necessity of that benevolent principle which is exemplified in the Divine Saviour who though he was rich for our sakes became poor that through his poverty many might be made rich, and was also exemplified in the Apostles in foregoing every suffering and self-denying service to publish the Gospel to sinners and rescue souls from destruction and was insisted on and practiced by the primitive Christians in their liberal self-denying services for the promotion of the Gospel. The peculiar situation of the natives, the clamor of applause has no doubt had an effect on missionaries in making them too reserved in insisting on the great principles of Christianity. We ought to deal gently with the sick and lame in our exertions to relieve them but the great end of our exertion, if there remains a possibility, is to restore them to soundness and health that they may not only be able to help themselves but assist others. If it should be allowed that Divine life may possibly exist in a subject who appears at ease because he trusts he is safe without any operative concern for the safety of others, it cannot flourish. The Indians must be urged out of this wretched subterfuge. They must be plainly told that he that loveth gifts will not be rich; it is only the liberal soul that will be made fat; that they are not their own but bought with a price. Without that ardent desire for the salvation of others which will prompt to devising liberal, self-denying service for others, they are wanting in evidence that they have the Spirit of him who redeemed us with his blood.

But to return to the Tuscaroras. This tribe contains rising of 300 souls in this State. The pagan party of late have made violent struggles, and as their last resort they determined to break the tribe up by persuading such a number to move into Canada that the remainder would not be of importance for a missionary establishment. About 70 have emigrated this Spring. It is to be hoped this will be the means of stirring up these that remain to value and im-

prove their privileges, that their candlestick may not be removed out of its place. The New York Society has been at considerable labor and expense to maintain a school among the Tuscaroras, but their progress in education has been small.

Cayugas. Of this tribe there are 450 residing in this State and at Sandusky in Ohio, and a considerable number of them reside in Canada. They have disposed of all their lands and are scattered among the other tribes. No attempts have been made as I ever heard to evangelize them as a tribe by themselves. Their language is very similar to the Senecas.

Senecas. This tribe is the most numerous and wealthy of any of the Six Nations. There are more than 2000, beside a number scattered to the westward. They possess 230 square miles of excellent land, mostly in the State of New York. I do not know when the first attempt was made to introduce the Gospel among them. From Mr. Brainerd's journal it appears he visited one village of the Six Nations, but he had but little opportunity with them. Mr. Kirkland visited the Senecas and related something concerning them. Mr. Crane, missionary from the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian knowledge, visited them in _____* but was rejected. The Friends, from their Society in Philadelphia, commenced an establishment among the Senecas on the Alleghany river in 1798, another establishment at Cattaraugus of later date. Their object was not to instruct them in the truths of the Gospel, but correct their habits and teach them agriculture and the useful arts. By the reports of their visiting committees it appears they succeeded in a measure in their attempts, and were a means of improving the condition of the Indians, correcting their habits and adding to their comfort in living. Of late years they have made some attempts at school, but their success has not been very flattering. The New York Missionary Society

*Blank in the original. Mr. Hyde wrote "Crane," but evidently referred to Rev. Mr. Cram, who had been rejected about 1802. The Rev. J. C. Crane, as we have seen (p. 126) came among the Tuscaroras in 1809, and gave long and acceptable service.

made several attempts to introduce the Gospel among the Senecas, but did not succeed until the establishment of the present mission in 1811. This mission consisted of a minister and schoolmates. The minister was rejected. Here I would give a brief account of my sojourning among the Senecas and the views I have in regard to civilizing and evangelizing Indians. I must say in much feebleness infirmity and many temptations I have been with this people. To nothing but sovereign mercy and Divine patience ought it to be attributed that I have been preserved and upheld through the various vicissitudes, contending interests from within and without to which I have been subject. It has not been from any stability of character, prudence or goodness of my own, but to the good pleasure of him who worked all things according to the council of his own will be all praise for any favor I may have had in the sight of the natives, any influence I may have had with them; and if in any measure this influence may have been improved for their good. When I look back on the path the Lord hath led me to humble me, prove me and show me what is in my heart, it is marked with Divine goodness, it is marked with Divine patience. The faith, patience and liberality of the Society in bearing so long and supporting such an instrument under such discouraging circumstances must be attributed to the secret influence of him in whose hand are all hearts and who turneth them whithersoever he will.

I engaged in the work with no adequate views of its arduous and responsible trust, and illy qualified to perform its duties and encounter its difficulties. My station was a subordinate one, a school-teacher under the direction and superintendence of the missionary. I did not engage in the work with that feeling sense of my special need of divine direction and support as I ought. I viewed it as an ordinary concern. My mind had not been exercised with any special solicitude for Indians. I have been thus particular in stating what I was not, to warn those that may hereafter engage in the work what they ought to be if they would not learn it by the hardest [way] and hinder the work they undertake to promote.

The missionary as has been said was rejected. Instead of deriving any assistance from him the prejudices that were excited became a serious embarrassment to my introduction. However, after waiting seven months I was able to open a school. The prospect at first was flattering. A goodly number of children attended and their proficiency was as good as could have been expected. The war took place the next Summer, which threw everything into confusion on the frontier. Several times the school was interrupted. A few children attended but were very irregular. After the war the school revived for a short time, but soon dwindled. None of the first scholars persevered. During the six years that I professed to act as a school teacher I had several sets of new scholars and not one of them made proficiency that promised to be of any use to them. My heart was deeply affected at the prospect which forbid the hope that anything would ever be effected in this way. Whether the situation of the natives so much affected me as the scoffs of those that ridiculed all attempts for their improvement, I know not. "We told you so," they would say. "It is worse than in vain to attempt to instruct Indians. It is not only labor and property thrown away, but if anything is effected it is only making them worse. Not one instance can be found from the first settlement of the country that education has proved a blessing to an Indian, but an injury." Such like language greatly distressed me, but I believe it was salutary and needful, a powerful means of stirring up my sinking spirits. It appeared to me the honor of God was concerned, the power of his grace disputed. Not only my feeble efforts were derided, but all attempts that had been or might be made. I am persuaded no one means so powerfully operated in buoying up my sinking mind and encouraged me to hope that God would arise and plead his own cause, as the scoffs of the enemy. I remember one instance among many. I was from home in feeble health and great depression of spirits. A person of considerable note enquired of me the prospect among the Indians. I answered, "Discouraging." He went on with the common rant, ex-

posing the folly of attempting to civilize and Christianize Indians. I replied, notwithstanding the discouraging appearances and the ill success of former attempts, we knew not what good Divine Providence might have in store for Indians. He retorted, "Do you think, Mr. Hyde, that Divine Providence will concern itself with a little handful of Indians?" It was to me like a shock of electricity. I forgot my feebleness and hastened home with full assurance or full determination that the enemy would not always triumph.

In this manner the Lord was pleased to stir me up, spur me on and encourage me to hope. My attachment to the Indians became very strong. The more I became acquainted with them the more I saw their misery, and the more deeply I was impressed that nothing but the Grace of God which brought salvation could reach their case and effect their deliverance.

The plan to civilize and then Christianize Indians appeared to me as a project of man's devising, inverting the Saviour's order, and could issue in nothing but in humiliating demonstrations "that the foolishness of God is wiser than man and the weakness of God is stronger than man." Without the motives of the Gospel we can get no hold on Indians. Those three powerful engines that move the civilized world, "the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye and the pride of life," have never been brought to operate with any success on Indians. Lay aside the motives of the Gospel and these are all we have to work with. From the first settlement of this country to this day I doubt whether all the glare, indulgence and comforts of civilized life that has been exhibited before Indians and all the pains that have been taken to persuade them has impressed one to come out from his people, adopt civilized habits and become a member of civilized society. Doubtless the Indians are as devout worshipers of the world-trinity as civilized society, but they prefer their easy, indolent way to our laborious, ceremonious, litigious rites. They will acknowledge they fare rougher, but they have less labor, anxiety and conten-

tion, which taken into the account leaves a balance in their favor.

If it should be said that the success of the Friends are stubborn facts in opposition to the foregoing reasoning, far be it from me to detract from the merits of their labors. The Friends have done well, and deserve the thanks of all who wish well for our race for their persevering, self-denying labors for the amelioration of the condition of the natives. The consolation of seeing that their labors were not in vain, the misery they have prevented and the comforts they have been instrumental in promoting, must ever be pleasant to their recollection and grateful to all who participate in the sympathies of men. But I still doubt whether without the life-giving power of Divine truth, without a turning to God through the Mediator, the God-man Christ Jesus, receiving him as their King and trusting in him as their only hope—I doubt whether their outward improvements would ever arrive to that stability that would stand a day without holding it up, or that stability that would prevent them from wasting away and becoming extinct. Many things may look encouraging and promise fair which come to nothing. "All flesh is grass and all its glory as the flower of the field, but the Word of the Lord endureth forever;" but could the pressure of external circumstances and the kind attention of Friends raise the Indians to the highest state of industry and prudent management of their worldly concerns while they remained in the gall of bitterness, in the bond of iniquity, ignorant of God and the worth of their souls, what have we done for them! What have we done for immortals hastening unprepared to the Judgment! We may have added a few comforts to their uncertain life, but the Word of God is far from making these fleeting comforts the great end of our existence; so far from it, it says, "Labor not for the meat that perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life." The Word of God requires that we use everything in this world in subserviency to the great end of our existence, an eternal state. If the Word of God requires this of us, why should

those that knew these things begin any lower with any of our fellow immortals, bound to the same eternal state? Obedience to the Lord Jesus Christ, a desire to promote the best good of our fellow men, and the only warrant of being essentially useful, seems to require that we begin here with the most ignorant, fallen and hopeless of our race. The truth is, man has forsaken God his Maker, the fountain of all true wisdom and comfort, continuing to wander from God; whether sage or savage he is lost and miserable. The insulted majesty of Heaven seems to require that the first step of man's return to prosperity and peace should be his return to God.

Whatever the Nimrods may have done in consolidating tribes with blood and building up empires with violence, whatever despotism and necessity may have done in enforcing law and discipline for the preservation of the State; whatever pride, luxury and royal patronage may have done in introducing and promoting the arts, the refinements and the elegancies of life, is not to the point. These are weapons the Christian cannot use, neither do I possess sufficient information to say that those nations without the light of the gospel that have attained to great celebrity in the elegant and useful arts have in every case been consolidated by force and cemented with blood. Perhaps the colony of Nod may be an exception; but to Christians I would say, that the commission of the Saviour, the conduct of the Apostles, appear to me imperative; that we begin instruction no lower with the most ignorant and barbarous than Jesus Christ and him crucified, and I apprehend on no subject can we reason so intelligibly and demonstrably as on the sinful and miserable condition of man. The just anger of God that is out against him, the cause of all his woes, his hopeless and helpless state, and his need of an Almighty helper, if his heart is open to receive what his conscience must testify is true, he is prepared to welcome the glad news, the riches of a Saviour's love. Bring men back to God and let them yield themselves his servants, and they are prepared to perform the duties of their several stations just in proportion

to their devotedness and humility. Brainerd and Elliot began with Jesus Christ and him crucified, and the Lord prospered them. The single word "repent," accompanied with the influence of the Holy Spirit I apprehend would do more in civilizing Indians than a century spent in moral lectures on the benefits of civilized habits. These views led me to total despair of doing anything for the benefit of the Indians while they pertinaciously refused the Gospel.

I will now resume the subject of the progress of the Gospel and civilization among the Senecas within my own observation.

I have stated that I was led to despair of doing anything for them while they refused to listen to the Gospel, but this conviction was a progressive work on my mind. The Indians did not profess to be openly opposed to the Gospel, but it was something they could not attend to, nor attain to, at present. "Educate our children," say they, "and they will probably embrace your religion, and future generations of Indians will doubtless become Christian." But this was only an evasion. The Summer of 1817 Mr. Buttrick lived with me. I indulged the hope that his meek and affectionate manner would interest the Indians in his favor and influence them to listen to his instruction; but they stood aloof from him, and when I pressed them to attend to his instructions, they answered they would not have a minister stay among them. This determined me no longer to dally with them. Jesus hath said, "He that refuseth you refuseth me." It appeared to me unwarrantable to encourage the Indians that any good could come to them by any instruction, while they obstinately refused the instruction that God had sent. Accordingly I informed them of my purpose of relinquishing the school, desiring an opportunity to tell them all my mind on the subject. I waited four months before a suitable opportunity presented. The opportunity was a good one. Twenty-one chiefs from the different villages met in council to devise means for their preservation. They sent for me. I spoke two whole days in succession. I endeavored to exhibit before them their situation, their pros-

pects, and to demonstrate that certain inevitable ruin awaited them in the present and future world unless they sought unto God through the mediation of his Son, received and obeyed the Gospel. Their help alone was in God. This help from God must come to them through the mediation of his Son. To refuse the Son was to refuse all help from God. Refusing help from God in his appointed way, no other being in the universe could help them. They would be broken with a rod of iron and dashed to pieces like a potter's vessel.

I trust the Lord helped me to speak in some measure as I ought, and he opened their understanding to perceive the truth. There appeared evidently a noise and a shaking among the dry bones. In their answer they expressed their conviction of the truth and importance of the gospel, and their willingness to listen to it. For two months there appeared evidently a great alteration for the better. They did many things and abstained from many things. But a cloud appeared gathering over them. Before the Spring council I never witnessed so dark a season. It appeared as though the abyss had been opened upon us. But the Spring council opened with a dawning of light. A general conviction pervaded the Indians almost universally that they were in a bad case. As things went on inevitable ruin awaited them. They as universally came to this conclusion, that their ways did not please God, or it would not be so with them. This became the great question: "How shall we please God, and secure his friendship?"

Before the council broke up in this place they agreed to appoint another at Tonawanta to meet in one month to discuss the subject of religion. According, they met; a full representation from all the villages and from Canada. They sat twelve days. From all I could learn of this council it appeared to be an honest inquiry after truth, the way to please God and secure his favor; though very few I apprehend expected to find the truth anywhere else than in their old religion. The wisdom of the tribes was collected to investigate and show what the doctrines and duties were

and the safety of their religion. I cannot state all that was discussed at this council but I have understood their ancient religion was thoroughly investigated. The council came to this conclusion: To please God and secure his favor they must put away the evil of their doings; and it was enjoined on the representatives of the different villages to call the people of their respective villages together, and each individual for himself to enter into an engagement to put away his particular sins. This was generally observed, if not universally. This engagement, or oath, was a voluntary act, each binding himself by such penalties as he chose to assume. Some pledged all their hopes of future happiness on their forfeiture or failure of fulfilling this engagement. How general these solemn pledges were I cannot say, but I suspect very general.

Another council was appointed at Tonawanta to report their proceedings and success. This council I think was about two months from the first. About the meeting of the second council a dissatisfaction began to manifest itself with their old religion. This goodness proved like a morning dew. Several who had pledged their eternal all fell; by their own mouths they were condemned and shut up in despair. The first dissatisfaction I heard expressed to their religion was, that it did not extend far enough; it was good as far as it went, but it did not reach to their deliverance. At this time I was translating the third chapter of John. As it was my first attempt I proceeded very cautiously. Every opportunity an Indian of intelligence called on me I read my translation to ascertain if it was correct. The doctrine of the new birth was a new and strange subject to them and became matter of considerable conversation. Though their notions were confused yet some of them learnt that to be approved of God we needed a higher principle than we naturally possessed, but this principle they seemed to have no other conception of than an attainment of their own through their diligence and watchfulness. But I apprehend this opportunity was of more use to them than I had any conception of at the time. They learnt the gospel

taught something beyond their religion, viz., the necessity of a Divine principle in the heart to do works acceptable to God, and they felt the necessity of this Divine principle. Their religion taught a good system of morality, but they found that haranguing men on the beauty and reasonableness of virtue and God's approbation of it, and on the odiousness, unreasonable and destructive nature of sin, and God's righteous displeasure against sin, was without effect; and even men's assenting to what was good, and their solemn engagements to follow after the good, to put away and abstain from the evil, was without effect. He that was filthy was filthy still. Therefore they said (the first advocates for the Gospel), our religion is good as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough to afford us help. This was the first weapon the advocates of the Gospel used with success: the necessity of a Divine principle to influence the heart that men might do and persevere in works acceptable to God. Oh that many Christian Doctors would learn of these poor ignorant Indians, that their works might be found approved of God! With this argument they overwhelmed their opposers; they could not gainsay it. The necessity was obvious, and it was generally assented that the Gospel went beyond their religion in an essential and necessary article.

But the question of expediency was then started up. "Granting the Gospel is more excellent, and goes beyond our religion, yet many of our people cannot see and feel it is so. It would be highly improper and tend to great confusion to be divided, part holding to old religion and part to gospel." It was argued that those in favor of Gospel ought patiently to wait until all were willing to receive it. [In] the Spring and Summer of 1818 the minds of the Indians were continually agitated with the subject of religion. I should judge parties of them met more than two days in a week during the whole time to converse on the subject, but this was all carried on without me except the conversation I had with individuals on the third chapter of John, and I was wholly ignorant at the time that my conversa-

tion had any bearing on their matters in debate. I knew their minds were agitated with religious subjects and I had a trembling anxiety for the issue, but as they never asked me to their council but once I saw nothing I could do but look on.

I now come to the period when I commenced my labors regularly with them on the Sabbath.

The 16th of August [1818] five young men of best families among the Senecas came to the schoolhouse where I and family had gone that day to carry on a meeting among ourselves. They came in and informed us they had come to learn the will of God made known in his word. They were wearied out with being held off until all were agreed. They five had agreed to observe the Sabbath and listen to the instructions of the Word of God. For four weeks they stood alone, encountering all the ridicule the Opposition were pleased to bestow. The 15th of September four other young men of similar character joined us with similar professions. Our meetings now made considerable interest. The opposition assumed a more formidable appearance and contended earnestly against these innovations. But I trust to our young men was given a mouth of wisdom which none of their adversaries were able to gainsay. The gospel gained ground; every Sabbath more or less came in to see this new way. Several who at first came in as mere idlers attached themselves to us and we considered them joining our meetings. The wives of our young men were won over by their husbands, [and] as their diffidence gave way joined us. Three elderly women joined us, two of them were mothers of the young men, the other was a white woman, a captive taken when a child, and one old chief, a captive taken when a child, the father of two of the young men. A precious company, the first fruits of the Senecas; all have persevered to this day.

For two months we sang and prayed in English. I spoke to them through an interpreter. In October some of the Tuscaroras visited us and conducted the singing in Indian, on the Sabbath. One of our nine young men belonging at Tonawanta manifested a desire to learn to sing; we invited

him to call on us as frequently as he could and we would instruct him. He called on us frequently, manifested a great desire to learn, and made some progress. At one time while he was attempting to sing some of the Indians came in, accosting him: "What! You think you can sing?" He answered, "God allows it; if he pleases can help me; I shall not be bashful." For two weeks he stood alone, with increasing anxiety. Then two or three others manifested a desire to sing. I informed them that in singing we were a great assistance to each other. If they desired to sing we would appoint a season for that purpose, when all desirous to learn could attend. We appointed Wednesday evening. All our nine young men attended. We taught them until late in the evening, then left them in the school-house, but they were too engaged to sleep; they sung at intervals all night.*

The singing excited a great interest. Our Wednesday

* It was perhaps of this same young convert that Mr. Hyde wrote as follows, Dec., 1819, to the Juvenile Charitable Society in Lenox, Mass.:

"Tonnawanta, a Seneca village, thirty miles from Buffalo, had been the headquarters of opposition. A young man of this village was among the first nine who publicly embraced Christianity. During three months' instruction, which he received at Buffalo, he made progress, in religious knowledge, and in sacred music, of which Indians are extremely fond, and admirable performers. He then returned to Tonnawanta, carrying with him a hymn-book in his native language. These hymns he sang to his neighbors, and became the open advocate of Christianity. Though opposed and ridiculed, he remained steadfast, and persevered. Success followed. In a few months eleven young men had renounced paganism, and determined to listen to the word of God, and to obey its precepts. These twelve met frequently for the purpose of singing hymns, and for religious conversation. This alarmed the chiefs, who complained that these young men 'were filling Tonnawanta with their doctrine.' A council of the people was called, and the young men entreated and admonished to renounce their new religion. When they found entreaties and admonitions vain, they *commanded* them to desist from advocating Christianity, and singing Christian hymns. The young men, one excepted, who drew back and left his companions, said firmly, 'We shall not obey you in this thing.' The chiefs then commanded them to 'leave the Reservation and go to Buffalo, where such things were allowed, and not remain to disturb their village with their new and wicked ways.' The young men refused to go, and to leave their possessions, saying, 'You can take our lives; but you need not expect us to renounce the Gospel of Jesus Christ.' The effects of this persecution, on the one hand, and of the firmness and patience in resisting and bearing it, on the other, have been such as might be expected; converts to civilization and Christianity have been multiplied." About this time twenty-four Senecas removed from Tonnawanta (the old Indian village of course being meant) to Buffalo.

evening meetings became crowded. In four weeks we were able to conduct our singing on the Sabbath in Indian, our school-house became too small to accommodate our singers. We appointed to sing in two other villages. Everything now appeared to be giving way before the Gospel. The old chiefs who had stood aloof professed an attachment to Christianity and attended our meetings. But a trial awaited us for which we wanted all our strength, and we were provided in season, though it has tried us hard, yet I have no doubt has been overruled to the furtherance and stability of the gospel among us. Our situation required the interference of the New York Missionary Society, who sent out two commissioners to investigate our circumstances and direct the affairs of the mission. The Senecas, Onondagas and Cayugas entered into covenant with the New York Missionary Society. Through these commissioners on the part of the Society they engaged to send them teachers free of expense as their ability would allow and the necessity of Indians require and their profiting should appear. The Indians on their part agreed to receive their teachers, listen to their instruction when agreeable to the Word of God, to advise and council with the Society, etc. While this business was transacting not one word of opposition was heard; but one chief of any considerable note that did not sign the covenant and he was absent. But soon after the commissioners left us the opposition showed itself. The covenant was made the ostensible ground. The pagans charged the Christian party with selling themselves the bond slaves of the ministers, who would eat up their land and consume them off the earth. They called a council at Tonawanta to consult on the subject. From this council they sent out runners to warn all the villages of the evil that had been done by these innovators, desiring their vigorous coöperation to put away this mischief before it spread any further. All the villages received their messengers.

The Christian party sent out runners to counteract this confederacy, but none of the villages received them, only warned them to prepare to give an account of themselves

at the Spring council. These vigorous movements of the opposition, their determination and numbers, spread considerable consternation among our raw recruits. Two chiefs that had signed the covenant deserted us and none dared to join themselves.

It may not be improper to give a few details of this council. The council did not meet until June. It came upon us with all the fury we had anticipated. The chief councilors stepped back or "off their seats," as they expressed it, and allowed the warriors to open the council, enquire into and report the state of the nation. The warriors reported that the council fire was in confusion; some were pulling brands one way and some another. As things went on some would get burnt, and all were endangered. The cause was sought out and found to be the Christian party. They were then called upon to tell what they had done, and the reasons of their conduct.

The council opened in due form on Thursday, June —. It was an awfully interesting day. The council occupied a large barn, the Christians the floor, the opposition a large bay, facing each other. The opposition to appearances were six to one of the Christians, as every individual of the distant villages took sides with the opposition, to enquire into the conduct of the Christians. The first day was occupied by the Christian party in giving account of themselves. They produced the covenant, which had been such a bone of contention, and had it read. The next day was assigned for the pagans to make their reply. The council was removed to a council house in another village. The debates were warm and animated; several speakers on both sides spoke this day. From my ignorance of their language I am unable to give even an extract of what was said. I learned that [the] pagans labored to rouse the pride and resentment of their people by reminding them what they were before the white people came into their country. They were prosperous and happy and God was with them. The beginning of their being diminished and brought low was their first acquaintance with white men. They had introduced many

evils among them [to] which before they were strangers. It was in vain to look for any good from a people who were the source of all their evils. Besides, these Indians that had the most affinity with white men and received their teachers were the most fallen and miserable of the Indians. The speakers referred their people to the antiquity of their religion, the care with which their fathers had handed it down to them, the dishonor they would cast on the memory of their fathers should they now cast all their instructions behind their backs, and it would be provoking to God, who had showed them so much favor before they became corrupted with the notions of white men. This I understood was the strain of the pagans. The celebrated Red Jacket exerted all his eloquence in their defence.

The Christian party contended that all the wisdom and piety of their fathers had not saved their people from being spoiled and their country wrested from them. The calamities they now suffered came upon them under the management of their fathers, and the same course persisted in must end in their utter ruin. It was not true that all their calamities had come upon them through the agency of white men. They themselves had plunged into destructive wars with their own sort of people, to the wasting of their own lives and the lives of their brethren, thereby exciting and perpetuating their enmity. All this their fathers had done from no other motive than the gratification of their pride and thirst for blood.* Their fathers had prophesied of these days, that their descendants would be brought into great straits, and these that should be last would see great afflictions. By the course their fathers pursued it appeared they were determined to secure the accomplishment of their predictions. They had yielded up their country and cut off the possibility of a retreat. Whatever the former prosperity

*Note in original MS.: The Senecas have been celebrated for their military achievements. They conquered the Delawares, Wyandots, Shawnees, and some other tribes. They have had long and bloody wars with the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chippeways and other Western tribes. Perhaps one of the most powerful restraints that deters them from emigrating to the West is the recollection of these wars and the consequent animosities which they expect would leave them but these two alternatives, vassalage or extermination.

and happiness of their fathers had been, those days were past. Their advantages were gone, it was impossible to follow their steps and escape ruin.

The foregoing is a summary of their political reasonings. Those better acquainted with the Gospel urged its authority. The designs of God to recover all nations from the darkness which covered them; the certainty that this would be accomplished; Jesus Christ was King of Nations; those that did not submit to his authority, receive him as their teacher, Saviour and King, would be crushed beneath his power.

The foregoing is rather a brief summary of the views and management of the subject in debate by the contending parties, than an extract of the debates. No woman attended the council except the three elderly women I have before mentioned. One of them came in and took a seat behind Mr. Crane and myself on a wide platform with which their houses are furnished. The other two stood outside, looking through the cracks. The deep interest that was visible in their countenances was very encouraging.

Saturday the council met in the same place. The debates were more promiscuous, personal and irritating. This day an indecorum took place I never before witnessed in an Indian council; two speakers were up at the same time, but there was no contention; the speaker up last made his apology and sat down. Our three elderly women attended and took seats behind Mr. Crane and myself. I mention these women because the anxiety manifested by them was so pleasant to us, and it may be found that the wrestling of their souls prevailed in behalf of their poor perishing people. On this day some zealous friends of the opposition handed Jacket a piece published in the *Recorder* taken from the *Sangerfield Monitor* entitled "Good News" in relation to these Indians. This was handed to Jacket to show him how basely he was misrepresented in the public prints, supposing a suspicion could be fixed on me as the author; but I was enabled to satisfy the council that I had no hand in the representation.

Sunday my people met for public worship with some of the Allegany chiefs. My subject, "For the love of Christ constraineth us." I trust the Lord helped me to exhibit in some measure the constraining motives that influenced the servants of Jesus to publish his Gospel to sinners in spite of all opposition, and the certain triumphs of the Gospel, being pushed forward by the unconquerable love of God and the welfare of immortal souls. Men might rather hope to extinguish the sun with buckets than put out the love of Jesus, shed abroad in the hearts of his servants, or prevent the final triumphs of the Gospel.

In the afternoon most of the men retired to the council, which was assembled. I understood this day was more boisterous than the preceding ones. The opposition used threatening language. Some of the Christian party I understood told the opposition they could take their lives but they trusted they should not renounce the Gospel.

Monday the Commissioners of the United States met with the Indians. These commissioners were appointed by the Government to treat with the Indians concerning relinquishing part of their lands and concentrating their whole population on one or two reservations. The subject of religion was dropped during this conference, which lasted four days. The Indians all united in opposing the proposition of the commissioners, and appointed Red Jacket their orator to deliver their sentiments, which he did with his wonted keenness, exceeding the bounds prescribed by the council. Jacket said they were not only determined not to part with any of their lands, but they were determined no white men should live on their land, missionaries, schoolmasters or Quakers.

The Christian party felt themselves injured by the declaration of Jacket. They called on the commissioners and informed them that the declaration of Jacket was unauthorized, it was not the sentiments of the Indians generally; they hoped the commissioners would not hand Jacket's talk to their Father the President as the feelings and views of his red children.

The Commissioners informed them it was then too late to make any alteration; they should have protested in the time of the council.

These concerns occupied the whole of the week. The next Sabbath we had a crowded audience. I purposed to speak from Kings 6: 16: "Fear not, for they that be with us are no more than they that be with them." But the Lord saw best I should not speak; my interpreter, through indisposition of body or mind did not attend. The Indians conducted the meeting principally among themselves. The conference with the commissioner so broke the thread of religious debate that it was not resumed. The council dispersed without deciding on anything, leaving every one to think and act for himself. Indeed, this was the termination to be desired.

The Allegany chiefs (except one) representing a population of more than 550 souls, declared in favor of the Gospel and espoused the cause of the Christian party. Cat-taraugus, Tonawanta and Genesee, representing a population of 1000 souls, stood steadfast in their opposition. Two of our chiefs that had signed the covenant revolted and joined the opposition.

Here I feel constrained to look back on the way which this people has been led. First, that the Indians should in the first place investigate their own religion, know what it taught and what it could do, and that this investigation should be impartial and candid, agitated by no party or dissension. In this way those that afterward embraced Christianity were scribes well instructed in all the strength of their opponents. They knew all they did of their ancient religion, and all they knew of Christianity they knew beyond them.

Another thing worthy of remark: The strength of the Christians has been equal to their day. When they were feeble the opposition was feeble. As the opposition increased their strength has been increased and they have been provided for in every emergency. And [as to] the great council, in which the opposition from their numbers

and influence were sure of success, yet perhaps no other means could have been so well devised to diffuse the knowledge of Christianity as this council. The management of this council was wonderful. The interruption by the commissioners at a time when argument was at an end, and abuse, invective and menace were resorted to—what this would have come to with two contending parties both determined not to yield, it would be impossible to calculate; and the interruption of the commissioners had a conciliating effect. The Christians had been accused of abandoning their people and selling themselves to the white people. Here they had an opportunity to evince that they were the same friends to their people they had ever been, and were ready to unite with their opponents with all their might in resisting what they thought not for the interest of their people. And my being prevented from speaking from the text I had chosen and the frame of spirit I was in, ought not to be overlooked. I might have stirred up the embers and kindled a fire that might have done immense mischief. Is not the finger of God visible in this work? Is it not his hand that commenced and hath hitherto carried it on? And is it not portentous of some important era in Indian history?

From the dispersion of this council in June, 1819, many important events have transpired in the progress of the Gospel to this date; at least they are important to us who have seen and felt them, and they would be interesting to the pious mind who delights to contemplate the workings of Divine Providence, but it would swell the narrative to detail them, which is already extended beyond what was intended. I would only observe that my difficulties became so great with my people and the interpreter that I suspended my labors as a teacher from the 1st January to the 17th of April. [1820.] This was an afflictive dispensation to many of my people and to myself, but I trust it has been good for us both. It checked the rapid growth of external Christianity and opened the mouth of the enemy; but I would hope that Christianity took root downward and stands more substantially than it did before this chilling blast. It

may safely be said that external Christianity has been progressing among the Senecas from its first commencement. Soon after the council a seed was found in Tonawanta. One of the first of nine young men that joined us belonged at Tonawanta. He returned and carried the little he knew of Christianity with him; he advocated the Gospel amid much ridicule and opposition. One joined him, soon a second, then one of them apostasized, but he was not discouraged. More joined until their numbers amount now to thirty, mostly young men and women who meet on the Sabbath for religious [purpose], sing and pray and converse on religion.

A few weeks after the council two of the principal chiefs of Cattaraugus came to our meeting. They said they had been thinking of the opposition they made to the Christians; they were persuaded they had done wrong. They had to learn the present minds of their brethren in this place, if they still adhered to the Gospel they wished to follow their direction who enjoyed better advantages than they did to know the will of God. From that time there has been a Christian party in Cattaraugus, struggling with much darkness, prejudice and persecution. I have visited them once; some of them keep the Sabbath; twelve young men have assembled to sing Christian hymns. One of their chiefs reported to Dr. Morse on his return the first of this month that half of that reservation was in favor of a preached Gospel. Their numbers are 360.*

Allegany. The chiefs that joined the Christian party

* In the summer of 1820 the Rev. Jedidiah Morse of New Haven made a tour, under a commission from President Monroe, "for the purpose of ascertaining, for the use of the Government, the actual state of the Indian tribes in our country." On the same tour, he also represented the Honorable and Reverend Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, and the Northern Missionary Society in the State of New York. He arrived in Buffalo late in May of that year. A council of the Six Nations had been appointed at this place, to convene June 1st, which he was expected to attend. "As however," he wrote in his report to the Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun, "the steamboat for Detroit was to depart the 31st May, and the omission to take that opportunity would delay us a fortnight, deranging all my plans for the West, I left a hasty speech with the agent [i. e., Jasper Parrish, sub-agent] and Rev. Mr. Hyde, to be communicated with the Council, and embarked in the steamboat." Mr. Hyde communicated the address to the chiefs, June 1st; like many Government messages to the Indian, it consisted of generalities, smoothly phrased; regretted that the white people encroached upon them and

here have remained faithful. The Cornplanter, a former advocate for the Gospel and of whom hope was entertained by some [in] years past that he had experienced religion in his heart, for two years past has been at seasons in a state of derangement. He of late has come out prophet. (His brother was the famous Seneca prophet that died some years since at Onondaga.) He says that it has been revealed to him that God never designed the Christian religion or the habits of white men for Indians. He came up [to] the last Spring council to quiet this religious frenzy among his people and restore things as they were; but the Cornplanter has become broken down with age and affliction. The opposition, who had been at considerable exertion to get him up, were disappointed in his help, and the Christian party only looked on with pity and made no reply to his reveries. The Allegany chiefs reported to Dr. Morse that the number in favor of the Gospel with them was 225; 80 observed the Sabbath. A few young men have attended a few times with us to learn to sing, but I have not learnt that they have any association for singing. Their number by the last census was a little short of 600.

Genesee. Four hundred and sixty Senecas are scattered on that river. A few young men have attended with us a few times to learn to sing, and I understand a number associate for the purpose. As none of their chiefs were present when Dr. Morse was here we have had no report from [them].

pledged "the hand of sincere friendship." At Detroit, Dr. Morse received a letter from Mr. Hyde, written at Seneca Village, Buffalo, June 7th, inviting him, on behalf of the chiefs of the Christian party, to visit them on his return. Accordingly, on arriving in Buffalo, Aug. 8th, Dr. Morse attended a council which was then in session. "I found them convened in their council house, the Christian party on my right hand, Capt. Pollard at their head; the Pagan party on the left hand, with the celebrated Red Jacket, at their head." Pollard, Red Jacket and Cusick (for the Tuscaroras) made speeches. Dr. Morse exhorted them to be diligent at agriculture and embrace Christianity. For these speeches, Mr. Hyde's letters, etc., see "A Report to the Secretary of War . . . on Indian Affairs," etc., by the Rev. Jedidiah Morse, D.D., New Haven, 1822. Dr. Morse's report embraced an interesting report by James Young on the progress of school work at the Tuscarora mission (pp. 87-89); also statistics from the Alleghany, Cattaraugus and other reservations, reported to him at the Buffalo council.

Buffalo Reservation. We have here a respectable choir of singers, two very promising young men that appear able in prayer and exhortation. We observe the monthly concert, meet every Thursday evening for singing. Several appear serious and devout, and walk agreeable to the light they possess. The number the chiefs reported to Dr. Morse is 225 in favor of Christian instruction.

The foregoing is a brief summary of the progress of external Christianity among the Senecas. It is now two years and twelve days since one individual could be found that would dare openly profess an attachment and attend to Christian instruction. There are [now] as reported to Dr. Morse, 660, most of them the youth and flower of the nation, besides Genesee, which was not represented. It must be acknowledged, an important revolution in their minds—the work of God almost without any apparent means.

Their progress in civilization has been no less astonishing. Those that have attended Christian instruction have become emphatically new men. At once they become domesticated and appear like people at home. Freed from the burden of their ancient feast and ceremonies they save much time and much substance. I can safely say, for the last two years more fence has been made, more land subdued, more improvements in buildings, than in all the rest of the time that I have been with the Senecas, if not since they have been a people, and this almost exclusively among those that profess an attachment to the Gospel, except as others have been provoked to imitation. This I speak of the village in which I live, not because I have dwelt on this subject as essential to Christianity, but from their own impulse.

Schools are what they were and what we have reason to fear they will remain so long as we attempt to teach them English without a translation. One child after another will get discouraged with reading words of which he has no understanding. A century of arduous labor will bring the same result—none will be educated. I am speaking of children boarding in their families, and attending school a few hours in a day. The Senecas have no aversion to learning English, but they cannot learn it without a translation, or

their teacher possessing the language. Since they have manifested an attachment to Christian instruction many have manifested a strong desire to read. I have two old women, between sixty and seventy, that have manifested all the eagerness of youth to learn to read the Word of God that has been translated, and hymns in their own language.

The first inquiry among the Senecas of a religious nature was, What has God revealed in his word? and this continues to be the great inquiry. Youth and elderly people know they shall never be able to read the Word of God in English. Numbers read and learn my translations with eagerness. Those that had learnt to read words and syllables, very readily learn to read their own language. If God has used me in any measure as an instrument in promoting this great [work] I have every reason to believe it has been through my poor broken translations.

I have endeavored to place the Senecas before the Christian public, to excite them to pray and labor for them. All can safely pray; but in laboring all ought to take heed that they do not hinder the work. To those that desire to be co-workers with God I suggest: Let the Indians remain in quiet. Make no effort to remove or consolidate. Their minds are made up on both these subjects. They are determined not to remove, and they can see no reasons why they should be consolidated. One effort at either would greatly distress the minds of the Christian party and open the mouths of the pagans. Treat them cautiously; they are as timorous as hares. Force no door that is not fairly opened. I apprehend none of the places that I have mentioned are open for a missionary establishment. An effort to establish a mission at Tonawanta, Allegany, Cattaraugus or Genesee might at this time do more hurt than good. A godly, prudent man might labor in either place and with the blessing of God do much good, but let him go prepared to be let down over a well in a basket.

In the present circumstances of these Indians I could not advise an attempt to establish a missionary family like those at the southward. In these places, when they would receive a local mission, the circumstances of the natives do not

[? allow: *MS. torn*] it. They possess abundant means to feed and clothe them [*MS. torn*] but the most serious objection [is] to obtain lands sufficient for such establishments. If it could be effected might and would probably kindle a fire that many years of faithful exertions would not extinguish.

Dear Christian friends, the present is the most eventful period with the natives of our land, [which] they have ever seen since white men came among them. Many things indicate the Lord is about to stretch forth his hand to rescue them. The unusual interest that Christians take in them, the movement among themselves, all indicate an important epoch in the history of these long-lost wanderers of the wilderness. Let us be emulous of the honor of being co-workers with God.

Seneca Village, August 28th, 1820.

NOTE—Endorsed on the last page of the foregoing manuscript, though apparently not in Mr. Hyde's writing, is the following: "Red Jacket in his opposition to Christianity, is for mere popularity. His ambition is to head a party, and had he instead of Pollard been the head of the Christian party he would have as zealously supported as he has in his opposition opposed it. He is an infidel."

NOTE two—In 1827, on complaint prepared by Rev. T. S. Harris, Mr. Hyde was tried before the Presbytery of Buffalo, on the charges of "Slander, intermeddling and wilful and designed misrepresentation," which charges were sustained and he was suspended from the church. The facts are set forth at great length in a pamphlet by Mr. Hyde, published at Buffalo in 1827, of which the title is as follows: "A Review of the minutes and proceedings of the Presbytery of Buffalo . . . October 16, 17 and 18, 1827; for the trial of the Rev. Jabez B. Hyde, on charges preferred against him by Rev. T. S. Harris, missionary among the Seneca Indians. To which is annexed an appendix, containing documents referred to in the trial . . . Buffalo, H. A. Salisbury, Printer, 1827." It is a work of 73 pages, octavo, the preface dated Nov. 17 [1827]. Mr. Hyde reviews the action of the Presbytery, with long interpolations in his own justification. There is nothing in the testimony as printed that reflects at all seriously against his character, the difficulties between him and the Indians, Missionary Harris and others apparently having arisen out of petty misunderstandings and jealousies. In 1823 T. S. Harris and J. Young had published a little book of hymns in the Seneca; the Indians found it difficult to read, and Mr. Hyde undertook to supply a new one and claims to have done so. He also published a Seneca spelling-book, which Mr. Harris condemned as "very incorrect." Mr. Hyde's statement of these things is unaccompanied by dates, but both imprints were probably of but a few pages, and few copies printed. In a letter to the Rev. Timothy Alden, written at Buffalo May 3, 1827, Mr. Hyde states that he was "thrust out" from the Indians in 1821. After he was

dismissed by the United Foreign Missionary Society, the Presbytery of Niagara licensed him and gave him an itinerant commission to labor among the Senecas. "I was sustained in Buffalo," he writes, "one year and a half. Half a year I statedly supplied the Indians at Buffalo, until their missionary came on. One year I itinerated among the unsupplied villages as my health and circumstances would permit." He made his home at Eden, Erie Co., where his wife died, apparently in 1824, leaving him with seven children to care for "in a considerable measure by the labor of my hands." In 1827, while engaged at Carroll, presumably as preacher, he undertook to interest the American Bible Society in the work of publishing the Scriptures in Seneca, issuing the work in parts; apparently he desired to be commissioned to do the translating; out of this came the charge of "intermeddling" with the work of the mission at Buffalo Creek.

In the Buffalo *Patriot* of Aug. 28, 1827, Mr. Hyde states his case at length; alleges that "the first impressions the Senecas had of the superiority of Christianity over the religion of their fathers, was derived from a translation of the III. Chapter of John's Gospel," the translation, apparently, being his own, though it is not known to have been printed. In this article he states: "I have now in press a small book of Hymns, and a Spelling-Book, or Analysis of the Seneca language." No copy of these works is known.

Mr. Hyde's subsequent career is unknown to the editor of the present volume, save for one incident. In 1848 there was issued from the press of Jewett, Thomas & Co., in Buffalo, portions of a work entitled "God in History, or the Accomplishment of His Purposes as declared by His servants the Prophets, exemplified in the Civil and Ecclesiastical History of the World," by Rev. Jabez B. Hyde, "First received Missionary among the Seneca Indians." At least three parts were issued (8vo. pp. 96). It is not known whether it was completed on the original plan. In 1849 Mr. Hyde published in Buffalo (Press of George Reese & Co.) an octavo work of 104 pages, with the above title, to which is added: "Preceded by a review of Professor Stuart's Commentary on Revelations," the whole work apparently being devoted to the review, with no reprint or continuation of the "God in History."

X.

NARRATIVE OF ESTHER RUTGERS LOW.

HER SOJOURN AT THE TUSCARORA AND
SENECA MISSIONS, 1819-20.*

In the autumn of 1819 I left New York City in company with Mr. and Mrs. Young, our destination the Seneca mission on the Seneca Reservation near Buffalo, N. Y. We were to spend a few weeks *en route*, in Orange Co., N. Y., on a farm, to learn something of country work and life, and to take some lessons in riding horseback, a knowledge of

*Esther Rutgers Low, whose account of her experience at the Tuscarora and Seneca missions in 1819-20 is here printed, was born in New York City, May 10, 1798. Her father, John Low, was a bookseller and publisher of considerable note. At sixteen, she united with the Rutgers-Street Presbyterian Church, and in 1819, her parents being dead, she undertook the mission work here narrated. In Buffalo she met the Rev. David Remington, whose father, and uncle, Judge Erastus Granger, were among the earliest settlers of this city. She was married to David Remington, in New York City, in 1822, and together they went as missionaries to the Choctaw Indians in Mississippi. Returning to the North after some years, Mr. Remington died at Rye, New York, and Mrs. Remington with her young children made her home for a time in Buffalo. She died January 23, 1894, and is buried in this city, as is her son, the late Cyrus K. Remington. Her account of her early mission work in the vicinity of Buffalo is here for the first time published by kind permission from the manuscript in possession of her daughter, Miss Elizabeth H. Remington of this city.

which in those days was not simply a recreation, but a necessity in traveling. My first attempt at this accomplishment was rather amusing. We were all gathered on the piazza; my turn came last. I took my seat well in the saddle, and the horse was led by his owner to the end of the lane; then I was left to return alone—but in vain. I called for help. At last in despair I left it all to the pony, and there was great applause from the spectators when the gentle animal took his own way to the barnyard, stepping over bars and all obstructions till he stood before the stable door, waiting for some one to relieve him of his load, recalling the text, "The horse knoweth his owner and the ass his master's crib." But practice makes perfect and I became a good rider.

One Tuesday we said good-bye to these friends and took the stage to commence our journey to the Tuscarora mission. It was customary in those days for the driver at the foot of each mountain or hill to dismount and open the stage door and ask the gentlemen to please walk up the hill. So we would all volunteer to alight and relieve the dumb animals walking up the hills. On one occasion it was announced that there was a stage behindhand, and it would be necessary to ride all night to meet the U. S. mail. So by dint of riding all night and walking up hills we reached Canandaigua by daylight Sunday morning. I attended church all day—three services—and took the stage again early Monday morning, arriving at the Tuscarora mission the following day at 4 p. m.—a week of traveling.

The mission house was about four miles from the village of Lewiston, and about six from Niagara Falls. Lewiston counted at that time but few houses and one small church—it had been burned in the War of 1812. I listened to many moving accounts of the sufferings and distress occasioned by war.

We remained here while the house at Seneca was being made ready for us. While here I made some very pleasant friendships and attended the wedding of my friend Miss Patty Childs, who married Mr. Parsons. Also from here I made my first visit to Niagara Falls; a party of ten, all on

horseback. The old tavern now standing* was the first house built at the Falls. It was there we registered our names and put up our horses. We crossed to Goat Island on a bridge of one or two planks, and a few stakes with grape vines twisted about them sufficed for a balustrade. There was a rickety old staircase which extended about half way down to the river, which we descended and there left our wraps, and made the difficult ramble to the water's edge, then back again, slipping over rocks and stones, holding by the trees and bushes. None can now realize the exhilarating pleasure of freedom enjoyed then.

The Rev. J. E. Crane had at that time charge of the Tuscarora mission. The gospel was preached in English through an Indian interpreter to a congregation of less than 100, some forty of whom were members of the church. The Indians conducted the singing in their own language, which they wished to retain, although they wished their children to be instructed in the English language. They were also partial to their own mode of dress, which was much ornamented with beads, brooches and needlework. We made visits and took tea with some of the families, who adopted the fashions of the whites in setting the table, etc.

At last came the day for us to move. We had early breakfast and prayers. Drawn up before the door was a large country wagon double team; household goods piled up. We mounted to our seats prepared for us. The goodbyes were said and we started, getting off to walk up the hill as usual. The roads were so rough, the mud so deep, that the horses were completely fagged out by the time we were half way to Buffalo; so we put up for the night at a tavern.

The second day through more mud and over more rough

* Parkhurst Whitney's Eagle Tavern, on the site of the present International Hotel. Gen. Whitney bought it in 1815 from John Fairchilds, the pioneer landlord at Niagara Falls. Originally of logs, two stories high, it later received a frame addition, and was much enlarged and improved at intervals. It was the first tavern at the Falls, but not the first house, Augustus Porter having built "a substantial home" in 1808. The Fairchilds log tavern did not antedate the burning of the village in 1813, and was probably built in 1814. It may have been the first house of the restoration.

roads; by evening we were at the village of Buffalo, and were made welcome and comfortable at the hospitable and Christian home of Mr. Ransom,* whose house stood on the spot now occupied by the First Universalist Church on Main Street.† The next day, through still greater perils of mud and unbroken forest, we were brought to our own destination, our mission home in the woods on the Seneca Reservation.

The house was built of hewn logs, two stories high. The second floor was reserved for the school. Beside the regular classes in English studies Mr. Young has a class of young men, chiefs, two evenings in the week to study music. Many had good voices and were fond of singing. And the ladies had classes of women and girls to learn how to knit and sew. Dennis Cusic [Cusick], son of the chief, was quite an artist; he could draw well, and made his own colors from native woods. I saw many proofs that Indians were appreciative of education and that our being there was acceptable to them.

I will relate an incident. One evening I was left with the singing class, the other members of the family had gone to a neighbor's on an errand. Presently they commenced talking to each other, and would occasionally cast a glance at me. So I asked Thomas (the interpreter) what they were saying.

"Oh," he replied, "they are just talking among themselves."

"But what are they saying?" I asked.

"What do you want to know for?" was the response.

"Well, I think they are talking about me, and I insist upon knowing what they are saying."

"Yes, they are talking about you."

"Well, Thomas, tell me what they say."

After a long talk among themselves, he told me that they were saying I was a young lady away from my friends, among Indians—savages, as they were called—and they wondered if I was not afraid of them.

* Capt. Elias Ransom.

† Nos. 554-562, now the site of the store of Messrs. Flint & Kent.

"Tell them no," I replied.

"They want to know why."

I said, "Ask them if they have read the story of Daniel in the lion's den."

"Yes, they know that; but what has that to do with this case?"

"Tell them I serve the same God that Daniel did, and he is just as able and willing to take care of me as he was at that time of Daniel; besides, they are Christians, and I have no fears."

It took some time to interpret all this conversation, and as a result they said they were much pleased and gratified at the confidence placed in them, and they thought I was a very brave lady, and I might always be sure of their protection. I always found them true to their word, and the utmost friendship existed between them and the missionaries. Often we would have a number take dinner with us. We had a good vegetable garden, and wished to show them how vegetables should be cooked. Once we prepared some squashes very nicely, which they relished so well, that they were continually calling for more. "Squash, squash!" was heard so much that we were obliged to cook more, and set it on, but in a plainer way, like the man in the parable, "When men have well drunk, that which is worse."

There was not any church at Seneca at that date. Religious services were held at the council house, and the mission house, by clergymen of different denominations. One Sunday the Methodists conducted the service, and sang some very lively tunes, which pleased the Indians very much, but rather annoyed Mr. Young.

The principal men in the tribe were White Chief (his wife, an Indian, we called Mother Seneca; their three sons were Seneca, Seneca White and White Seneca), Tall Peter, Two-Guns, and John Wheelbarrow. The Rev. Messrs. Rowan and Strong were sent as commissioners to make some new arrangements in the mission and to form a church, and it was at this time that the first Christian marriage among

the Indians was solemnized.* After the ceremony Mr. Strong said, "Thomas, with us we salute the bride, that is, we kiss her; it is not in the ceremony, only it is a custom and pleasure; you can do as you like about it. It is a pleasant custom with us." Thomas interpreted it all and after deliberating some time the answer came: "We have considered it, and as we do not see any profit in it, we omit it." So it was omitted.

I returned to New York and was married to the Rev. Daniel W. Remington of Buffalo, by Rev. Alexander McClelland, pastor of Rutgers-St. Church, July 24, 1821.

*The Buffalo *Patriot* of contemporary date describes it as follows:

"On the 4th of December, 1820, after the council was adjourned, the committee repaired to the house of the missionary, Mr. Young, for the purpose of uniting in marriage the interpreter, Mr. Thomas Armstrong, and Miss Rebecca Hempferman, also by the same person (Rev. Mr. Rowan), and at the same time and place, Jonathan Jacket, youngest son of the celebrated chief, Red Jacket, to Yeck-ah-Wak, a young woman from Cattaraugus. Rev. Paschal N. Strong, corresponding secretary of the New York Home Missionary Society, being present, concluded the ceremony by prayer. Thomas Armstrong and Rebecca Hempferman are both whites who were taken by the Senecas at the close of the Revolutionary War; from their cradles have been identified with the Indians by their language and habits. The other parties are native Senecas, and this is the first marriage in this tribe according to Christian institution."

XI.

JOURNALS OF

REV. THOMPSON S. HARRIS.

HIS MISSIONARY LABORS AMONG THE SENECA
AT BUFFALO CREEK AND CATTARAUGUS
RESERVATIONS, 1821-1828.*

Nov. 2, 1821. Arrived at Buffaloe, two days ago, but could not make it convenient to visit the station before the present time. Found the family among whom I am hereafter to spend most of my time all in good health—and anxiously waiting the arrival of their minister. Very kindly received and feel much pleased with the neatness and simplicity of our friendly apartments. It so happened that I met with a number of the chiefs assembled at the house of Mr. Young; was soon introduced and explained to them the reason why we had not arrived before.

5th [Nov.]. This day met with the natives for the first time for the purpose of worship. Meet usually in their council house. Congregation very attentive during service, to the subject treated of. Much more order than could have been expected from persons so ignorant and no more accustomed to discipline, but it is natural and perhaps constitutional. Was a little pained by the occasional laughs of one

*Now first published from the original manuscript in possession of the Buffalo Historical Society. Some of the dates are inconsistent.

of the natives and the more so as it proceeded from one whose opportunities of improvement warrant a far different exhibition. This person's name is Jacob Jamieson. He has been at school in different places and has acquired no inconsiderable degree of information and can talk pretty good English. At present he is to be considered a rather dangerous person. As his acquaintance with men and books is more extensive than the rest of his nation, his influence is considerable. His ideas at present appear to be at variance with the plan of this establishment, inasmuch as he supposes that his nation can never be rightly instructed unless removed off their present residence. He recommends to them to embody themselves in some distant country out of the reach of molestation and then send their children back to those who are well qualified to instruct them. He is not opposed to the Gospel, professedly, but only to the plan pursued by the Board.

Monday 5 [Nov.]. This day met at four o'clock for the purpose of attending to the monthly concert of prayer. Thirteen persons assembled and attentively listened to what was said in respect to what was doing in the world for the good of immortal souls. It was truly refreshing [MS. torn, a few words gone] to meet with these ignorant, wretched people, and by prayer and supplication to that God who can pity the destitute and wretched. For certainly if ever there were an ignorant and pitiable people these are the same.

Wednesday 7th [Nov.]. This morning was ushered by a consideration of my unspeakable unworthiness, and by all the mercies of a bountiful God. Nothing but goodness and mercy have followed us since we have embarked in the cause of God. But oh my insensible ungrateful heart! Others are complaining of their backwardness and unbelief, but I appear to myself too insensible and blind to see my own sins notwithstanding my soul is barren in the presence of my God and Saviour.

Thursday 8th [Nov.]. This day met in council with the chiefs at Mr. Young's house. Chiefs pretty generally attended. When I entered the chamber where they were sitting all appeared grave and attentive, and continued so

throughout. Little Johnson was speaking; he appeared grave, manly and eloquent. After considerable conference among themselves they remarked that they were assembled in consequence of some information before derived from me; that the Good Society at New York had sent them a talk [to] which they supposed no answer was required, and that they were now ready to attend to what counsel might be given them by the Society.

I then asked them if it would be agreeable to them if I were to open the meeting with prayer to the Great Spirit. They remarked, that it coincided with their wishes. After prayer, the first talk was read, which consisted of a letter of introduction of their minister and his wife from the Society. This was succeeded by another addressed to the same as an answer to one sent to the Board enquiring for a teacher for their brethren at Tonewanta. After these had been read and explained Pollard arose and said that they owed great thanks to their minister for reading and explaining the good talk, but that a messenger was here present from Tonewanta and that if I would be at my liberty for a little while—until they had cleared the way, as they expressed it—and heard the news which had now reached them, they would then be prepared to return an answer.

After entering the chamber the second time, in a few minutes Pollard again arose and said: That we owed great thanks to the Great Spirit that we had been spared in health and safety to see each other's faces, and that they owed much to the Society for the good talk and a thousand thanks to their minister for so patiently and satisfactorily explaining it to them. Furthermore, that though the Society had not sent a minister as soon as they at first promised, yet that they rejoiced to learn, that as soon as he could be prepared, he had come to devote his life to their good. According to the request of the Good Society they promised faithfully to receive and love their minister and to protect him to the utmost of their power. They understood that it was his business to explain to them the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ contained in the Good Book; they further promised to listen with all possible attention to the explanations which

should from time to time be made from the Word of God, for their best good and the salvation of their souls. Furthermore, he observed that they rejoiced to learn that they and the Board were even-minded, as they expressed it, in the business which so deeply interested their brethren at Tonewanta. They had sent to the Board requesting their counsel on the propriety or impropriety of advising them to join themselves in any agreement, with people of a different denomination; and they have coincided with them in opinion that it would not be best to receive teachers from any other denomination, but all to observe the same way. This is very satisfactory to their minds. But, they have to state, that there is some difficulty in the way, which however they hope the Great Spirit in kindness and mercy will remove. The Christian party among their brethren at Tonewanta, being exceedingly desirous of having their children instructed in the knowledge of letters, and not receiving an answer from the Board as soon as they expected, they had thought proper to accept of some proposals from the Baptist denomination, for this purpose. From the messenger however which was then present with them, they had understood that the Pagan party was very stout-hearted and had determined that no teacher should settle in their village. On consideration they were glad that an opportunity was presented of setting aside the former agreement, and they would now wait the arrival of the teacher promised in the talk which had just been read to them. In the meantime they requested of the minister to send a letter to them, which should tend to corroborate the truth which should be delivered by the messenger. They further requested that in that letter all the blame of breaking the contract with the Baptists should be on the shoulders of the chiefs on the Buffaloe reservation.

Finally they wished to make a request of their minister in order to clear their minds of a difficulty which still rested upon them. It was this: Their nation at present was divided into two strong parties. The Pagans were considerably enraged because their nation was about leaving the rights [? rites] and customs of the forefathers for the Christian ways. Now, as they supposed that the Society had em-

powered me to satisfy their minds on things of this nature, they wished to know how the rising generation should be protected in their religious rights and privileges against the assaults of those who might invade them. I replied, that the Board had not empowered me to tell them; that they should not meet with any difficulty in embracing the gospel of the Son of God; but that I might in justice say, that they would afford them all the assistance in their power by advice and direction in the reception of the truth. All they [i. e. the Board] could do was to send them a minister, to endeavor to direct their feet in the way that leads to life everlasting; to point them to the Lamb of God, that takes away the sins of the world, who is now exalted a Prince and a Saviour to give repentance unto Israel and remission of sins, to whom all power is given both in heaven and in earth, and who could therefore protect them and their children against all the attacks of the most stubborn enemy. Hence they saw the necessity of looking to this Saviour immediately for help and consolation, for he has declared that "he that believeth shall be saved." Good David has also said: "I once was young, I now am old, yet never saw I the righteous forsaken and their seed begging bread."

They here expressed ten thousand thanks to me for the manner in which I had explained to them where they should put their trust for protection and salvation. They knew that the Saviour was almighty; they could read it in the Good Book, and by the help of the Lord they would strive so to do. On the subject of rendering assistance to the brethren at Tonawanta, they remarked, that if the Society could send them a letter promising a teacher, signed by the President of [the] United States and the Secretary of War, as a token of their approbation, they supposed it would be abundantly sufficient to satisfy the minds of the Pagan party and cause them to be silent; this would convince their minds that they were not imposed upon by the meddlesome whites. To this I replied that I held in my hand a letter from the Department at [of] War, stating that Government did approve of these societies sending teachers among the Indians, and more than this, that they had appropriated out of their own pock-

ets \$10,000 annually for this purpose; and that this money should be applied through the exertions of benevolent and Christian societies, and that if their brethren requested it, a copy of this letter might be sent to them, in order that their minds might be satisfied on the subject; that this was not a cunningly-devised scheme in order to deceive them, but that it was the very plan that Government had resolved to carry into execution. This, they said, was the very thing which [they] had wanted all along, and they were compelled to rejoice at the good news. They thereupon requested of their minister if he would be so good as to send a copy of this letter with the messenger who was soon to return home; which was speedily complied with.

Sabbath, Nov. 12. After service this day I invited Seneca White and his brother John Seneca to come home with me for the purpose of a religious conversation. These appear certainly so far as I can judge to be the most serious of the nation. I commenced my conversation by telling them that I had requested them to come for the purpose of having a conversation with them on serious subjects, and hoped they would without hesitation open their minds so far as it would tend to relieve them of any difficulty that might be resting upon them. Seneca White replied that he would speak for himself, and his brother should speak for himself. I then asked him if he sometimes desired to love the Saviour, who died for poor sinners; whether he believed that God would one day call him to an account for the deeds of body whether they be good or whether they be evil? Whether or not he was depending upon his prayers or his uprightness or his goodness in any way for the purpose of obtaining acceptance with God; and if he believed that his sins could be forgiven except through the merits of the Son of God? To which he replied in the following manner, as nearly as could be gathered:

That in his younger days, in looking around him and seeing so many of his neighbors (whites) as well as those of his own nation, addicted to improper and sinful practices—some getting drunk, others disobeying their parents, others addicted to gamboling [? gambling] and frolicking, etc.—

he had made up his mind to abstain from all these things; to act justly and uprightly with all so far as it was in his power. He had seen the great misery which such conduct had brought upon those who engaged [in] it, as well as on their friends; that in looking back upon the path which he himself had trod he had some sorrow because he found nothing which could merit anything at the hands of God; for he well knew that sin was mixed with all his actions—that he was a sinner before God, and that through Christ alone, he had understood from the Good Book, he could be pardoned. And it was his constant wish that his sins might be pardoned and he accepted through Christ. And it should be his aim continually to listen to such explanations as should from time to time be made from the Good Book. And it was further his strong hope that our lives might be spared to be a great blessing to his nation and that God would bless our exertions and counsels to them.

John Seneca answered also that he was of the same mind with his brother in all that he had said, that he felt himself a sinner before God, and was resolved, as far as the Great Spirit should give him strength, to seek the way of salvation laid down in the Word of God. He believed the Saviour had died for our sins and that he is able to save those that put their trust in him; that in this whole thing he and his brother were of one mind. After some plain and solemn admonition we knelt down and commended them to God and the word of his grace which is able to save their souls.

Nov. 15. Met with the chiefs in council at our house, requesting me to overlook the letter which had been written to the Tonewandas, as it had appeared to them not to be altogether straight with the direction of the messenger, which they had sent to carry the letter. It seems that the messenger had understood that they must send the letter to Mr. Bates, which was a copy of the circular from Government, and had not let him see the other; and he thereon was very much encouraged. Whereas, the Tonewandas had determined to dismiss their teacher, whom they had promised to receive among them, and they met this morning in order to have it further explained. When they came to understand

that both letters were for them, and that the circular was only to let them know what Government would do, they were entirely satisfied, and said that now they understood all things, and would take the letter along to council at Jackstown and would there explain the thing to their brethren who were of the Pagan party; that they fully understood that Government approved of the plan and would assist them in undertaking it.

Nov. 17. Chiefs met at mission house for the purpose of having me interpret a letter from Oneida, stating what they had done in regard to the deputation, etc., and they also requested the favor of writing to the Onondagas for the Onondagas on this reservation. They move very slowly in council, and some appear very dirty.

Dec. 3, Monday. Chiefs met for council at the mission house. Although they were apprised of its being the monthly concert of prayer, yet they supposed that because it was not specifically mentioned on the Sabbath preceding, they pretended that perhaps I deemed it a matter of indifference. In this however they were mistaken, for on entering the house they soon found by the interpreter that the family had improved the day for humiliation, fasting and prayer. They were respectfully informed that owing to our appointment previously to observe the day by religious exercises, it would seem to interrupt our worship, by attending to any secular concerns (the question was put to them); and that if they would set any time during the week I would cheerfully meet with them for the purpose. They beg to be excused, as they had not known of the fact till they entered the house, and that I might act my own pleasure in deferring it or not. They were satisfied with the reason and appeared a little chagrined that they had called on this particular day. I hope it will be a practical lesson, that they may be induced to attend more punctually and constantly on so important and interesting an institution. The business is respecting the affairs of Tonewanta. I am rather suspicious that the way is not yet quite opened for the location of a teacher in that section of the Senecas; the opposition is yet probably too strong to the happy and successful settlement of Chris-

tian teachers. It is our duty however to pursue every possible opportunity to cover the ground.

Wednesday, 5th [Dec.]. Had an interview with Capt. Parrish, Government's agent for the Six Nations. He appears to be friendly to our establishment, and anxious for the improvement of the people. He says that his aim and mine in regard to this people are one—they both tend to one result, i. e., the happiness and prosperity of this people; only his line of duties lies in one way and mine in another, but that both should go on together.

He related a conversation which took place between him and Red Jacket, this morning. Jacket came to him and wished to know his opinion, whether he did not think that the Black-coats were not coming in among them, in order to take away their lands. He told him, it was no such thing; their lands were secured to them by Government, and that they could not be deprived of them so long as that Government exists; that there is no incumbrance whatever except the right of preëmption, which only relates to the right of a company's purchasing them, provided they wish to part with them. He [Capt. Parrish] promptly told him, that he was an opposer of missionaries, who had been sent by people who wished their best good; that not only so, but that he was opposing Government; who was very desirous of having them instructed and their children. And now [said Parrish] can you dare to oppose missionaries and societies and Government; can you, a single man, presume to fly in the face of all these, and violently resist them?

Ah, well [said Red Jacket], but what has been the result of those numerous tribes who had received missionaries among them? What has become of them? They are extinct; they are forever gone, so that the name even is no more remembered.

Well, and have dissipation and war had no effect in bringing about this catastrophe?

Oh yes; but liquor and vice and swearing all have come in this way.

And after giving him a good scolding and telling him that all was in vain, and that his people would become Chris-

tian in spite of all his efforts, they parted about as good friends as we meet.

Dec. 10. This day officiated in the burial of a child of one of the chiefs by name of John Snow, he is one of the most respectable men of the nation. I was surprised to see their regularity and willingness to have it conducted according to the Christian method. The procession started from Snow's house and halted at the mission house where an address was made to the mourners and a few words spoken to the people on the necessity of being prepared for death.

Was this evening gratified with an interview with Little Beard, principal chief at Tonewanta. He appears to be an honest, candid man. He said he was very glad to see me and wished to let me know that his people wish to have a school-master from the Board, but that they thought it was so long to wait. His people, he said, wanted a good Christian man; not lazy, but swift; one that knew a good deal, and who would not set an example to his boys by which they would be induced to drink rum. This, he said, "no good."

Dec. 11. Was gratified this morning with an interview with Young King. He said:

"Ten years ago, Indians no work—no fence—no cattle—no corn—all dark. Now good many cattle—and boys, some work. By and by, maybe, ten years, boys work—make good roads and good fence—and have everything good." He seemed much pleased at the prospect of improvement.

Dec. 12. A number of the people met this evening with a view to engage in singing; they came immediately from the general council, which is composed of chiefs from all the reservations. After singing, several chiefs tarried and talked on various subjects. Thomas appears quite forward and considerably displeased with the Board in not fulfilling their word, as he says, with him. He told me, in an impertinent manner, that he should expect me to write a letter to the Board expressly on the subject. I remarked I might do it if I got time and leisure. His conduct has manifested displeasure at something for some time past.

Dec. 14. Two of the chiefs met today with interpreter expecting a council, but no more came. I requested the in-

terpreter to ask Seneca White if many of the nation were now hunting for their winter's subsistence. He replied that there were a very great many. I then asked him what he thought was the disadvantage resulting from this practice, or whether he could approve of it at all. He said he did not like the practice, and the disadvantage was very great. In the first place, they wear out a great many clothes, and it happens often that they seek for game a great while before they find any. Another thing is, that they frequently have cattle at home, which will perish, unless they are present to attend to them.

Dec. 15. Today Thomas came to the mission house without any hat and evidently in a passion. He began immediately to talk in a scolding manner, on some pretended grievances which had taken place between Bro. Young and Jonathan Jacket. It seems that Jacket had come to the workshop to do something for himself. When dinnertime arrived he came down without invitation and took his seat at the table. This he did twice or thrice. He was at length reminded by Bro. Young of his mistake in supposing that we were to board him. Thomas declared, to the young women, that Jacket had been abused, and that he had now come from home without his breakfast and if he had to go home to get it, he should not come back to interpret for the council, which was to meet at 12 o'clock. After he found that his threats very little affected us he went home quite as angry as when he came.

Dec. 27. Was told today by the interpreter that the chiefs of the Christian and Pagan parties had convened for business of some considerable importance, in which there was a letter to be read and if I could attend to interpret it for them it would much oblige them. On entering the house I was somewhat surprised to find Mr. Hyde had been waiting for my arrival for an hour and better, in company with four chiefs from Cattaraugus. The subject of discourse appeared to be a particular consideration of certain facts alleged by Mr. H., both in council and conversation at Cattaraugus to have occurred in relation to the bargain of Mr. Williams to the westward. The subject more particularly turned on

opinions asserted by Mr. H. on this subject, and that of the preëmption company. It seems that H. had expressed himself in council very decidedly on the subject, but more particularly and strongly expressed himself in conversation with one of the nation who can speak English. This last-mentioned person with three others had called on Mr. H. to know whether he had asserted such and such things, to the most of which he assented. They then proceeded to Seneca, in order to confer with their brethren here on the subject of Mr. H.'s conversation.

The chiefs, it seems, had sent for me in order that the whole of this talk might be gone over in my presence. Mr. H. was then requested to relate word for word as far as he could, what he then stated. The whole seemed to consist in assertions, quite positive enough, it appears to me, of Mr. H. on the forementioned subjects. Among the rest a copy of a letter of his had been sent to Cattaraugus written some time before to a person favorable to the preëmption company, in which he gives his high disapprobation of the conduct of W. D. Ogden of New York. This letter he read in the presence of the chiefs, appealing to me for the truth of what was read. After understanding as well as I could the matter in debate, and especially after seeing the chiefs apparently vexed at all this trouble, and considering the meeting nothing less than a meeting on land business, and nothing in which as a minister of the Gospel, I had any concern, I then asked the chiefs whether I had been invited to their council in order to render them any assistance or simply as a hearer. They replied, that as they had understood, a letter would be read of more than usual importance, they wished me to be present, in order to hear what might be said; especially as they believed something would be said in which the conduct of the ministers (the Board's) would be implicated. This implication consisted in a belief on the part of the natives at Cattaraugus that the ministers were at the head of this western expedition of Williams, for the purpose of driving them from their lands. I then replied that I had come according to their request, and had attentively listened to what had passed, and found that as far as I could see, there was nothing in which

I could render them any assistance, which I would cheerfully do, were it in my power; that it did not belong to my duty as a minister of the Gospel commissioned to preach Christ crucified to them, either to counsel or direct them on their national concerns; that as it related to the conduct of the Board, they themselves might judge whether they had fulfilled their promise to them, and had acted according to their contract with them or not. They had asked of them a minister of the Gospel; a promise was made; that promise has been fulfilled. Did not this look like consulting their best interests? Is it likely that they would now turn about to be their enemy? "You yourselves are certainly apprised that it is not the object of the Board to bargain for lands, neither do they employ persons for that purpose. As therefore it does not enter into the line of my duties to attend on subjects of this kind, in which it is not in my power to give them any information, I begged to be excused, as I am wanted at home." To this they very readily assented. Before I left the house Capt. Strong arose and stated that [there] were two or three things which had been omitted in Mr. H.'s statement. One in particular was that he had declared that there were some persons who were false ministers; that there were many who could put on a black coat whenever they pleased, and that they were not always to be trusted. [A blank leaf here follows; perhaps indicating that Mr. Harris had intended to write further of this affair, but never did, the next entry being at the top of a fresh sheet and elaborately headed: "Journal of the Mission at Seneca, Jany., 1822."—Ed.]

Jany 1, 1822. Another year has commenced with us at Seneca. Oh may the great and eternal God bless his cause in the midst of us, and cause it to prosper. He we trust has opened the way for the display of his grace. May it be his divine pleasure to pour out upon us of his holy spirit that we may grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

We were visited today by probably a hundred and seventy or eighty of the natives, men, women and children. They appeared much pleased with the attention afforded them, and

it may be the means of conciliating the favor and good will of numbers who are now nominally and perhaps really opposers. Jack's-town is the largest of these three villages, and the stronghold of paganism on this reservation. Today there were a considerable number from thence to see us for the purpose of receiving their New Year's present. It is remarked by the family that the Pagans have lately a greater disposition to be friendly to our establishment than formerly. And prospects of that sort appear to be encouraging.

Was permitted to have an interview with Snow, one of the chiefs who has lately been much affected with the loss of a child. I was told by one of the sisters that on Sabbath she perceived him much affected, and today I improved the opportunity of a free conversation. He appears serious, but I am afraid a self-righteous spirit is the predominant temper of his mind. His tears which have been seen to flow so freely, and which I had humbly hoped were the fruits of that godly sorrow which worketh repentance unto life, is nothing more than a natural sympathy for a stroke of Providence. And I am very apprehensive that the result of having the Gospel preached for ten years or more among this people is as yet little else than the production of a pharaisaical show.

Jany 10. The chiefs met in council this day at our house, professedly for the purpose of having a letter written for their agent Capt. Parrish, but principally perhaps for the purpose of giving us a scolding. On Christmas, when they were all assembled at the mission house, it was proposed to them, among other things, that as it—the mission house—was more central to the three villages, and as it would much accommodate them in bringing the children to and from Sunday School, and as it would better suit our women, some of whom were feeble and in ill-health and not able to walk so far, it could perhaps with a little expense be as suitable a place for public worship as any other; and as it would be likely to accommodate both the people and the mission family, the question was put to them, whether they would agree to meet here or at the council house. The question was also asked, whether they would consent to assist in moving

the schoolhouse which stood at Mr. Hyde's former residence, for the purpose of a weave-shop for the squaws. They answered, they would consider it. This evening they were prepared to give an answer. They replied in quite an impudent manner, which was far from showing gratitude for an accommodating offer. They said that they were unwilling to change the place of worship because they had a house which was good enough for them and they supposed ought to be good enough for any one else; that if they met here there would be so many temptations for the bad class of their people to pilfer, but at the council house there was nothing but the bare walls and seats for them to pilfer. And as to our women, if they really wished to act a faithful part and show a good example to the people they could afford to walk a mile once a week at all times for the sake of doing good. And further, as to the removal of the house, they thought it a very needless trouble and expense, which might be very easily done without. For these reasons they thought that they could not possibly accede to our proposal. Their covetous disposition is indeed trying. They seem to have an impression that it is almost a favor that we are permitted to serve them in the labors of the Gospel. It is often with the greatest difficulty that they are prevailed upon to haul a little wood for the purpose of keeping their children comfortable at school; and if told of the propriety of the thing, they are by no means at a loss for language that savors of considerable impudence. May the God of all grace grant them an understanding heart, to discern the spirit of Christ, and it shall ever be our prayer that God would grant us faith and patience to endure all things for Christ's sake.

Wednesday, Jan. 16. A much larger number of the natives met this evening for the purpose of singing than usual. We have informed them of our willingness to instruct the people, both men and women, in singing on this evening of the week. By the pains which the chiefs appear to have taken to collect the people (some of whom met with us), it is probable that they seem disposed to conciliate our esteem and thus to make amends for their impudence on the 10th.

Sabbath, 28th [Jan.]. Was invited today after service to

attend on Tuesday at a convention of all the children, for the purpose of naming them. It seems that about two years ago, from some source or other, the Indians were encouraged or directed to adopt a method of publicly naming their children. I understand from the interpreter that it is conducted by the chiefs. One takes a child and lays his hand on the child's head and formally pronounces the name. The meeting is conducted at the council house with prayer or singing and cakes distributed to the children. The object of inviting me, it was said, was that I might give such directions in regard to it, as might increase the solemnity of the occasion, and that I might engage with them in prayer for the children, that they might be kept by divine grace from "every evil and false way," and be trained up in the knowledge of Christ and his salvation. My reply was, that if I could attend conveniently, I would. On reflecting, I think it improper for me to attend, inasmuch as my presence may sanction a measure which has no foundation in C. J.* and which is probably viewed by them as a kind of ecclesiastical act. Oh may it please the great Head of the Church preserve them from deserting that rule of faith and practice laid down in his word, and convince them by his Holy Spirit, that at this time when "they" think they ought to be teachers, they themselves have need that one teach them what be the first principles of the doctrines of Christ.

Feb. 9. Was visited today by three of the leading chiefs, who had been appointed to confer with me on the subject of the Tonawanta teacher. The conversation was very satisfactory to myself, and I do not now remember of having ever enjoyed an interview with this people, upon which I have been able to reflect with so much gratitude to God as our covenant on the present. They commenced the conversation by calling my attention to what I had said to them, in the council held by Elder Stone. They said that I had heard what had been advanced by him in favor of the Baptist teacher, but could not tarry till the decision had been made. They further remarked, that they still remembered their

* MS. not plain, but apparently an abbreviation for "Christ Jesus."

covenant with the good Society; that they had by no means forgotten it and were resolved to adhere to it as long as they lived. As to the decision which had been made they said, it appeared to be unavoidable, it was a thing which, could they have had their own wish, without infringing the liberties of others, should not have taken place. But as their brethren at Tonewanta were not present when the covenant was made, and had conceived a great liking for the Baptist teacher, and were greatly disappointed in having their wishes crossed, the only resort was to leave it to themselves to judge upon it as they should see best. They also said, that although their brothers at Tonewanta had decided in favor of the Baptist, still it was but a teacher, and they hoped that even yet the Great Spirit would so over-rule the whole affair as to cause it to terminate for good. They further observed, that since the Good Society had been at much trouble and probably at considerable expense for their good and they were anxious that it all should not be in vain, but wished the Society, if they had found a proper teacher, not to dismiss him, but to send him and his family to their destitute brethren at Cattaraugus. They were more numerous, they said, than those at Tonewanta, and the Christian party among them were determined to have their children educated by some means or other. They said that moreover the Christians at Cattaraugus had made some exertions in the matter of erecting a school-house by hewing and drawing timber for the purpose; that the site which they had pitched upon first, was deemed by the Pagans such an encroachment on their lands as to cause them to haul away their logs, on [to] ground which was indisputable; and they had no doubt that they would be pleased with the measure of having a teacher from the Board. To be certain however of what might be done, they said, that they would send messengers immediately to their brethren to confer on the subject, and would let me know the result as soon as possible. After asking them several questions relative to the subject I said that rejoiced in brotherly love, and concluded my remarks by reminding them of their obligations to live up to the contract which they had made with the Society; that as to the Board, I believed they had

always found them their tried friends, but if they should listen to other counsellors, and go off to other denominations, they could not expect anything less than that the assistance which might probably be afforded them, would be rendered to other people who would cordially receive their counsel and abide by their decisions.

After some consultation among themselves, they wished me to explain to them what it was, that was essentially necessary for a person's becoming united to the family of Christ, or belonging to the church. As for themselves, they had long believed that some of their young men were really true Christians, this they gathered from a careful observation of their conduct, and from the exhortations which they frequently give to their own people to live up to the gospel of the Son of God, and they now wished to know, what prevented these persons from becoming members of Christ's flock? They put another question also: What was to be done by a head of a family, in case he wished his children brought up in the Christian way, whether it would not be proper to have his children baptised? And they also desired me to explain to them the nature of marriage.

When the first question was put to me I trembled for the result, because as I knew there had been such an itching by numbers to have this event brought about. I thought it a thing very possible, that in case I refused to accede to their proposal they would be highly affronted. I told them that if they would answer me one question I would then undertake to comply with their request. It was this: Whether they would listen to the word of God when it directs those who are mere learners of the gospel. They replied that they wished to obey its directions. I then told them that the word of God says expressly to persons in their situation, "Submit yourselves to those who have the rule over you, in the Lord, in all things." It was their duty, therefore, to submit this whole matter to the minister for him to determine who were the fit subjects of the ordinances of God's house, and who not; that it does not become any of us to say positively of any person, that he or she is a true

Christian; it is God that searches the heart; but there is a very wide difference between a fair life in the sight of men and a fair heart in the sight of God; that it was the minister's duty to endeavor to compare the exercises of every person who professes to love Christ and his gospel, with the rules laid down in his word; but that in order to do this it is absolutely necessary that he should have frequent conversation with all such persons—it is very necessary that the minister should become well acquainted with them; but as for myself they knew that I was as yet almost a stranger among them. Some of their people I did not know, and those with whom I was acquainted had never shown me where they lived. I could not therefore go to their houses to converse with them on these subjects, but that in time it was my intention to talk with [them] much on these subjects, but that it was impossible for me to do it immediately. I said further that it was not best on any consideration whatever to run rashly with the execution of this business; it was a solemn thing and it was their duty so to consider it; we are all poor miserable sinners the best of us, and it does not become us to think too highly of the safe state of ourselves or of others. We can therefore never be too well grounded in the faith and love of the gospel; but that upon the other hand it would bring a great disgrace upon the precious gospel of Christ if any of their people should be brought into the church and should afterward turn their back upon Christ and his commandments. Besides, their pagans were watching every step they took, and if they should see any of their number acting in this manner, how much they would rejoice in his downfall, and how great would be the encouragement for them to continue in their dark and wicked ways. It was my counsel therefore to them, as one appointed to watch over their souls, not to be hasty in this matter, but to examine their own hearts and wait the time when there should be satisfactory evidence that those who now wished the privileges of the church were not only Christians in name but Christians in heart.

With this they seemed perfectly satisfied and thanked

their minister for explaining these things to them in a manner so very satisfactory, and they replied moreover that they had never in their whole lives, gotten such a clear view of the gospel, at any one time. They should therefore receive my counsel. The other two questions were answered in a manner which secured their approbation.

Saturday, Feb. 15. One of the chiefs called upon me and said that he was on his way to Cattaraugus, and should be back on Monday and would call. I asked how many were going: he said he expected to take eight with his sleigh and horses, that he did not know whether more would go or not. Ten or twelve went however. He said it was their determination to hold a meeting for religious worship on Sabbath and to encourage their brothers in receiving the gospel of Christ.

Monday, Feb. 17. The chiefs returned from Cattaraugus and called in order to inform us what was the result of their visit. As it was very near night, and they fatigued with their journey they had only time to tell me the substance of what had been done. They had an interview with their brothers, and had stated the reason why they had paid them a visit at this time. I wished to know what their opinion was on the subject that they might be able to render an answer to their minister as soon as possible. After some consultation the principal chief remarked that it was not possible that anything positive could be done in so short a time, but that he would call a full council of all the young men and ascertain their sentiments on the subject, and whatever their judgment should be, he should cheerfully acquiesce in it. He said further that he would send messengers in a few days to Buffalo, to inform their brothers what was the result of the council. I requested that the council might be held at the mission house.

Sat., Feb. 23. Was informed today that two messengers had come from Cattaraugus and from Tonawanda, and according to my request the chiefs would meet in council at the mission house at 12 o'clock. They came accordingly and opened council about 2. The messengers from Cattaraugus were then called upon to deliver their communication,

which was nearly as follows: They had held a council among themselves at their council-fire at Cattaraugus on the subject which was proposed to them by their brothers from this place, but their minds were divided considerably and they were not prepared as yet to take any measure positively in regard to it. They had been requested however to invite the chiefs from this place, with their minister, to attend a council with them at council-fire within four days, at which time delegates from their brothers at Allegany would be present with us. They also made particular request of the minister that he would bring with him the covenant entered into between their brothers the chiefs on the Buffalo Reservation and the good Society of New York, and also the circular letter from Government, as they wished all these things explained to them and to their brothers—the council to be held in four days from this time. A considerable conversation then took place, and the business of the Tonawanda messenger was attended to. After some little time the interpreter whispered in my ear and told me that he had collected certain things in the course of the conversation which he thought it his duty to relate to me. He said that everything appeared to be going on among the people at Cattaraugus as he supposed it should; that the chiefs and people in favor of the gospel had made up their minds, except one, to accept the offer from the Board, because they believed that they could never subject their spiritual concerns to any class of men that would do them better justice than the good Society with whom their brothers had covenanted. The chief warrior however, being [MS. illegible.] man and not willing to enter into any new agreement hastily, has not yet given his assent, but is not opposed. The ground of his neutrality in the business appears to be, that he feels under some obligations of gratitude to the Quakers who reside near them, for services rendered to their people; but as soon as he could adopt some means for compensation to these Friends, he should adopt this other measure very soon. Here the matter rests.

I then addressed myself to the chief from Cattaraugus, and hoped that he would encourage his people in the good

ways of the Gospel, and for myself, I had little doubt, if they would look up to the Great God for help and direction with an humble and sincere mind, he would appear for their help. They were then commended to the grace of God in prayer and dismissed. We hope the hand of God is in this whole transaction, and we confidently trust that he will bring it in his good time to a happy termination.

Tuesday, March 5. Have just returned from attending the joint council at Cattaraugus. I started on Wednesday of last week, expecting to return on Friday, but events of so very pleasing and portentous a nature have occurred in regard to the future and eternal welfare of that people as to render it impracticable without violating my own feelings and theirs, to have returned sooner. In consequence of turning aside to tarry all night with a friend I did not arrive till next day, first day for council. The Christian party met for council at the house of the chief warrior. After the customary salutations and a free [? talk] on the motives which actuate the ministers of Christ in spreading his gospel, I was made acquainted with the plan which they had adopted to carry their point in general council with the Pagans. They said, among other things, that in their struggles with the opposite party they had very much of injury and insult to bear; and though their minds were strongly fixed even as the mind of one man, in their adherence to the Gospel and its concomitant privileges, still, they found themselves surrounded with such an overwhelming majority as to induce them almost to think that their cause was desperate. It was a conviction of their weakness, they said, that they had made particular request of their brothers at Buffalo, to come to their help, and with them their minister; and now they were bound to give thanks to our God and Saviour, that they had been permitted to see the face of their brothers, as well as of their minister in peace, and that no accident had befallen us on our journey. They said, further, that since the minister was so good as to hear their cry and come to their assistance, they should by and by, when they met in council with the opposition party, request of their minister to read, first, a statement from the Attorney General contradicting a report

which had been issued by Red Jacket and his party, that the Attorney General should have practically said that all Indians who should embrace the gospel of the white men, should in a short time be compelled to pay taxes and subject themselves to all the laws of the land. The effect of this intelligence on a number of persons was to [make them] desert the cause they had espoused, for pagan superstition. This certificate they thought of so much importance as to have it stand first on their docket; to regain their apostates, and convince the people that they were imposed on by a set of unprincipled men. In the second place they requested of their minister that he would be so good as to read from the Good Book, in the presence of their opponents, such a part of the Gospel as would seem most calculated to let them understand its true nature. This they thought (to use their own words) would be likely to prick them in their hearts so much as to make them more cautious how they trifled with those solemn things; and to convince them, if they had any conscience, of their unbrotherly and even unmanly conduct in so bitterly opposing them in a course which they esteemed of such immense importance to themselves and their children.

Next to this they wished me to read the Government circular, showing that the voice of their Great Father the President was with the ministers in civilizing and evangelizing his red children. And finally, they would expect me to read the covenant which had been made with the Good Society at New York.

Their wishes were realized in all this, except reading the covenant, for which there was no time, as the Pagans met so late in the afternoon, and Saturday, in waiting they said for their brothers from Buffalo. Three to four o'clock in the afternoon they sent us word they were ready.

On entering the council house we found Red Jacket and his party all present, who had come to have his voice in the Council. The day was occupied by several speeches, and I was permitted to be a silent and uninstructed hearer. After council one of the chiefs* came to me, leading a young man,

* Apparently, from interlineations in the MS., this was Capt. Crow.

and said: "You are now brother, in the midst of your Indian brothers, so far from white settlements that it is in vain for you to think of lodging with them. You will go with this man, he will take good care of your horse, furnish you a good bed to rest on, and he is able to give you a good supper." I thanked him and said I would cheerfully accept the offer. All he said I found realized far beyond my expectations. In the evening a number of the young men came in to join in learning to sing; they have already, without a teacher, made some proficiency; and never did I see persons more fond of this recreation or more eager to improve.

On Sabbath the people met together with chiefs from the three reservations for worship at the place of my lodging as being the most capacious house on the reservation, about 30 persons. The meeting commenced by a few remarks made by Johnson. (One of the number, who was appointed by themselves some time since, to address the people on the Sabbath.) I was then invited to conduct the exercises of the day and requested to explain to them the nature of the Gospel, in such a manner as I judged most suitable to their situation. They felt themselves in darkness, and how to get out they did not know. After singing and prayer I addressed them mainly on the two following points: 1. Some of the plainer evidences of the truth of our holy religion; 2. On the motives which actuate true Christians in sending this Gospel to the heathen. During a discourse of an hour and a half in length, almost every eye in the house was fastened upon me. I had almost said, never did I see a Christian congregation listen with more profound attention, than in attempting to lead their minds and hearts to Jesus the Lamb of God.

Some time after service one of the chiefs arose and before the people left the house addressed them saying, that all the chiefs from the three reservations which had this day more fully than they had ever been able to understand before, had come to this resolution, that forever after they were determined strongly to hold fast to this Gospel and abide by its directions, even should it please the Great Spirit to order that death should be the consequence.

Feb. 1*. Buried a child of William Jacket, son of Red Jacket. About ten years of age, he died of the consumption.

Wed. March 21. We were called upon today to commit to its native dust the body of one of our neighbors, George, son-in-law of the White Chief. He was an honest and industrious man but of a remarkably reserved turn of mind. In the commencement of his illness I went to administer some medicine, thinking to call again soon, but when I visited him again with a view to a serious conversation on the state of his soul I found him in the agonies of death. Oh how important to improve every moment in attempting the salvation of souls. His friends said he talked much about Jesus, but as there was no interpreter at home, this is about the substance of what I could learn of the state of his mind.

April 1, 1822. Today being the monthly concert of prayer, the chiefs [met] with a number of the people for the purpose of singing and prayer. These seasons are often improved for the purpose of communicating what religious information we may possess. And it is often surprising to mark the attention which is given to the history of other missions among our red brothers. After the exercises of the day I improved the opportunity of inquiring of one person present with whom I had lately a very serious conversation, whether he knew of any person exercised in a manner similar to himself. He told me he did know a few more who were thoughtful and who he thought were really seeking "the one true and living way." He could only speak his own mind respecting them, but after I had conversed with them I could best judge for myself. He was then requested to invite these his brethren to attend a religious conference before singing on Wednesday evening, with a view that the minister might find out how their minds stood affected towards the Gospel; and also that he might be able to assist them according "to the ability which the Lord had given him for edification."

Wed. April 3. According to previous appointment on Monday, five persons met at our dwelling, all chiefs of other nations, with a view of engaging for the first time with

* Date so written in the journal.

their minister in a religious conference. It is peculiarly calculated to excite our feelings to hear these [*illegible*] independent sons of the forest describe their feelings; some of them appear to be truly evangelical, as far as it is possible to understand them through the tedious and often very incorrect mode of communication by an interpreter; one would be disposed to think that the most of those which were present were sober and serious inquirers after the truth as it is in Jesus.

April 4. According to previous appointment Bro. Young opened school with 15 or 16 scholars. Although the chiefs and people generally appear quite anxious to send their children and we believe there are some who will faithfully and regularly do it, yet it is more than probable that much will not be effected in this way for some time to come; they are so prone to be lax in exercising proper discipline over their children, that it is not safe to calculate too sanguinely respecting the school. They have been told to send their children for a few days, and when we are fully prepared we will send for the chiefs with a view to a free conversation on the subject.

Wed. April 10. We have this day again been called to bury another of the natives—a child of Young King. It is a sickly season with this people. The most alarming disease which appears to prevail among them is the consumption, which is unhappily often hereditary.

April 20. Buried today another child of Wm. Jacket's, and he himself appears to have arrived at the last stages of consumption.

April 22. I was interrupted on Saturday in my preparations for Sabbath by the interpreter who officiously put himself in my way. When civilly requested to withdraw into an adjoining room was affronted, so much so as to inform me this morning "that he did not thank me for turning him out doors."

May 22. This day had been previously appointed by the chiefs for selecting the children for the family. They had been informed that everything was now ready. Council was opened late in the afternoon, but none of the children

came. This was not their fault, for they had informed them, the chiefs remarked, that they had followed the voice of the Good Society from time to time, and they intended to do so; as far as they could see their directions were beneficial to them and their children. But in regard to instruction of their children they had finally concluded it was not best for their children to be instructed in agriculture. They thought that instruction in reading and writing was sufficient for the purposes of the Gospel and for their own comfort; that their parents could teach them agriculture if they wished. With respect to embodying the children they observed that on the whole it would be prudent to defer it until after the next June council. Perhaps God would so order it, as that the minds of the opposite party might be brought to think and feel with them, and if so, their children ought to have as good a right to all the privileges as their own.

They perceived, they said, that in many respects the predictions of the pagans were fulfilling; that "if you give white people a footing among you, you will find that they will soon be building a town. (*Dubium.*) We had already built a house of large size, we had gotten a lot of ground before; and now, lately, they had given us the privilege, according to our request, of fencing another lot of considerable extent for an orchard; so that in the approaching council, the pagans would no doubt take an advantage of these things to build up their own cause. And they would also say that the children of the Christian party would be reaping all the benefit to themselves, whereas all this property which we had the benefit of, belonged equally to both. In order then to have as little difficulty with the pagans as possible, they thought it best again to offer the privileges of the school to the pagans, if they wish to have their children educated and will send them to live with us, they had a right to do so, as well as themselves. And they said that perhaps the Great Spirit would so order it as to bring the minds of both parties more together in the council approaching.

They afterwards found fault with the schoolmaster for the manner in which he corrected the children. They were very willing that the children should be corrected when they

deserved it, but not in the way in which they had been accustomed to be corrected. They said they would send their children every day to school from home in the meantime; and they hoped that the schoolmaster would be more and more faithful to the duties for which he was appointed. And even, though it should so happen, that not more than one or two came, he must not be discouraged and dismiss the school, and attend to his own business, but to go on and give them the same instruction as if ever so many came.

May 23. Mr. Young ready to go into school, but no children came.

June 1. The chiefs met for council at the mission house. They talked on several subjects and scolded much. First, they wished to know of the schoolmaster, "when he was going to begin his school—there was no school yet. June council was coming on, when all their people would be gathered from different parts. They would then all be called upon to give their voice respecting the state of the schools, and they expected that every other reservation would report favorably; while they who were the first to receive the Gospel, would be able to report nothing; and they now wished to have an answer immediately, whether the school could not be put in operation or not, before the council? They thought it strange kind of work that their children should be running about all this year past, idle, and some of them had now grown so large that it was not in their power to manage them and would have their own head; and this because the schoolmaster had neglected his duty for other business."

They were then reminded by Brother Young of the manner in which the school had gone on for these three years past, and the reason why so little had been done was shown to be primarily and chiefly their own fault. And as to omitting the school for the erection of the building necessary for a school-house and house for the minister, he had acted according to the commands of the Board, whose orders he should ever think it his duty to obey as long as he continued in their service. They must therefore not blame him. They were then reminded of the propriety of talking on these subjects coolly without breaking good friendship. They in-

tended, they said, to talk in a friendly way, as far as the nature of the case would permit; but they said, there was one thing which hurt their feelings. Ever since the minister came on, they had scarcely heard a single letter read to them, that was directed to him from the Good Society. We managed business as we pleased, and they were kept in utter darkness of what the commands of the Society were; whereas in former times, this never used to be the case, but they heard read every letter the Good Society sent.

This last charge was shown to be a mistake. They were then told that every answer to their talk had been and would be wholly and faithfully read to them; but of letters which were addressed to me, it had been always my plan to read such parts as related to them and their children, and further than that they must not expect. The propriety of such a plan they acknowledged.

They afterwards said, that some time ago they sent a letter to the Good Society, requesting them to take five or six of their children and send them to a distant school, but according to the interpretation, their request was not complied with; and they supposed the reason was, that Mr. Young had written the talk exactly to suit his own ends, and brought a great disappointment upon them. Now these six children had grown up in much ignorance, whereas they might have been of much profit to the nation, had they not been prevented in this way.

Mr. Young then told them, after a number of allegations of unfaithfulness, that though he did profess to be angry with what had been said, yet, for him to be charged with things which could not be substantiated by any proof which they could bring, was a hard case and hurt his feelings extremely. They afterwards became more temperate. Before they dismissed however they wished to know what they were to answer the pagans, in council, should they be charged with the fact of our tilling the ground this year, at Mr. Hyde's former place? They said that we had gone on and planted the ground for our own use, without consulting them; but they supposed and always understood that after any white people had received benefit from their property,

the land together with all the improvements, went back into the hands of the people. And they now expected that when they should be charged with this circumstance in council, that we would rise and say that "the people permitted us to till the lands this year, gratis, but another season we should relinquish all right to the place."

We replied that the Board had expended considerable funds for improvements there, and of course those improvements could not be given away at all, by persons who were their agents. As to planting, we thought we acted correctly in tilling it for our own use, as long as we were not forbidden to the contrary by the Board or themselves. As to the pagans, they might expect they would try to oppose every plan they adopted; that was nothing new; but if they thought proper, in case of being pushed in council by the opposite party, on this subject, to make use of the above assertion themselves, or otherwise let it be till something more could be done about it, we had nothing to say. They returned no answer, and after awhile dismissed, apparently good-natured. School agreed to be opened on the Sabbath. Oh that it might please our Father and our God to give us more evidence that the spirit of Christ dwells in their hearts, but we fear that the love of God is in few of their hearts. Though our feelings are often wounded by their unreasonable and self-sufficient language, yet the thought of being able by the grace [of God] eventually of convincing them of the necessity of a change of disposition and conduct, and of doing good to their immortal souls will we hope through the prevailing prayers of the people of God reconcile us to the endurance of every trial, however severe. We hope we shall not forget that though nominally Christian, many of them are yet strangers to the covenants of promise, without hope and without God in the world—are yet in darkness, and the light of knowledge of the glory of God has not as yet shined into their hearts. May we therefore endure, labor and pray that they may be eventually brought from darkness to light and from the power of Satan unto God.

Sabbath, June 2. Preached two discourses for the first time on Sabbath last. There was some little dissatisfaction

expressed by some of the people of the lateness of the hour of meeting. After the service the chiefs were asked, whether they would have something more of the Gospel. They replied, that they would defer it for the present, but would be glad, if it was agreeable to the minister, to have two discourses on the ensuing Sabbath, the very point to which I had wished for a long time to bring their minds.

Monday, June 3. A number of people met at a late hour this afternoon for the monthly concert of prayer. During the service a short exhortation was addressed to the chiefs in view of their approaching councils. They were urged to manifest a spirit different from the bitterness and wrath of their opposers, believing, as we do, the Scripture truth that "the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God." It appeared evident from their very earnest attention that they felt sensibly what was said. After prayer one of the chiefs came to ask if it was proper for them at this time to attend to any secular business; if it was proper, he said, they would receive it as a favor to have a letter written to their agent. The letter was accordingly written. It was designed to acquaint the agent with the persecution the Baptist schoolmaster had lately received at Tonawanda, in which it was determined that the schoolmaster should immediately leave the Reservation. Of this determination he was soon made acquainted. He was further ordered to hold himself in readiness and pack up his goods and chattels, for on the ensuing day precisely at 12 o'clock wagons would be at his door to remove him and his effects to the settlement from which he came.

To this resolution he seemed to pay very little attention, and appeared for a time to make himself very easy. Thinking however that they might execute their threats, he took his wife and child to school with him and locked up his house, believing they would not have the audacity to break it open. About the set time the wagons came according to promise, stopped at the house and found the house "truly shut up and the effects in all safety." They were at first non-plussed, but after much strong cogitation an expedient was thought of which succeeded admirably. A key was

mustered which suited the lock and the door was soon thrown open, uninjured. They packed up every thing they could conveniently carry without damage, carried them off to the Batavia road, procured a house in which to store them, and locked the door, delivered the key and returned.

Mr. Bingham the school-master had the painful mortification to witness the whole transaction from the window of his school-house. At this outrage our chiefs here appeared quite indignant and intended to inform the agent, without delay.

Tuesday 11 June. Had a serious conversation with Lewis Two-guns, brother to the chief of that name. He has lived a year or two with white people, and acquired the wagon-making trade, and talks considerable English. He says he often thinks of his soul, and not a day passes over his head without thinking much on the subject. His conduct has sometimes been volatile but lately has been marked with much more seriousness. His judgment is convinced that he is a sinner and in great need of salvation; but I am afraid his heart is not greatly impressed. His views appear rather legal: he thinks he sins, but his sins are small, and till I told him better he thought he was gaining upon them every day. We think him an interesting person, moral, modest and pleasant; and like the young man in the Gospel, apparently "not far from the kingdom of Heaven."

June 20. Council and its proceedings.

June 25. The chiefs met in council at the Mission house for the purpose of informing us what they would do with respect to embodying the children. This object, which we have so long had in view, and [regarding] the success of which we have had much anxiety, is likely after so long a time to be attained. Several things have conspired to retard this business; the prejudices of the people, misunderstanding with respect to our intentions, and other things have all been barriers in the way. On this occasion however our intentions have been more fully explained, and there appears a better understanding between the missionaries and the natives with respect to what will be done with the children in prosecuting their education. They said that they were able

to put into our family ten children, to be entirely under our control, together with two from Allegany and Cattaraugus; but the other boys who had grown beyond the age prescribed by the Society, should be faithfully sent from home every day. The number they remarked was less than they expected to have put into our charge, but that there were a great many more younger ones who would soon be of suitable age to be received. These boys they wished constantly to have attend to their books, and for that reason they were unwilling to have them instructed in agriculture or be engaged in any kind of work.

The impropriety of such a request was shown them by saying that it was contrary to the direction to their father the President, as they knew from the Government circular which had been sent to them; that by so doing the school would lose seven or eight hundred dollars per year, which would be applied for the use of their children. Also it was contrary to the expectations of the Society, who expected that together with learning to read and write, they should be taught to work and be industrious; that the children would lose nothing in their studies by such a plan, but be rather gainers because they would be kept out of idleness.

They immediately withdrew their request in surprise by saying they thought our object was to make the children work to pay for the clothes they wore, most of the time, in the woods, but now they understood all things perfectly, and should deliver these children into our hands to do with them just as we saw proper. This number should be the commencement, but that in time we might expect a number more.

Saturday, June 29. Day of fasting and prayer.

July 1. This day our eyes have beheld in view of our increased charge, with unspeakable pleasure, fifteen interesting little immortals in the bosom of the family, and apparently much delighted with their situation and prospects. For this, we have long hoped and prayed, and oh that they might be trained up for God. If our own hearts deceive us not it is our most fervent petition to him who is able "to pity the ignorant and those who are out of the way," that he vouchsafe to them his Divine guidance, that they may be

ornaments to the religion of the Saviour while they live and made fit for an holy heaven when they die. We shall certainly have twenty, when they all come who have been promised. No doubt many fervent prayers of the Board, and of the dear people of God, will ascend for their salvation.

July 10. The number of children admitted into the family has increased to 24. It is probable however some will not tarry. We do believe, notwithstanding the influence of some adverse circumstances, that the Lord is about to do something efficiently for the rising generation of this poor dear people. The process by which the work is going on is extremely slow and requires strong faith and perseverance of exertion; believing, that though we may die without seeing any marvelous results, yet we may have at last the felicity, after having sown, to rejoice together with those who reap. The children with two or three exceptions have [done] well and are generally very intelligent.

July 16. The Lord has seen proper to afflict us by the loss of our horse. He died a few days since of the botts, on a visit to Cattaraugus. Everything was done that could be done to save him, but in vain. We shall be compelled to get another immediately.

July —. This morning several of the larger boys went home without leave, which has been the occasion of setting almost the whole school in a tumult about home. It requires great patience and judgment to get them obedient.

July 25. We were visited today by one of the Alleghany chiefs, who brought his son to be initiated into the school. He promised when at the June council to bring some of his children after a few weeks. He wished to know the terms on which he could be received, that the bargain might be fully understood. After an explanation of our plan he appeared satisfied, and said he should give his boy to be kept by us as long as we should choose to instruct him. He enquired the length of time that was expected to elapse before the children could finish their course of study, observing that there were a number of people on all the reservations who appeared pleased with the plan of our school, but their minds were not altogether satisfied with the length of

time they were required to stay. Some had understood six years and some five. He wished therefore to know the precise time they would be required to stay, in order that his friends might be able to decide whether they would send their children or not. On being told that we should expect all the children to remain at least two years and generally three he appeared pleased, and gave us to understand that we might most probably expect two or three more soon after his return home.

Aug. 1. The family was considerably disturbed by the intrusion of one of the natives in a passion, who is the father of two of our children. Brother Young found one [of] the children in mischief and reprimanded her for it. She resented it and ran home to her parents and made them believe that she had been greatly abused. Both parents came in about ten o'clock at night, greatly incensed, and took them both away.

Aug. 7. Today the children returned [with] parents' consent. [Note] consequences to the school from such conduct and chiefs' interference. A council was held this day at the mission house, composed of chiefs and warriors from Allegany and Cattaraugus and Buffalo, for the purpose of hearing the opinion of the minister respecting some unpleasant information which had been received in regard to what the opposition party in a general council had effected, and in regard to the general success of opposition. Some exhortations to constancy were addressed to the assembly, which were very gratefully received, in answer by an Allegany chief; their minds were fixed.

The council was closed by a spirited speech by an Allegany chief in endeavoring to settle the minds of his fathers and brethren, on the immense importance of delivering up their children to their brothers the teachers, who had come to instruct them in the right way. He said, "we had long enough neglected our children and the consequence of it we could now sufficiently see in their idleness and sin; that they had not the correct method of bringing up their children, but the white people had; and we ought not to find fault with them because they corrected them." They ap-

peared pleased with the school, very much. One of them is the father of the lad who is with us from the Allegany Reservation, and says that there will probably be more from that place that will apply for admission.

With respect to the school: it is now diminished to seventeen in number. Some who came first have become discontented with confinement and have gone home, and a few have been taken sick. The number that remain appear contented and obedient and apparently happy, and generally make handsome progress. May it please the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ to add some of them to his church of such as shall be saved.

Sabbath, Aug. 25. We were pained today to see the tardiness of the people in attending church, and the indifference manifested by many to the sacred institutions of that holy day. Our congregation a few weeks since was full to overflowing, consisting generally of from 50 to 75 and 80 adults. Now many appear little disposed to listen to the words of life, by absenting themselves from the house of worship.

After service the people were informed by one of the old chiefs that on tomorrow a feast would be observed in commemoration of those of the older members of the congregation lately deceased, this to be a kind of Passover, held the 12th day after the decease of the person. The particular ceremonies are not known, but it is a part of their former superstition. Oh when will they learn righteousness and turn from darkness to light and from the power of Satan unto God!

Sabbath, Sept. 1. Two or three of the congregation were invited home with us today for the purpose of a free conversation on the state of their souls. Seven came and joined with us in our evening conference. Those with whom we had time to converse appeared truly thankful for this attention of their minister, and at his request opened their minds freely on the several subjects proposed. They seemed to feel deeply their own unworthiness and generally a deep sense of guilt. One said he sometimes thought his sin too great to think it possible for God to forgive, but then again

he reflected that the mercy of the Lord was great, and he rejoiced that there was a door of hope opened even for "the vilest of the vile." Another said that every day he came short of doing his duty to his Maker; he felt it; he knew it; but he had often heard and he did believe in his heart that Jesus was an almighty Saviour; his whole life was on his mercy and he might do with him just as he saw proper. He was asked if he delighted in unburdening his mind to his Saviour, whenever his mind was pressed with any difficulty or any sin? He replied that he did not forget to seek the grace of God every day; sometimes along with others, and sometimes when he was in the woods alone and no eye saw him but the eye of his Saviour, he was accustomed to pour out his heart in prayer to his God.

Monday, Sept. 2. Monthly concert; a number attended.

Wednesday, Sept. 4. The Lord appears gracious to us in favoring us with opportunities of carrying on our several operations. We have just erected a frame as an addition to our kitchen department. It is a large piazza, intended for washing, buttery, etc., etc., for the children.

Thursday, Sept. 19, 1821.* A general council was this day opened at our council house of the whole Six Nations, for the purpose of preparatory measures for distributing the annuity, the United States agent and interpreter being present. At this season several important communications from Government were read by the agent to the council, directed to both parties. One was an answer to a letter from the chiefs of the Christian party, commending them for the zeal and engagedness they have manifested in promoting their own civilization and happiness, notwithstanding the opposition of some of their own people; and exhorting them to prosecute these measures, for as long [as] they pursued this wise course they would always receive the countenance and support of Government. Another was a communication to Capt. Parrish, including instructions quite favorable to the increase of school and improvements generally. The last was a communication addressed principally to the opposite party and containing a severe reprimand for the determined

* Should be 1822.

opposition and unwarranted hostilities which they have lately manifested towards teachers and missionaries, contrary to the wishes of Government and their own best interests.

"We have viewed," say they, "the conduct of the party among the Six Nations called the Pagan party, with marked disapprobation; that the institutions in the Six Nations having been established with the consent of a number of the most respectable chiefs, and with the approbation of the Government, a continuance of the violent opposition which they have lately manifested towards them, and in particular any attempts to remove them, against the wishes of so many of their own people and that of the Government, will be considered as highly unjust to the former and disrespectful and offensive to the latter."

These communications, so favorable to our cause, greatly embarrassed the opposite party. Our hope is, that it may have the effect of opening a door of peaceful residence to our brother missionaries on the Indian land. We do believe that the Lord will still grant that the minds of these scattered tribes will be blest with the means of salvation. "Let the people praise thee Oh Lord, let all the people praise thee." Another boy brought to us today.

Saturday, Sept. 21. Another council held at Buffalo in the presence of Capt. Jones, Parrish, Gen. Porter and H. B. Potter, Esq., attorney general. Remarks were made by Gen. Porter on the nature of the communications from Government, expressing his opinion, as a peacemaker, that the documents were genuine and showed the zeal of the Government to promote their present and future welfare. That they were genuine he had no doubt, for that he himself has had an opportunity, by his residence at Washington during the last winter, of ascertaining the views of Government; and believes them to accord perfectly with the sentiments of the communications. And whereas he observed some blame has been attached to the agent for countenancing education and improvements, he thought it an unjust censure, because as an officer of the Government he was in duty bound to carry into effect as far as possible the views of the Government.

Jacket, finding himself so much galled by the clear and candid statements which were made, left the council in disgust, and has been so intoxicated as to be incapable of any business ever since.

Sabbath, 22d Sept. The congregation met for worship as usual at the council house, our usual place of worship. The exercises were attended with due punctuality but not with that eagerness which has sometimes been manifest in our religious meetings. The service of the afternoon was conducted at the mission house, for the purpose of attending a funeral. A number of strangers were present. We trust the Lord was with us, by his Spirit to give efficacy to his truth. An unusual solemnity and feeling evidently pervaded the assembly, which gave great interest to our meeting.

Tuesday, 24th Sept. We were grieved today to see all the girls of our family running home without permission. One of the smaller girls has lately been quite troublesome, so much so as to receive reproof from one of the sisters. She did better for a while, but again trespassed. We told her father, the same one who not long since came and took them both away. He conversed with his child, but in such a manner we believe as to do but little good; indeed she has since been worse. She had endeavored to induce the others to run away with her, but they did not choose to go. Today however a couple of squaws came and conversed with them, and they immediately went home. We expect that they were told to come and assist their parents in gathering the corn harvest, without consulting us on the subject. Thus we are tried with this ignorant, inconsiderate people. They wish their children instructed and complain at the shadow of neglect towards them, and on the most trivial occasion will teach them to disobey us. The Lord convince us of the need of patience and submission; and them of the folly of such measures.

Wednesday, 25th Sept. Six of the natives met this afternoon, according to previous agreement for social prayer and mutual conference on the state of their souls. These seasons are often most delightful and refreshing. It was truly calculated to awake our sympathies and excite us to praise God,

to see one of our serious chiefs who has lately been brought near to the gates of death, while relating the state of his mind affected to tears. But a short time ago, comparatively, he was immersed in heathenish darkness, the thick gloom of superstition hovering over his soul. Now he appears to think upon his former course but with disgust and we would humbly hope with true repentance. They expressed a determination, generally, that by the grace of God they were resolved to seek the face of him who is able to save unto the uttermost all who come unto God by him, until they found him precious unto their souls.

Thursday, 26th Sept. Two children, a girl and a boy, were brought to us from Tuscarora. Our school appears to be growing popular among our neighbors. The Lord grant that it may be blessed to the salvation of many souls.

Saturday, 28th Sept. The chiefs having been previously informed of the conduct of the children, sent a deputation today on account of the rain, to converse with us on the subject. They had much fault to find with our methods of conducting the school, and our establishment generally. The teacher was blamed for not being more confined to his duties as teacher, and for not treating the children when they behaved ill in a more conciliatory manner, using more tenderness and caution in his attempts to correct them. They did not think it was generally the best way to correct children with the rod; but to use persuasive measures and coax them into obedience. This way they supposed to be much the best. And if the children were disobedient and did not do as they ought, with such measures, tell the parents of the children and let them reprove them. They were then asked, what should be done, should all these measures be pursued and still the child prove refractory? They answered, that in such case the only alternative was, that if both parties failed in this generally sure remedy, to consider the child as an heathen man and a publican; a poor lost ruined creature that is fit for nothing, and so cast him out. They remarked among many other frivolous things, that the time was drawing near, they supposed, when we should be making out a report to Government on the state of the establishment and

the progress of the scholars, etc., and they supposed the fault of the children's tardiness in learning would be thrown on their shoulders, but they stood prepared to deny any such assertion, because the fault of the children's not learning more was because the teacher did not attend to his duty as he ought. They were then plainly told that as to the children's progress we were persuaded that those who behaved well and were obedient did learn and did improve in every thing useful quite as fast as children in white schools and families generally do; but as to those who would continue to do ill and were disobedient they would never learn with the best of teaching in the world; and if they as guardians would continue to complain of us as 'unfaithful, because we could not in conscience countenance their children's depravity, the Board must know it and the world know it, and the sin would in a measure lie at their own door. With respect to our communication to Government, we did not intend to lay any blame upon those who did not deserve it. We intended to state facts merely, without note or comment. It should be according to truth and we should not be ashamed to let it undergo the strictest scrutiny by any one.

They concluded by saying that the children should all come back, and they finally thought that in the course of a little time more would come, especially of the women, to attend upon the work-school, which has been suspended mostly during the summer for want of proper assistance; few of the women choosing to come also. Among these they supposed would be a number of young women of the opposite party, who they knew were anxious to come, and who now also had the right to come, inasmuch as they themselves had agreed in council that Christianity might be tried on this reservation only. All these young women therefore wanted was an invitation on our part to attend. They were told, that that department would again be put into operation as soon as a female teacher could be procured by the Board for the use of the mission in this place. We then parted by mutual tokens of good will.

We finally think that the caprices of a few of these un-

enlightened chiefs in regard to their children, ought not be indulged. We are well assured, as any person can be, that mild and conciliatory measures ought to be employed in reforming the conduct of children as long as they prove successful. This we believe is the easiest and by far the pleasantest method; but the rod is the plan of God's own appointment, and we do believe that the rod judiciously managed will oftentimes do more to ensure the obedience of all kinds and descriptions of children than all the persuasion and coaxing in the world. It ought however to be made and we intend to make it the last resort always; without always consulting the parents, who are as often as unyielding and as unreasonable as the children themselves. We are further willing to trust God for the issue of such a course.

Friday, Oct. 4th. We were this day visited by our dear brother Kanouse, agent of the Board. We hope our hearts have been refreshed and our drooping spirits raised by this valued brother. May the Lord bless this brother in his attempts to recommend the cause of missions in this part of the country. May his heart be encouraged and his hands strengthened by the hand of the mighty God of Jacob!

Monday, Oct. 6th. Today being the monthly concert of prayer, a goodly number attended. After the exercises of the afternoon Bro. Kanouse held a talk with the chiefs of the Christian party respecting the progress of the school department. Our brother affectionately told them his disappointment in not seeing more of their children in the care of the family who were appointed for their instruction, and held up to their view the disposition that was so prevalent among our red brothers to the south, to encourage the hearts of their missionaries by causing the children to show a prompt attending on their instruction. They attempted to palliate the matter in some degree, but appeared considerably confused. We trust that the conversation of our brother has had a very salutary influence in bringing their minds to consider their remissness in not sending their children with more assur'dty to the school. The Lord grant that their eyes may be opened to this important department. They promised to do all in their power.

Oct. 8. Today Sister Harris was blessed with a young daughter. May God in his holy providence consecrate this event for his glory.

Saturday, Oct. 27. It was this day determined to suspend two services during the winter, and instead of the afternoon service the people acceded very cheerfully to the proposal to meet for an evening lecture on Wednesday evening at the mission house, and after the service to attend to instruction in singing. By uniting the season of singing (a recreation) and worship together we suppose that many more will attend worship than would were these attended to on separate evenings.

Wednesday, Oct. 30. More attended the evening lecture than were expected. We trust that this arrangement will not only tend to our own comfort, but by bringing children together with the people into one worshiping assembly, important spiritual advantages will result to them. Bless the Lord Oh our souls for any opening of usefulness among this interesting people.

Nov. 2. This day completed the annual report to the General Government.*

Sabbath, Nov. 3. Our worshiping assembly this day appeared unusually interesting. Before the religious exercises commenced one of the principal chiefs arose and addressed the assembly, consisting of about 80 souls, on the importance of obeying those directions of the great and good God which were from Sabbath and Sabbath and from time to time explained to them from the word of God; and as far as we could ascertain attempted to admonish the audience, for some departure from Gospel integrity and obedience which had lately come within the reach of his observation. The same thing was very feelingly and from his manner I should say forcibly done by Pollard, the chief speaker on the last Sabbath. He arose before the people, immediately after the minister had left his desk, and with apparent decision and earnestness and at the same time with all the affection, reprimanded his people for certain conduct which he considered at war with evangelical truth and righteousness.

* For this report, see *ante*, pp. 143-145.

Today I was told by the interpreter after the chief had finished his address, that it was expected a large number of the Onondagas would attend who had never been professedly favorable to Gospel instruction; and it was a request of the chiefs that I should take my text in some portion of the word of God which would lead me to show the entire insufficiency of their former superstition to make them either comfortable in this world or happy in the world to come. The subject proposed for their consideration is contained in Heb. 8:10: "For this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel, after those days, saith the Lord. I will put my laws into their mind, and write them in their hearts; and I will be to them a God and they shall be to me a people."

Thursday, Nov. 14. Had a most interesting sick-bed conversation with Jonathan Jacket, who is apparently following to the grave with rapid strides his brother William who died in J—— last. When I entered the house I found the interpreter with a number of his friends collected to see him. After informing me that he expected the doctor soon, to administer to his complaint, I supposed I had little time to lose, and therefore commenced conversation with him on the affairs of his soul. I asked, whether this subject would be agreeable to him. He replied that it would, because "that was the principal thing." I then requested him to open his mind to me without any restraint, because I wished to do him good. He answered, that whatever he should say should be the truth, for that God was his witness, who was in every place and knew the thoughts of his heart, and it was therefore in vain to attempt to deceive him. He then went on to state, that on Sabbath last, he felt more concerned than usual for his friends, particularly his grandmother, mother, wife, nephew and wife and cousins, some of whom had never attended the preaching of the Gospel, and those that had he supposed understood it but imperfectly; he therefore called them to his bedside and counselled them separately, declaring that he for one did believe, contrary to the opinion of some of his people, that there was a day of judgment coming, when the world should be judged before God, and that

Jesus Christ would reward every person according to his works; the wicked he would reward with everlasting fire, and the righteous with endless happiness; he therefore hoped that they would try to be prepared for that great day and repent of every sin, and put away every improper disposition, and put their whole trust in God.

He had previously informed me that he felt himself to be a sinner, and that he had determined to repent and give himself up to God. Fearing however that he had perhaps put the determination instead of the thing itself, I considered it my duty to preach Christ and him crucified as plainly and pointedly as possible. I therefore addressed him by saying, that he had told me that he had felt himself to be a sinner and that now there was no reason why he should not receive forgiveness, since the Lord Jesus had died for just such persons as he felt himself to be, provided they truly felt their sins to be a burden, and would consent to throw the burden on the arm of Jesus, who has declared himself able to bear it. And that though his sins had been like mountains rising toward the heavens, still the mercy of God like a mighty river was able to rise above them and hide them forever. After continuing the conversation for some time I closed by saying that it was impossible for me to determine whether he had made his peace with God or not, that God himself only could search the heart of man; that as a single man I could only judge of my own spirit by the rule that God had given; but as a minister of Christ I was bound to tell others and him among the rest, that if we ever love Jesus at all, it must be before we go hence to be no more in this world, or not at all; that God had declared in regard to the next world, that "as the tree falleth, so it lieth," there was therefore no repentance there; and as I feared his days would be but few in this world, I hoped that what his hands found to do he would do it with his might. This was all I had to say, and my prayer was that God would be with him in his sickness to sanctify all his trials to him. I asked him if I should pray with him. Having looked me full in the face the whole while he now put his hand to his face and burst into tears, and sobbed aloud and said, "Sir, I thank you a thousand

times for what you have now said to me in regard to my soul. You have now given me more satisfaction in this short conversation than I have ever received in my whole life—you have enlightened my understanding more than any man has ever done before. My heart is full, and all I can say is it is my anxious wish that you pray to God for me."

The whole audience was at once melted; to weep with those who weep, to me, in this case was easy. To have restrained would have been more than brutal. We then knelt down and commended him to God in prayer. After rising from prayer he the second time expressed his gratitude for the comfort his mind had received during the conversation. After expressing my determination to call upon him from time to time as my circumstances would admit, I took my leave and departed.

Nov. 25. The conduct of one of the natives today has more than ever convinced us of the importance of pursuing one strait, steady and scriptural course in all our operations among this people. The father of two children who some time since became displeased with the teacher for scolding his disobedient girls, again became displeased and said that he should take away his girls, inasmuch as they were accused of leading away the whole school; and he would see whether their absence would be likely to restore the order which we had complained of as being disturbed. We told him that he could do as he thought best in relation to the matter; that we were sorry to think that children so capable of receiving proper instruction as his were, should be suffered to run about idle and lose all they had learned. He was however not to be diverted from his purpose.

He returned today and desired to have his children again reinstated, because both the children had pleaded with tears to be returned. After seeing our hesitation on the subject he became more earnest and confessed that he had done very wrong in conducting as he had done in relation to his children; and promised that if they again misbehaved he should be cheerful in having them corrected; and if they ran home he would correct them and send them back. We consented that one might come, but that the other be suspended for a

short time that she may be taught to consider the school a privilege.

Nov. 27. Have just returned from visiting Jacket, who will survive but a few days at most. The principal chiefs were collected to pay him their last visit, among whom was Red Jacket his father. Being already exhausted with conversation I judged it proper to converse but little. His most serious and judicious friends told me however that he had expressed the state of his mind at large; that he was tired of earth, that God had blessed his soul through Jesus Christ, and that now he had "no wish to live but earnestly desired to depart to be with Christ which is far better." If any hopes are ever to be cherished in regard to a deathbed repentance I should think that in this case we may hope that he will die in peace.

Dec. 25. The Christian party were pretty generally collected today to receive their Christmas presents. We should judge the number consisted of 150 souls. They expressed much gratitude for the kindness of the family, and listened with respectful attention to a discourse founded on the words "Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, good will to men."

Dec. 26. One of the native women came to the minister today to state her grievances in regard to her husband, stating that he had gone and left her without any provocation; and she thought if I would hear what she had to say I might be able to befriend her by my counsel. She is the wife of the amiable Young Two-guns, brother of the chief of that name. I told her that it appeared proper that she should state her grievances, but that prudence dictated the propriety of doing it in the presence of her husband, that I might be able to give advice to both. As she had no objections, the husband was immediately sent for and came forthwith. They were both heard, one of the principal chiefs being present. The young man is inflexible; says that he is fully convinced from repeated trials that her disposition is such as will forever break his peace if he live with her; and whereas she now desires to be married in the Christian manner her object is only to bind him fast that she may lord it over him. From

our acquaintance with the family as well as with the individual woman we have pretty strong impressions that a youth of such inoffensive manners and amiable disposition would not be disposed to violate a rule of the Gospel without strong inducements to self-justification in so doing. The custom of putting away their wives and marrying others however, is an evil prevalent among this people, deeply affecting their temporal comfort and injurious to the Christian cause. They never I believe bind themselves for life; but the marriage contract is dissolved at the option of the parties. May it please God who has begun a good work among them to set aside every barrier to the diffusion of his truth, and the general universal acceptance of his laws.

Dec. 28. I requested a council of the chiefs on this afternoon, with a view to ascertain what might be done in doing away the practice of putting away their wives for reasons not sanctioned by the word of God. They were reminded of the extent of the evil which prevailed among them and had prevailed among them so long, attended with such unhappy consequences.

A plan was proposed with a view to ameliorate the condition in this respect, to this effect: that as marriage was not a sacrament, nor anything peculiar to Christian communities, but a matter of public benefit, they owed it to themselves as directors of their nation to recommend some plan that may be disposed to lead their people from so much laxness in this respect. My individual opinion was, that if the younger men and some of the middle-aged of the chiefs were to come forward in a public manner and desirous of showing a good example, be married in the Christian fashion, the object with blessing of God might be attained.

To this they replied that by the assistance of the great and good God they should certainly try their utmost to comply with my request; and they could now rejoice in the full belief that God had prospered them in their feeble attempts to do their duty; because that they had spent the whole day on yesterday, at their council house, on this same subject; and what appeared singular and matter of rejoicing to them was, that we had both hit upon the identical expedient to

remedy the difficulty; and I might rest assured that they were more thankful for the proposal now made than for anything that had befallen them (as they expressed it) "this many a day." They would converse with the chiefs and answer soon.

Jan. 6. [1823]. Met for the monthly concert of prayer; an unusual number present. The chiefs and people generally listened with deep interest to some religious intelligence. After the services of the evening they conversed on the subject proposed to them on the 28th ult. They said that their deliberation on that subject was that a couple of their young men had professed their desire to be married in a lawful Christian manner, for the purpose of setting their own minds at rest, and also as an example to their nation. They pitched upon Wednesday for the solemnization of the marriage. With this request we have thought it proper to comply, trusting in God that if it will not eventually be attended with good, it will effect no evil. They concluded by asking if it would be in our power to gratify their wishes of preparing a supper for the parties to be married, provided they found the provisions. They were told that we would be disposed to gratify their wishes as far as might appear to be proper. They would at once see the propriety of our not adapting any of the funds of the Board to such an object; but as they had generously offered to contribute all the materials for a supper on this occasion, I would leave it with our females, on whom the burden would chiefly fall, to say whether it would be in their power to gratify their wishes in this respect or not. Upon the sisters expressing their consent they left us exceedingly pleased.

Jan. 28. We have lately received three boxes of clothing for the use of this mission, one from Orange Co., New York, and two from the congregations at Raritan and Millstone, New Jersey. This has proved a most acceptable present, especially the bedding, which has been much needed at this station. May He who has declared that "those who devise, by liberal things shall be made fat," enrich our dear friends with all needful grace and mercy for this instance of love to his cause. May our Lord Jesus Christ himself and God

ever our Father, give them everlasting consolation and good hope through grace, comfort their hearts and stablish them in every good word and work.

Feb. 2. Monday. The concert for prayer was this day in consequence of a funeral in the afternoon among the opposite party, but thinly attended. After the exercises were over I thought it my duty to consult the views of the chiefs in regard to the new arrangement of the Board, to embody the children of the Tuscarora tribe in our family. They offered no objection to the plan, and we presume will not.

Feb. 3. We are sorry to think that two of our promising boys, who are in part claimed by the opposite party, have left the school in consequence of a correction received for bad conduct; the effect on the rest of the children has been most salutary.

Two young men have solicited marriage in the Christian form. They were both expected to have been married, but the bride of one was compelled to postpone the matter on account of the conduct of her brother, a Pagan, who is raving mad with her, for attempting such a thing. The man and woman both sent the minister word, however, that they "shall embrace the first opportunity to have their wishes gratified in spite of his opposition."

Feb. 14. Brother Crane* arrived last evening, desiring a council with the Indian chiefs today. They convened according to appointment. The subject proposed was, to obtain their full and free consent in permitting the Tuscarora children to become embodied along with theirs at this station in compliance with the wishes of the Board. This consent appeared necessary in order to satisfy the minds of the Tuscarora chiefs, who were unwilling that the friendship of the two tribes should be disturbed. Brother Crane

* James C. Crane was born in Morristown, N. J.; united with the church in 1813 and in 1817 was appointed to the Tuscarora mission by the New York Missionary Society. For two or three years he lived under the Lewiston mountain, removing to Tuscarora village in 1821; the next year the church was built, 30 feet by 20. Troubles arose, Mr. Crane resigned, and for two years was general agent of the Board of Managers of the United Foreign Missionary Society. When that society was transferred to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, he was chosen assistant secretary of the Bible Society, but died a week later, aged 32 years.

addressed them at some length on the importance of the plan already submitted for the consideration of the Board; but did not expect they would pass a decision upon any part of it, except so far as related to the reception of the Tuscarora children.

The result of their deliberations on the subject however, was that the matter appeared to affect their interests so deeply that they could not pass an opinion until it was brought before their next June council, when the matter would be taken up and decision made in a regular manner. Brother Crane wished them in a particular manner to understand that it was not his expectation that they should pass an opinion in regard to any other part of it, than so far as related to the Tuscaroras; as the Board themselves had not as yet sent the whole plan to them for their ratification and adoption; but only wished to know their opinion in regard to the Tuscaroras only.

To this they after some consultation replied as before, that the matter could be more regularly determined in a larger assembly. They concluded by expressing their thanks to the missionaries for taking so much interest in their welfare, and they hoped that they would be instrumental in doing much for their several nations.

March 1. The minister has been able during the past month to find time amidst the pressing concerns of the establishment, to visit several of the more serious natives; and it is encouraging to reflect with what gratitude and respect those visits have been received. We trust we may do much good by having such a good opportunity as these visits afford to instruct the families in the principle of domestic subordination and family government, in which they are very deficient.

March 2. Two of the principal chiefs called today to procure some communication to their agent. They appeared much chagrined when they learned that the petition of the friends of Christianity and civilization in this and the adjoining counties, praying for the alteration of the law of this State, in relation to the residents on Indian lands, so that ministers of the Gospel and mechanics of good moral char-

acter be excepted; was negative in the Assembly of this State. Surely God will overrule all this for good.

March 8. Today the two boys who left us some time ago have come back; the one came and plead to be returned, saying that he had done wrong and is very sorry. The other was forcibly taken away against the will of the boy, to gratify the whim of a very drunken dissipated parent. He has now returned through the interference of the chiefs. Their tattered and filthy garments were immediately exchanged for their former suits, and the smile of health and contentment is now lighted up on their countenances, which were before pale through hunger and sullen by despair.

March 10. Another interesting little girl was brought to us today by one of the chiefs, who said that she was very desirous to come and live with us. Her age is ten years. We have given her the name of Catalina Vroom, after a particular friend. Our school is certainly becoming more and more tractable. The whole number is seventeen. The progress they make in the knowledge of household business and in the various branches of study which occupy their attention the most of the day is truly gratifying. There is one class of six or seven who read fluently in the New Testament, another who spell in words of two or three syllables, and one or two beginners. They also make tolerable progress in learning the English language.

Wednesday, March 27. An intelligent lad of sixteen years of age was brought to the school by one of the young men of the tribe, who says that he is a connection of the Mohawks at Grand River, U. C. While at Grand River during the winter the father and aged grandmother of the lad (his own mother being dead) placed him under his care, being a relative, with a particular charge to have him educated if possible. Having received such a charge he has brought him to us to be placed entirely under our control. He has had already some slight acquaintance with letters, and speaks pretty correct English; and on these two accounts we have thought it proper to admit him to the privileges of school though he is a little in excess of the age prescribed by the Board; especially too considering the im-

portance of an interpreter in the school, the want of which we have often experienced, and also considering his acquaintance with two or three Indian languages. With him came also one very bright lad, who was initiated last July with the rest, but was induced to leave us, as we understand, through discontent occasioned in part through affection for his mother who at the time lay dangerously ill with a fever. His excuse thus rendered by the mother, has been sustained under promise that he remain steadfast in future, making our whole number about twenty.

At the close of the singing this evening we had the satisfaction to state to the congregation present that the printing of the Indian hymn-books prepared by the teacher for the use of the school and for the congregation, was now completed. It was also stated that the printing and binding of the whole number of copies (which is 500) will cost near \$40.00, and that as only \$20.00 had been appropriated by a few benevolent white men for this object, we expected that they would assist us in defraying part of the expense of printing; that they might either agree to pay the remaining sum, in whole or in part, or take the books at 25 cents apiece, not however before they had examined them a little for themselves, and see whether they could derive benefit from them. One or two of the hymns were then interpreted and sung by those who can read, verse by verse. They appeared exceedingly pleased and pronounced it "very good," and said that they should cheerfully take upon themselves to defray at least part of the expense; but supposed that as the books would be equally useful to all the Seneca nation on the five reservations, it appeared proper that the expense should be so divided, not that "one should be eased and another burdened," but that all should pay an equal portion. They therefore advised that the teacher keep the books in his possession until the approaching June council, when the necessary expense should be defrayed out of their annuity.

Sabbath, March 31. An opportunity was offered before preaching this morning to consult the feelings in a more particular manner of four natives, in regard to their uniting themselves with the church of Christ. In addition to the

frequent opportunities which have been presented for catechising these persons for more than a year past, it has been made a special object of attention to visit each of them at their own dwellings and to spend a greater part of a day in conversing with them all expressly on this solemn subject, with one exception. Unexpected circumstances have occurred from time to time, so as to prevent any direct conversation with him on the subject of covenanting with God and his people. It was thought best to begin with him first alone. The object was stated to him for his assent or dissent and an invitation given to covenant with us to serve God. He said, "it was true that hindrances had been thrown in the way of my addressing him in particular on that subject, and he had frequently thought that perhaps this was an indication from God that he was not to be considered worthy so great a privilege. He knew it was just in God to reject him, for he felt himself unworthy, a great sinner, and should he be left to perish in his sins God would still be just." On thus saying he wept freely. He afterwards said that his sole dependance was in Christ for salvation; and if I thought, as one appointed to direct the ignorant and strengthen the weak, that this union with Christ might be attended with good, he had no objections. The others were then called forward and questioned with respect to their determination, giving themselves wholly up to God if it was his will. They all expressed their unworthiness but still had a desire to acquiesce in the will of God, whatever that might be. Next Sabbath week was appointed as the day for their baptism and for entering into solemn covenant with God, and a meeting appointed for the candidates on Wednesday at the mission house for conference and further conversation on this subject.

Wednesday, March 2. The candidates for baptism came according to appointment. The meeting commenced with prayer, after which an address was made to them, showing the important nature of that warfare on which they were about to enter, and the peculiar obligations which would devolve upon them to be the Lord's. They expressed the liveliest gratitude for what they learned, and it is perhaps

sufficient to say that their whole conversation and deportment were highly gratifying.

Saturday, April 12. The candidates for baptism, with a number of the people, met for worship this afternoon and for the purpose of entering into church covenant with the members of the mission family. Oh that they may not only covenant in name but in deed and in truth; and may it please God to interest them in the covenant of his love and prepare them all for the enjoyment of his blessed self in glory everlasting. Brother Crane was expected to have assisted on this occasion. On tomorrow they are to be baptised and the sacrament to be administered in our place of worship.

Sabbath, April 13. A delightful spring morning, truly emblematical of that Sabbath of rest and glory, when saints shall no more drink of the fruit of the vine here, but when Jesus shall drink it new with them in his Father's kingdom. We enjoyed a precious season of prayer this morning in view of the solemnities of the day now before us. Truly God is good to Israel, even to such as are of a clean heart. Oh Lord God, "purge us with hysop and we shall be clean, wash us and we shall be whiter than snow." "Make us to hear joy and gladness that the bones which thou hast broken may rejoice."

About 12 o'clock the people had pretty generally collected to view the solemn feast, everything having been previously arranged. Discourse from I Cor., 6, 20: "For ye are bought with a price, therefore glorify God, in your body and in your spirit, which are God's." After sermon the candidates were called forward and questioned on some of the plainer truths of the Bible, and as to the sincerity of their desires to devote themselves to God in that covenant which is well ordered and sure in all things. After expressing their assent, the nature of baptism was explained more fully to their comprehension. The four, one by one, then knelt down and were baptised in the name of the Father, the Son and Holy Ghost, and were invited to the table. It was still and solemn; and our prayer is that our God and Father would condescend to ratify in heaven the

sincere service of us frail imperfect mortals here on earth. The audience, consisting of 150 persons, was as solemn and orderly as could reasonably be expected. Thanks to God that he has planted this infant church in this heathen land. "Look down Oh Lord God, and visit this vine, and the vineyard which thy right hand has planted."

Next Sabbath was appointed for baptism of young children of those who were for the first time admitted to the sealing ordinances of the church.

Monday, July 28. We have ever labored under a disadvantage in regard to the instruction of the children at this station, in consequence of the unwillingness of the parents to place their children under our entire control as in other places. They have insisted and do still insist that their children have the privilege of visiting their homes one day in a week; the result has uniformly been such as we anticipated; and though an attempt has been made once and again to have their permission to let their children remain a longer term with us, we have hitherto proved unsuccessful. Several instances however have lately occurred, which are so manifestly expressive of the folly of having the minds of the children so frequently bent on home, that we have come to a determination that if the school ever succeeds the children must remain with [us] three months at a time, and at a council of the chiefs this day convened, we have affectionately, patiently and decidedly stated our determination and the causes which induced us to make it. They listened very attentively and after much and long consultation without coming to any agreement, they have finally deferred the answer, much to our disappointment, to the coming of the two commissioners who are soon expected from the Board.

Tuesday, July 29. The interpreter called this morning with a message to the minister from our dear friend and brother, Seneca White. He is decidedly the nearest earthly friend we have in this country, and the pillar of his people. "He had in council, yesterday," said the interpreter, "pleaded your cause, the cause of the children and of the Board, *like a lawyer*, but to no effect in regard to one or two of the

older chiefs. They are still deaf to the cause of truth, notwithstanding all that he can urge. As to the others, they have had but one mind on the subject. He has now sent me to you, to let you know something of his trials. He states that after the decision, yesterday, his mind has been greatly agitated, not a bit of sleep has he had all the night. The reason, he says, he sees the obstinacy, the ingratitude, the unwillingness of the older chiefs to consent to good and wholesome plans, which are calculated, in the judgment of the wise and good, to build up his nation, to make them respectable in the eyes of Christian nations and to educate the rising generation among us in such a way as shall terminate in their welfare here and in promoting the best interests of their souls hereafter. "If it were only the education of these few," said he, "which are here now, it would be comparatively of little consequence; but it is establishing a precedent for hundreds who may yet enter your school from among our nation. This makes me anxious," says he, "on the subject, and I wish you to know that I am determined to drop my work, and shall not rest till I have done my endeavor to have it brought about agreeably to your wishes and mine, before the arrival of the commissioners."

We believe verily that God has put [this] in his heart and that we shall yet see, that God will not suffer the expectation of the righteous to perish.

Sabbath, Aug. 3. Met for religious worship as usual. Discourse: the story of Daniel. There appears nothing very unusual in our religious assemblies on the Sabbath, but we think we see a growing respect and attention to the truth which is so feebly delivered from Sabbath to Sabbath. We do think the more wild and careless part of our auditory seem of late to be overawed by the truth, and more disposed to be respectful during the performance of our exercises. Still however we labor under a great disadvantage in our present mode of communicating religious truth to this people. Oh to be able to speak to them in their own language, [of] the wonderful works of God, or if God would be pleased to send us a pious interpreter, one who could feel and rightly enforce those solemn truths of God's word

which are alone able to build up this heathen people. We might then be encouraged to hope that the prospects of success among them were flattering. But shall we not conclude that the ways of God are true and righteous altogether? Shall we dare despond or be discouraged when God the living God has promised to direct, sustain and comfort us under all disadvantages of toil and impediments to success? In the meantime we are encouraged to hope that whenever this mission becomes properly regulated and the necessary hands at work it will be in the power of the Superintendent to devote more of his time to the acquisition of the language and to proper missionary work.

Monday, Aug. 4. The boys are quite cheerful in entering upon the labors of the morning and seem to be emulous to excel each other in their amount of work. They have chopped and corded at intervals between the hours of school during the spring and summer nearly forty cords of wood, which we think is no mean specimen of what might be done if there were a person in connection with the mission who would have it as a particular object to lay out and superintend the different kinds of labor to be performed on a mission farm.

Sabbath, Aug. 10. We have been much gratified of late to witness a growing seriousness among the children. They have been seen to weep freely during a conversation with them on the concerns of eternity. Today one of our most interesting girls was observed to be in tears during church service. On the return of the children from the place of worship we were pleased to see them of their own accord retire into the school-room, one and all, for the purpose of holding a prayer-meeting among themselves. Both boys and girls in their turn knelt down and in an audible voice poured forth their infant petitions before the throne of Grace. Surely it is easy for God, out of the mouths of these babes and sucklings, to perfect his own praise. They also sang several hymns.

Tuesday, Aug. 19. We were this day visited by a very dear friend and brother, Rev. Alfred Chester of Hartford, Conn. This gentleman appears to us to take a deep interest

in everything relating to the building-up of Christ's kingdom in the world, especially among the heathen. We trust we shall long remember the assurances of his love to the cause and to us as the honored instruments of promoting it. Visited the Cattaraugus mission with this brother.

Saturday, Aug. 23. The Indians are fast collecting at Buffalo to receive their annuity at the hands of the agent. We understand that no business of importance will be transacted aside from the distribution, and that the council house at Seneca Village will not be opened.

Monday, Aug. 1, 1823.* A few of the young people and chiefs met this evening to join in the monthly concert, the older chiefs being absent in attending a land council on the Genesee River. After joining in prayer and singing a word of exhortation was addressed to them from the words, "Prepare to meet thy God." After the conclusion of our exercises I addressed one of our interesting young men who appeared unusually feeble, on the present state of his health. He replied, "It is very poor." "How long since have you been languishing?" "About two years since I was considerably oppressed with a pain here"—laying his hand on his breast—"but find that [it] has increased much since last spring." "And are you ready to meet God, if he should soon call you from time into eternity?" After a little pause he replied, that he had fears on that subject; how far he was actually prepared he could not say. He could only say, he was daily asking and pleading for mercy at the hand of God and our Saviour; and as I was their minister and appointed to explain to them the word of God, which had been so long covered from their view, he should faithfully listen to my instructions, and he hoped that I would be able to lead him in the way of salvation. He was afterwards exhorted to go immediately to Christ for the pardon of all his sins, and for preparation of death.

Monday, Aug. 8. Our hearts were rejoiced this evening by the arrival of Rev. Dr. Spring, one of the Board's commissioners to this station. Dr. Milledoler and lady expected tomorrow. Council appointed Wednesday.

* These dates, though inconsistent, are as they stand in the original journal.

Tuesday, Aug. 9. Went to the village of Buffalo to escort the Rev. Dr. _____ and his lady. Oh that this event may be blessed of God for the spiritual welfare of the poor Senecas. In the evening a lecture was preached by Dr. Milledoler at the close of which Mary Ann Davenport, daughter of James C. Crane of Tuscarora station; Louisa La Tourrette, daughter of T. S. Harris, and Alexander Semple, son of James Stephenson, were baptised.

Wednesday, Aug. 10. The council and its decisions.

Thursday, Aug. 11. This day the commissioners proceeded to the Cattaraugus station, up the lake 30 miles south. Their business there, important in its nature, has been transacted with much celerity, and greatly to the satisfaction of all the parties. Previous to the council with the natives the commissioners had the opportunity of witnessing the improvement of Mr. Thayer's school, with which they expressed themselves highly gratified. The council was but thinly attended, but their talk with the commissioners was extremely tender and affecting.

Friday, Aug. 12. The commissioners returned from Cattaraugus this morning and after dinner left us for Buffalo in order to take the morning stage for Albany. May the God of all peace and consolation reward them abundantly for "all their work and labor of love" transacted at these several stations.

Sept. 17. In compliance with the request which was urged in a communication to the Synod of Genesee from the Revs. Drs. Milledoler and Spring, commissioners on the part of the United Foreign Missionary Society, to take some measure which should tend efficiently to promote the cause of that Society, the synod now in session at Buffalo have unanimously passed the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the Synod earnestly recommend it to all the congregations under their care to make collections in money, clothing and provisions in aid of the United Foreign Missionary Society, in behalf of the natives on the Indian reservations within our bounds, and forward the same to Mr. Abner Bryant of Buffalo; the Rev. Joseph Penny of Rochester; and to Mr. William H. Wells, Batavia; agents

hereby appointed to receive collections and transmit them to the superintendents at the several missionary stations, within the bounds of the Synod."

Oct. 8. I have been informed quite lately that the wife of Pollard, one of our principal chiefs, has been much distressed under pungent convictions of her lost and ruined state by nature. I was a little the more surprised at this from the fact that till within a few months past, her attendance on the Sabbath has been quite irregular. I have therefore taken the first opportunity for a serious conversation with them both by going to their house with an interpreter. I expected to see [her] bowed down with grief and shame and in her own view ready to perish; but the Lord had verified his declaration in her case, to a very remarkable degree, "whosoever humbleth himself shall be exalted." She certainly appeared to speak as a soul would speak, who is new-born of God. She stated, that after the missionary had been stated here, she was for some time brought to a stand, in regard either to the propriety or benefits of the object. She at length, from various considerations, came to the conclusion that the object *must be* good. She then went to meeting and heard the word of God. She thought it must be true and she pronounced it good. Her heart, however, remained unmoved, until her nephew George Fox went to the Cornwall school. The object of his going there, and the way in which it was all brought about, all seemed to induce the belief that God was at the bottom of it. Still her hard heart remained in a great degree insensible, until George wrote them a letter, stating his safe arrival, that he was pleased with his prospects; that he had not yet met with the new birth as he supposed, but that he hoped in God's own time he should experience it. This last sentence seemed to impress her mind in a peculiar manner. She thought much what it could mean; but from what she knew of the Gospel she supposed it must mean that she must leave off sinning against God and live in a godly manner. It immediately occurred to her with great force, "if this be necessary for him it must be necessary for me, who am so much older and so much more accustomed to sin against that God who

has given me my being and has supported me all my life long, notwithstanding I have so often rebelled against him." To use her own expressions, "the thought brought her to the ground, and she had no rest until she found it in Jesus; and she knew he did comfort her heart, so that [her] eyes filled with tears of gratitude, whenever she reflects what a poor lost and ruined sinner she has been."

Her statement affected me much, and although it is our duty to judge cautiously, it is nevertheless impressed on my mind, that it is the hand of God.

Monday, Oct. 6. After the exercises of this interesting evening were over, we suggested to the chiefs present the propriety of their receiving Christian names; inasmuch as frequently in our communications to our friends we are under the necessity of calling them by terms which had been given by some persons no doubt with a view to nickname them, and which were disrespectful; and that if they chose to adopt the plan of receiving Christian names, I would furnish myself with a list and at some convenient opportunity would make an appropriation. The thing seemed to gratify them very much and they gave us their sincere thanks for this kindness and attention, and stated that they had always been sensible of the meanness of the manner in which they were commonly addressed by white people. They therefore concurred with me in opinion that a change of names would be highly advisable. They would choose first, however, to consult the rest of their chiefs, and return me an answer on Wednesday following.

Wednesday, Oct. 8. The chiefs according to promise stated after our conference this evening that they were unanimous in their adoption of Christian names, and again expressed their high approbation of this attention of their missionaries. This evening received an invitation to visit the Alleganies this winter.

Oct. 10. For the first time since our location among this people Red Jacket has this day paid us a visit and given us the privilege of a short interview. He appears rather friendly than otherwise, but we are quite suspicious nevertheless that his heart is secretly at work in endeavors to

execute his dark designs of mischief and opposition. The occasion of this visit was to meet the chiefs of the Christian party, on business of the nation, in which they wished some assistance from me. After the business of the council was finished, I had a good opportunity, which I had long desired, of a private conversation with young Jimeson, who officiated as interpreter on this occasion, in regard to some symptoms of indiscretion and unfriendliness towards the mission, which we thought we had discovered at several times since his return from school. He at once acknowledged my frankness and his belief in my good intentions, and was fully disposed to give an explanation of the circumstances, which I had thought it my duty to name to him for his consideration. The explanation was satisfactory, so far as to induce a belief that the unfavorable circumstances alluded to were the result rather of inconsideration than of any particular evil intention. He supposes (I think incorrectly) that some members of the family are not disposed to show him proper attention, and says his feelings have been considerably alienated in consequence of it. But more especially were his feelings injured in the treatment he received from the commissioners. "He had never," he said, intruded himself upon their notice; it was a matter which had entirely originated with the chiefs themselves; but after their minds had been made up in regard to their proposal of him as teacher, he felt it his duty to give his assent; but how were his feelings wounded when he found "that in the reply to the proposal, all the objection was that such a thing had never entered into the mind of the Missionary Society at New York, 'but that if hereafter any of their young men should distinguish themselves under their superintendence, they would have no objection.' In what other way, pray, do they get their teachers but by the certificates which they produce? They never asked me for my certificate or enquired into the progress I had made, or asked where I had pursued studies."

In vindication of what I consider to be a correct procedure of the commissioners I stated, the objection was valid, First, because he was an entire stranger to them in every

sense of the word; they had no knowledge of his standing as a man or of his qualifications; and considering the shortness of time allowed them for their business, it was impossible for them to know anything definite in regard to his abilities. Second, that as far as they did know anything in regard to him they knew him not as a religious character, which of itself was a sufficient objection even had he possessed unequivocal evidence of other necessary qualifications. I stated further that it was not the object of the Society merely to have the children taught the principles of common learning; there was a higher and infinitely more important consideration in view; which was, to have them well instructed in the holy principles of the religion of Jesus Christ and of the Bible. How, therefore, could he suppose that they would be willing to trust such important concerns to the immediate instruction of one of whom fears were entertained whether he were not yet "in the gall of bitterness and bonds of iniquity." The argument seemed, I thought, to be well received by the young man, and led to the candid confession that if this were the more prominent design of the establishment he had been ignorant of it until now. The conversation was begun and carried on with considerable tenderness of feeling on my part, and was concluded with mutual expressions of good will and respect for each other. My heart's desire and prayer to God is, that these opportunities afforded to a weak and insufficient instrument of appealing to the heart and consciences of individuals, may be blessed of God, eventually to the furtherance of the Gospel, and to the salvation of the persons themselves.

Monday, Oct. 13. In conversation with our dear brother Seneca White (no name) today I have found that our suspicions in regard to Jacket's apparent friendliness were abundantly confirmed. It seems that on last week he proposed to some of our young chiefs the following plan: That as they (the Christian party) had received the Gospel among them and were determined to adopt the religion of the Christian white people and fully to desert the religion of their ancestors; and that in consequence they had exposed themselves to the delusions and treachery of the

whites which would one day end in the overthrow of the whole nation; and whereas, this reception of ministers and teachers of another color and another blood among them had divided the council fire, which had always burned among them with so many indications of kindness and peace from the Great Spirit, and that they had become divided by parties and torn with wrangling and dissension; now, to rectify all these disorders, to restore peace and amity, and to rekindle the council fire of the nation, he had the following plan to propose, which, if they were men endowed by the Great Spirit with any degree of wisdom, they must see would effectually promote all these ends.

The plan was this: They had sent one of their young men some time ago abroad to school among the whites. He had been gone a number of years, and has now returned and in the opinion of the Christian chiefs themselves was fully adequate to teach their children all that was necessary for them to know. "Dismiss, then," said he, "your present teachers. We need them not. Let them go about their business. We are able to manage our own concerns and need not their assistance. We have an annuity of \$500 per year, which is for the benefit of the chiefs alone. This is commonly squandered and we are none the better for it at the last. We will give this to the young man (J. J[emison]) for his salary. We will carry on the establishment in the same place where it is now, and on the same plan. We shall be at no expense of building. You have only to turn your present teachers neck and heels out of doors, and you have all the buildings ready to your hand. We have abundance of provision also for the children and we shall be able to have a respectable school without the interference of these malicious Black Coats, whose only aim is to entrap us with their pretended displays of friendship, that they may the more successfully practice their frauds and impositions and eventually lay us waste forever."

The young chiefs said but little; promising to lay the subject before the older men; not without previously pitying the ignorance and short-sightedness of the celebrated Jacket in supposing that they could be at the expense of an

establishment which in every point of view, must cost hundreds per year; and at the same time despising the craft of the man, for an attempt to persuade them to dismiss their teachers; and then give a fatal blow to all those praiseworthy institutions which have been so triumphantly carried on among them. We have yet to learn what the older chiefs have to say in regard to this offer.

Dec. 25. This being the anniversary of our Lord's incarnation, the people assembled at the mission house for the purpose of paying us a friendly visit. We had the unexpected pleasure of introducing to the people our dear brother Mr. Hanover Bradley, who had arrived but two days before. They appeared much gratified with this reinforcement and hoped he would find encouragement in his work. The children were examined on some parts of their studies and received some premiums from their instructress, Sister Bishop. This examination appeared very gratifying to the parents. After the whole assembly had partaken of some refreshment, an address was delivered them explanatory of the occasion which had brought us together.

Sabbath, Dec. 28. After meeting the chiefs gave us to understand that the following agreement had been entered into among themselves in relation to their children. They remarked that in future it was the wish of the chiefs and parents that the children should remain at the mission house one month at a time, without having the privilege of visiting their homes. It was also understood that the children should be admitted to the privileges of the school at end of every quarter only. We sincerely believe that with the blessing of our Heavenly Father this arrangement will prove highly advantageous to the children. We now have in family 31 children, who are placed by the consent of their parents under our immediate control. This is an event for which we would thank God, under the impression that we shall be enabled more effectually by the grace of God to inculcate those principles which are essential to the redemption of this people from degradation and ruin.

Jan. 23, 1824. Today the children leave us for two days, to visit their parents. The more constantly associated we

are with these dear children the more earnestly does our heart yearn over them, and we trust the more ardent are our prayers for their salvation. Oh that He who once said, "Suffer little children to come unto me and forbid them not" may lift upon them the light of his countenance and guard them from the influence of temptation and the commission of sin. They have indeed, during the past month, merited our approbation and have really secured our affection.

We are much pleased to see the principal chiefs taking an increased interest in the school. Young King has proposed that some one of the chiefs call on us and lecture the children on the subject of obedience and fidelity to our commands, and we rejoice to think that they now faithfully do their duty in this respect.

Lord's Day, Jan. 25. Our religious exercises more than usually interesting. Discourse from Luke, 24:25: "O fools and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken." These words were appropriately addressed to some of our congregation who have lately manifested a disposition, if not to join with at least to connive at the worship of the Pagans. At the close of the service one of the members of the church was requested to pray. During prayer he became very much affected and burst into tears. As far as he could be understood he seemed to mourn his sins and the sins of his people before the Lord and to say, "Lord, forgive them, for they know not what they do." Solemnity and the most profound silence pervaded the assembly, and a number tried in vain to hide their tears.

Monday, Jan. 26. The most of our interesting charges returned on Saturday evening according to orders; a few have been quite unwell and their parents came and apologized, requesting permission for them to tarry a day or two until they should so far recover as to enter upon the duties of the school. Today they have all returned but one, making in all a number of 32. They appear cheerful and contented, and their progress in their studies for the last two months has given us the most pleasing encouragement.

Monday, Feb. 16. We have witnessed with no ordinary emotions for some days past, an increasing seriousness

among our children. We think we have discovered at times a tenderness among these dear children for whose salvation we labor and suffer; but have never seen them so much awed by divine things as at present. On Saturday I witnessed an occurrence of so pleasing a nature that I shall be probably justified in giving a narration of it.

As I walked out at eventide in the field to meditate, a short distance from our dwelling I met one of our largest boys retiring, just after the school had closed, into an adjoining thicket. I asked him, whither he was going. He pointed his finger and said in English that he was going yonder to pray. As I stood conversing after a few minutes another came up and said he would go on the same errand. I turned away much affected with the circumstances, and walked below the hill in the rear of the mission house, to seek a place where I might give vent to my feelings, and beg of God to meet these dear children there, and fasten conviction on their tender hearts. The evening was marked by that soft and placid stillness which insensibly leads the pious mind to survey the works of nature and to look "through Nature up to Nature's God." I could distinctly hear the voice of prayer on several sides of me. As I approached the house I saw a group of smaller boys on the brow of the hill, in perfect silence, while one was heard in an audible manner to address the throne of Him who said, "Suffer little children to come unto me and forbid them not." They were never more interesting in our sight than at present. May it please our covenant God to regard them with infinite tenderness.

Monday, Feb. 23. On my return from visiting one or two serious enquirers, with one of whom I had a very satisfactory interview I was much astonished at the reception of the following note from the District Attorney residing in Buffalo:

DEAR SIR: A very pressing complaint has been made to me under the law which you have no doubt seen against your remaining on the Reservation. I don't see but that I must proceed to remove you but I advised a postponement

till I could write you, but after a reasonable time to hear from you I shall be obliged to proceed.

Yours respectfully,

H. B. POTTER.

REV. MR. HARRIS.

The time then has arrived when we must in all probability abandon our interesting school of thirty promising and lovely children, our beloved family must be scattered, and the buildings of our establishment left to the mercy of an enraged enemy. And for what is all this? Why it is that some of our judges may clear their consciences in not suffering every jot and tittle of the law to fail—a law framed by an Hon. member of our Legislature in 1821 with the express purpose of gratifying Red Jacket, a pagan and profigate chief, whose bitterness against all exertions to reclaim his nation from vice and entire extinction is too well known throughout the country to need a repetition.

I have seen the Attorney General, who says that he has determined not to molest us, himself; but thinks it very probable that the judge will, on complaint being submitted to him.

Wednesday, Feb. 25. Chiefs went to council at Buffalo.

Thursday, Feb. 26. Have heard from a friend in Buffalo that all the necessary affidavits are finished and the complaint closed, for the inspection of the judge when he returns to the village, which will be in a few days. He states that as far as he can learn there is no chance of remaining on the ground much longer. Oh that we may be strengthened to endure this disappointment of our hopes, as Christians.

Wednesday, April 28. Set out this morning with the interpreter to visit a young man of the tribe whose earthly career will no doubt soon be terminated. This youth has been lingering with a consumption for about two years, but has endeared himself to every member of the mission family by many little attentions which he has often paid us; but more especially by his manly virtues and affectionate disposition. He was the intimate (bosom) friend of young

Cusick, during his residence in the Seneca mission family. Few days passed but they were seen together, sharing largely to appearance in each other's affection. They were often known by the family to be deeply engaged in religious conversation, especially when they met on the Sabbath; and we may hope that the orderly walk and conversation of that pious youth before his death were blessed to the spiritual benefit of his now lingering friends. Indeed he has told me that he should never forget to thank God for the many counsels and pious instructions of young Cusick.

On entering his apartments I scarcely recognized his countenance, "it was so marred." He fastened his eyes upon me for a moment and without speaking a word, turned away his head and wept. He appeared rational, and comfortable. He conversed but little, but on asking him the state of his mind on the near approach of death, replied in nearly the following words: "I am comfortable, I thank God; I have no fear of death. I think I have given myself into the hands of Jesus the Son of God; he will not leave me. He has said he will receive all who come to God through him, even the chief of sinners. I am a great sinner, but my hope is in the mercy of God alone." During this conversation he wept again. He thanked me for so much pains, etc.

Sabbath, [? May] 16. The Indians have called upon me to acquaint me with the death of young Jonas (the person already alluded to) and wish him buried tomorrow morning at an early hour at the burying-ground near the Seneca mission house. "Alas, my brother!"

Monday, 18th. I have been greatly gratified in witnessing an instance of the attachment of this people to the interests of the mission and to those engaged in it. A few days since I overtook one of the leading chiefs on the road, who said he thought it was too much for us to be under the necessity of losing all the improvements which we had made at the mission house. He had it in mind, he said, to persuade his people to turn out and break up all the ground which we had enclosed on their land by us, put in the seed and give us the entire proceeds of the crop. To this arrangement the nation had acceded; a considerable number

turned out, and have now broken up and seeded of themselves between four and five acres of new ground for the exclusive benefit of the mission. They seem to feel gratified in having it in their power to add their mite in the good cause; and as this is the first attempt of the kind by this people to assist us on a definite plan, I trust the Board and every well-wisher of Indian civilization will pray God, etc.

Friday, Nov. 18, 1825. Have just returned from the ordination of a brother clergyman in one of the settlements bordering on this reservation. When I look around me and see the immense "moral wastes" that lie around on every side, it affords some relief to know that God in his providence is sending forth into this wilderness one and another of his ministering servants, to sound the Gospel trumpet, and call upon sinners to repent and live. When shall the happy time come that shall find the untutored Indian and the more privileged white man embracing each other as brethren in Christ, and bowing together in humble worship of the adorable Jehovah!

Sabbath, Nov. 20. Have been prevented by the sickness of Mrs. Harris and of the teacher, Bro. Clark, from performing my accustomed labors among the Cattaraugus people. It appears very evident that God is drawing near to us in the way of judgment as well as of mercy. We have been greatly prospered in many things since we have been permitted to resume our accustomed work among the Senecas. These foolish hearts have not sufficiently recognized the finger of God in all the goodness in which he passed before us. And now that he has laid affliction upon us, shall we complain? "Shall we receive good at the hand of the Lord and not evil?" Indeed, Sister Harris has been sick nigh unto death, but the Lord has had mercy. Bro. Clark has been confined for some days, and several children of the school have been compelled to retire to their homes, all affected with the same disease, the typhus fever.

Sabbath, Nov. 27. Spent with the congregation at Buffalo.

Monday, Nov. 28. Had an interesting meeting at the house of Col. Pollard, with a number of natives, men and

women, who were yesterday requested to convene for social worship and private conversation on the subject of religion. It is after all one of the most interesting if not the most effectual means of preaching the Gospel to this poor people, provided my own soul is blessed with that sacred unction which is so essential to enable a servant of Christ to preach the Gospel either from house to house or in the "more publick places of concourse."

Sabbath, Dec. 4. It was my turn in course to have spent this day in visiting the Tuscaroras. I yesterday set out for this purpose, but having previously acquired a heavy cold, in attendance on the sick, and on my arrival at Buffalo finding some indications of fever, after consideration of all the circumstances, have felt it duty to postpone the visit.

Tuesday, Dec. 13. Set out on Saturday last for Cattaraugus with one of our largest and most promising members of the mission school, as interpreter, designing to spend a day or two, after the labors of the Sabbath, in visiting from house to house and in attempting to bring the truths of our holy religion home to some, at their own firesides. Our Sabbath congregation, usually small at this station, was much diminished on this occasion, as I suppose by the depth of snow which fell on Saturday, rendering the cold very severe; and as their place of worship is destitute at present of any convenience for fire, many no doubt were deterred from attending. The stated interpreter for some cause not appearing, we could do little else than commend ourselves into the hands of him who is able to cause these "dry bones to live." An apparently solemn address was however delivered by the youth who accompanied me, who seems to take great pleasure in religious duties.

Went home with a number of the tribe to tarry for the night. Had a very interesting conversation with my host's family on the subject of the "one thing needful." Find that his wife and son-in-law are quite serious and enquiring. It was truly delightful to hold up a crucified Jesus to souls groping their way in ignorance and error.

Sabbath, Dec. 18. Arrived last evening at Hawley's settlement, within three miles of the Tuscarora Reservation,

near enough to enable me to meet with the Tuscaroras in season for public worship, after giving a lecture in the morning to the people who are in the habit of assembling here for prayer and praise. The settlement appears very grateful for labors of this kind, which is a sufficient inducement of itself "not to be weary in well-doing," hoping that the seed sown by the blessing of God may fall on some other than the "hard and stony ground." They have also resolved to make some contribution, as they shall be able, to the Society's funds.

Found the Tuscaroras assembled for worship, about the ordinary number. Was enabled to speak with some degree of feeling, from Rev. 22:17: "The spirit and the bride say come; and let him that heareth say come, and let him that is athirst come, and whosoever will let him take the water of life freely." As usual, they appeared to listen with considerable attention; but whether they "be hearers only and not doers of the word" is best known to him who will judge every man "according to the fruit of his doings."

It is a fact not to be concealed, that whatever this people have been in days that are gone by, and however much they may have benefitted by missionary labors, the prospects of moral cultivation among them are at present dark and portentous. So true it is that nothing but the overpowering grace of God can rescue fallen degraded man from despair and death.

Thursday, Dec. 22. Today the children of the school leave us for a few days to visit their parents, having completed the term of three months without calling to see their homes except on errands. Their deportment and progress have in many respects been highly satisfactory. Visitors who have sometimes called upon [us] have expressed their agreeable surprise in finding them so tractable, and evincing so much accuracy in the rudiments of learning.

Sabbath, Dec. 25. Have spent another Sabbath among the dear Seneca worshippers. The house was well filled, and the audience as usual was attentive and solemn. (But oh, this stubborn, this relentless heart, it shakes not at the wrath and terrors of a God!) It does seem as if these wor-

shippers were needing nothing to make them happy but the genial influences of the Holy Spirit. I am satisfied, that human instruction and reasoning are of little consequence, unattended by the teachings of the Divine Spirit. Oh when shall the time come that shall find our souls earnestly engaged in pleading for the salvation of dying men. When shall we see these "hearts of stone" melting, under the sweet sound of the Gospel as by the breath of the Almighty!

Monday, Dec. 26. The children have all returned today, with their parents, who have been invited to receive a small Christmas present. The natives appear to think very much of attentions of this kind, and it always affords us pleasure to gratify them, when by so doing we are enabled to secure their confidence and place them in a situation favorable to the reception of the Gospel message. Several applications were made for the entrance of more children, but were refused on the ground that Brother Clark's hands are full, in attending upon the present number.

Wednesday, Dec. 28. At a meeting in the evening of the young people for singing and prayer, the interpreter was so affected in communicating the observations dropped at the time that [he] was unable to speak. A number appeared to weep freely. Oh that it may be the beginning of a refreshing day of grace.

Thursday, Dec. 29. Attended the funeral of a girl who has been for some time member of the school. We all loved her much. We feel that God in this has come peculiarly near to us. He has in mercy spared the older members of the family who have been nigh unto death; but has seen proper to call away this tender youth from our side. We hope this affliction will be sanctified to us all, in leading us to contemplate the solemnities of that day when ourselves and these dear youth committed to our charge, shall stand disembodied spirits in the presence of God.

Friday, Dec. 30. Attended a social meeting at the house of Brother Seneca White, with five or six individuals; endeavored to be faithful in commanding to their consciences the excellencies of the Gospel of Christ.

Jan. 2, 1826. Have just returned from my regular tour

to the Cattaraugus Reservation, during a severe storm of snow. Our congregation on Sabbath was larger than on any of the preceding. It was New Year's day. Preached from Ps. xc:12: "So teach us to number our days that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom." Felt it was pleasant to instruct these poor ignorant people in the right improvement of time, but was humbled in thinking that my heart so much resembled the house in which we worship—cold as the dead of winter, without experiencing the benefit even of "a fire of coals" to relieve the general gloom.

Monday, Jan. 9. Met with the Tuscarora congregation yesterday. Weather very unfavorable; small but attentive congregation; tried to be faithful; Providence appeared adverse. The snow melted and left me to draw home my cutter on bare ground. An addition to a heavy heart—had the mortification to find that my horse had loosed himself from his post, and was under the necessity of pacing after him in a swamp through mud and water nearly seven miles, and then give up the chase. He was taken up by one of the natives and kindly brought me the next morning. Was hospitably entertained by a stranger, with whom I was induced to put up in the fatiguing search after my faithful but for the present obstinate beast. Retired to rest, resigned to the dispensations of that God who orders all things well.

Thursday, Jan. 12. Have this day received the painful intelligence that our dear Brother Crane has been called by death from the scene of his useful labors on earth. How afflictive, yet how just! Surely it is the Lord, let him do as seemeth him good. Let us not rashly accuse "heaven's high decree." The language of this dispensation to the bereaved family as well as to the afflicted church is, "Be still and know that I am God." He will still regard the interests of both. Thereby he will watch with paternal care over the orphan children, and bless the disconsolate widow. "Leave thy fatherless children, I will preserve them alive, and let the widows trust in me." The dear people of God will not see the righteous forsaken nor their seed begging bread. Friends of the Redeemer, say to each of the little ones, "Thy

Father lives," and to the broken-hearted mother, "Thy Maker is thy husband, the Lord of Hosts is his name."

Friday, Jan. 13. Met with a number of natives, men and women, at the house of one of the members of the Seneca church. Found it was truly good to be there. Catechised two or three persons present respecting their preparations for an eternal state. One present who appeared unusually serious, gave me the following statement respecting himself: "Brother," said he, "as you have thought proper to request of me a statement of my feelings, I will tell you the whole truth. I have been thinking for a long time back of all these things. I do believe in my heart that there was such a person as Jesus Christ on this earth; and that his love to such poor sinners as me, must have been great or he never would have died such a cruel death as he did. Lately I have thought much on this subject. The way I do, to remember God, is this: I go out every day, a little distance from my family and from among my children, and there I pray to God to take away my sins; and there too with many tears I cry to Jesus to save my soul, for I am weak and cannot do anything of myself. I also pray with my children that they serve God. I am willing to give myself up to Jesus Christ to do with me just as he shall [see] best for me all the days of my life." While saying this he was much moved and wept freely. Another said, she thought a great deal about Jesus Christ and the cruel death he was willing to die for mankind. She tried to put her trust in him, and she was anxious that all her relations should do the same. For the evident feeling and interest of this meeting among all present, I cannot cease to give thanks to our Heavenly Father.

Sabbath, Jan. 15. Met with the Seneca church and congregation for public worship. House well filled, audience very respectful. Discourse from Acts 17:26-28: "And hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed and the bounds of their habitation; that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him and find him; though he be not far from every one of us; for

in him we live and move and have our being." After sermon, one of our pious chiefs arose and addressed his brethren on the sentiments advanced, and spoke with considerable earnestness on the importance of the subject.

Friday, Jan. 27. Went to see a very interesting young woman of the tribe, who appears to be failing fast with consumption. A year ago she was considered by us all as the most healthy and engaging in appearance of any of her sex on this reservation. Her sister, one of the largest and most promising members of the mission school, who is abundantly capable, interpreted with many tears, the substance of [our] observations. The scene was truly affecting. The afflicted woman lay reclining upon the foot of her bed, quite emaciated, yet retaining much of her characteristic sweetness of countenance. Her mother and sisters surrounded the bedside, weeping; and after the little girl had communicated what I had to say, the poor woman called her to sit down by her side, and very indistinctly said, "I am willing to die, but I hope to get well because my father prays so much for me continually. I know what the minister says is true. I am a great sinner but every day I am thinking about the Son of God." It was truly pleasant to mingle my tears with theirs, and commit them by humble prayer into the hands of a just and holy but merciful creator.

Sabbath, Jan. 29. Met with the congregation at Seneca. The audience was undiminished. I cannot but think that God was in the midst of us for good, enlarging our hearts and giving a tender and melting concern for the poor heathen. I could say, it was truly good to be there as a humble ambassador of the cross, holding forth the Word of Life to many who are groping their way in the darkness of spiritual death. Preached from the words, "Strive to enter in at the strait gate," etc.

Sabbath, Feb. 5. Met again with the church and congregation at Seneca. As the snow was deep and sleighing good, we had a crowded house. I may here remark that the congregation at this place is decidedly increasing. I discovered more strangers and others nominally belonging to the pagans than at any time previous. Preached from

Ezekiel xi:19-22: "And I will give them one heart and will put a new spirit within you; and will take the stony heart out of their flesh and give them a heart of flesh," etc. The observations made from these words were listened to with unusual interest. A very considerable feeling appeared at times to pervade the audience. Indeed my own soul, I thought, was stirred up to induce this dying people to accept of Christ. I was blessed with freedom to declare the counsel of God, with boldness, tenderness and deep feeling. I felt a confidence that God would accompany his own glorious truth with power from on high, and that our work will one day be found not in vain in the Lord.

Wednesday, Feb. 22. The remains of the young woman above alluded to were this day committed to the dust. This is a dying time with this people. They have been greatly afflicted with the prevailing influenza. Some have died of it, others of consumption. We have been called to attend five or six funerals within ten days. Among the number was another of the girls of the mission school, named Catharine Squier.

Monday, Feb. 28. Met with a number of the natives for social prayer and conversation on the subject of religion. The place of meeting was at the house of Bro. Seneca White, one of the leading men in the mission church. The circumstances in which we met were altogether comfortable, and everything invited to a faithful discharge of my duty as a servant of Christ, to about fifteen of these heathen. And I cannot now cease to give thanks for the tender, simple, unaffected letting out of their minds on this subject. There was indeed some melting of soul among some, and I doubt not that God has been in mercy pleased to affect their hearts by his Holy Spirit. I felt it impressed upon me to state to them, that they well knew what my business was among them. I felt it to be business of immense importance to them and to me, and that we shall all most certainly find it so when we come to face each other at God's bar. For this reason it was necessary that the whole truth be told—and whether for or against ourselves, let it be told.

One very interesting young chief who though friendly

to the family has never shown much attachment to serious things, in answer to the questions asked him replied as follows: "Brother, I feel it is a great enjoyment to meet with you all here, to talk over this great subject. For my part I must say that I have thought much of it for a little time back, and I cannot but think what a great sinner I have been. I have examined whether I have any prospect of a comfortable seat in the next world, and I find I have none. And among all my people it seems to me there is not one so great sinner as myself. I can do nothing more than pray Jesus to alter my heart."

Another man who has been for some time enquiring on this point, on being asked to describe the present state of his feelings, said: "I was always in the dark until I heard the word of Jesus from time to time, and ever since I have heard it I feel that I have been a great sinner. I think however his word has given me light, and now it is a great satisfaction for me to believe that Jesus is my friend. I feel that he has had pity on me, and I desire to pray to no other but Christ." Although I knew that this man had been much exercised in mind, I was not prepared to expect from him so full and positive a declaration of his hope, knowing that on former occasions he had spoken with so much caution and modesty. Yet he boldly and positively affirms "that Jesus is his friend."

Another young man, who has lately been much afflicted with the loss of an amiable and interesting wife, said as follows: "Although I have not lived long in this world, I have lived long enough to be an unworthy sinner. I cannot look upon anything that I have done in all my life, that can at all be pleasing to God. I have lately thought a great deal on this subject, and the more I think of it the more do I find that without the strength of Christ, I cannot do anything. I wish to fall in his hands, for he is merciful. I wish to trust all I have to him; and you may expect, Brother, that I shall not give over seeking his face as long as I live." Surely, thought I, "thou art not far from the kingdom of Heaven."

After an interesting and most affecting statement by Brother Seneca White, of feelings which he had for long

time entertained towards the word of God, the minister, and all the means which God had devised for converting and enlightening his own soul and the souls of his people, the conversation closed with the old White Chief—or as we usually call him, Father White. This man is above 80 years of age, is a white man, was taken captive by the Indians in their wars; has lived with them ever since, grew up to be a mighty hunter and great warrior, and is yet a sensible, affectionate and friendly old man, and has long been a chief of much influence. On being asked to declare his feelings on the subject he said:

"I feel thankful to you, that you have thought proper to know the feelings of your old father, as it has given me an opportunity of expressing my mind on a subject that I have long desired. It is indeed a fact that I have lived a long time. I have long been acquainted with this part of the country and traveled over it a great deal. And God has blessed me with the good luck of letting me hear the only way of salvation for my poor soul in my last days. I can now look back and see what a wretched wanderer from my God I have been. How foolish and wicked have been all my tricks, in which I have spent so much of my life. I always thought that there was *something that I must have to make my soul happy*; but what it was, or how to get it, I did not know. But now God makes it plain in the Gospel. I have there learned how the Son of God did, out of his great mercy, pity us poor sinners; though he was once such a great being, yet he was willing to die the cruel death to save us; and now I have heard how he tells us, if any poor sinner finds that he has a great load on his back, to come to him and he will make it light and easy. I find there is no other way for me. I am helpless, I know, if God leaves me all alone, by myself I shall surely fail. But I do try to go to him for happiness. My wicked heart is very wicked, but God knows how to make it better, and I intend, by the help of God, to cast all my sins behind me, and I desire to give myself into the hands of Jesus to do with me just as he shall see best, for he knows what my poor soul needs. And even if in my last dying day he should even see fit to keep

back this great blessing which my heart loves, still my last look shall be towards him."

Often during this conversation I was under the necessity of giving vent to my feelings, by the tears gushing from my eyes. Indeed, all were more or less affected during most of the time. What seemed to give most interest and pleasure to this meeting was, the undisguised opening of the heart with so much solemnity and feeling.

Monday, Aug. 7. Have just returned with Mrs. Harris from a pastoral visit to the Tuscarora nation. In accordance with the wishes of the chiefs before expressed I had determined to administer the Lord's Supper to the church in this place; and on this account we left home last week much earlier than I had hitherto done. It had also been signified to me by the chiefs that as it had been so long since the communion was attended to by this church, nearly two years, there had disorders of a very serious kind crept into the church, which they hoped would be in my power to rectify before the communion. Common fame had accused some of their brethren of very serious sins, for which they sincerely hoped they might be brought to an account. A meeting was appointed for Saturday for all the church and a notice in particular sent to the offending brethren. At the appointed hour the church assembled. The offending persons were all charged by their brethren with being frequently overcome by ardent spirits, which even led them into other gross transgressions, and further they stated that deputations from the church had again and again waited upon them to endeavor to soften and reclaim them, for which they were generally repaid by abuse. Being convicted upon testimony of the charge laid against them, to which they generally plead guilty, it was resolved by the church to cut off three of them from their communion, viz., the Chief George and his wife, and Elizabeth Basket. The other offending brother, by name William Chew, manifesting before the church much of a spirit of penitence, and promising by the help of God to get the better of his sins, the church resolved only to suspend for a year, hoping that God might enable him to overcome all temptations that he

might again be restored if he should prove himself a worthy member.

Everything being previously arranged the Sabbath morning dawned pleasantly and the mission church at the hour of public service presented an interesting scene. The pious few in the contiguous settlements, which are generally destitute of stated preaching, understanding from the natives that they were expecting a feast of the Lord in their village today, pretty generally attended, and sat down with them as brethren in the Lord though known by different names, to our common Master's table. To me it was a privilege and a duty truly delightful to hold out to the scattered of Christ's flock in this thirsty hill of Zion, the symbols of a Saviour's death, and to witness with what tears of joy and thankfulness many came forward and received the tokens of his love. May it be but the foretaste of that joy which the pious shall enjoy when they shall come to join the general assembly and church of the first born whose names are written in Heaven and to an innumerable company of angels.

Sabbath, Aug. 14. Met with the church and congregation at the Seneca station. In addition to the usual number of worshipers I perceived present a number of the pagans and others from different reservations who had arrived for the semi-annual council which is approaching. The house was full and crowded, and a more listening audience I do not remember ever to have addressed. My interpreter was a member of our mission school and a professor of religion. The solemnity which prevailed contributed not a little to increase my own tenderness of feeling, and I was enabled to plead with tears, that my poor auditors might repent and believe the Gospel. Some wept; and some of the poor pagans seemed by their countenances to say, "What do these things mean,—thou bringest certain strange things to our ears." May their eyes be opened to see their necessity of salvation by Christ.

Saturday, Aug. 21. Met with the Indians on the Cattaraugus settlement. We had a thin congregation, most of them being in attendance in the council at Buffalo. Found

Mr. Thayer reduced very greatly by a severe bilious attack. The Lord in mercy has we hope rebuked the disease and our brother though feeble appears mending. The school had appeared very prosperous recently, but must now be suspended for a while at least.

Sabbath, Aug. 29. Went to the Tuscarora village on Friday. Met with the church and congregation at the usual hour on Sabbath. The congregation though small appeared devout. There has been at this station for a few months past a more than usual seriousness among some of the young people. Six or seven persons have appeared for some time to be anxiously enquiring the way to heaven. It has been my desire for some time to have the enquirers present at some meeting where I might converse with them personally and together concerning the all-importance of their salvation. I accordingly appointed a meeting for the church on Monday, inviting the seriously disposed to attend; and at this meeting I was deeply affected with the indications of God's presence with us. Such appeared to be the tenderness of conscience, the deep and powerful conviction of the hatefulness of sin in the sight of God; the earnest desires which were expressed that it might be mortified, and their souls delivered from its power, that I could not for a moment doubt but that God had been among them by his spirit, and in the case of two or three "worked in them mightily." Some of these persons were so affected that they could not refrain from weeping aloud for some time. They say that when they converse on this subject they have such an awful sense of their past iniquity they cannot help crying out.

The thought was deeply impressed upon my mind that the seed which had been so long sown and watered by our much-lamented Brother Crane, would yet bring forth fruit to the praise of the Redeemer's grace.

Sept. 25. It seems that our mission school is considered by the host of strangers who visit these regions in the traveling season, as a great *curiosity*, and with many we hope a matter of special and delightful interest. The proximity of our station to the village of Buffalo affords great facility of gratifying those who are capable of being wrought upon

by the novelty of an Indian school. Scarce a day passes but several carriages stand at our yard fence loaded with visitors. Today the school has exhibited before about thirty persons, among whom we had the pleasure of counting the Hon. the Secretary of the Navy of United States* and suite, who expressed themselves highly gratified with the intelligent countenances and the agreeable and surprising proficiency of the children. A young gentleman, a native of England, appeared so much interested as to stay the greater part of the day and left with the mission on his departure a donation of \$10.

Sabbath, Sept. 24. Met with the church and congregation at the Seneca station. The people appeared to listen with much reverence to the word preached. After finishing my address to the people a young chief, a member of the mission church, arose and addressed his brethren in a speech of nearly half an hour's length. During this discourse he was affected to weeping. It was truly affecting to see the big tear roll from his manly cheek. He spoke as if he felt what he uttered, and it seemed that what he said had the effect to make others feel, for I perceived many around me wiping their moistened faces. This evening one of the larger boys of our school came into my room, desiring to pray with me; he appeared in much distress because of his soul, said "he knew that he could never be happy till God changed his heart." The appearance of this youth has for some time, encouraged us to hope that God was striving with him by his spirit.

Sabbath, Feb. 25, 1827. The exercises of this day have deepened the impression that God has come near to this people in a peculiar manner. There has been to say the least an unusual degree of attention and of feeling for several weeks past, and what the great Head of the Church intends for us Time will determine. We feel that present indications of God's special presence among this people and mission school are such as to constitute a loud call upon the members of this mission family, and all of us who profess to love God and the souls of men, to rise and trim our lamps

* Samuel Lewis Southard.

and to go out to meet the Bridegroom. Our Sabbath meetings for some time have been unusually crowded, so that the chiefs have ordered several additional seats to be furnished for the accommodation of the audience. The appearance of this people is extremely solemn. The text selected for this day's discourse was John xiv:1 : "Let not your heart be troubled," chosen with primary application to the church in reference to some difficulties which had appeared; and secondly, applied by way of contrast to the impenitent sinners who had no Saviour or Holy Spirit of God to comfort their souls; none but an angry God saying to them, "Cleanse your hands ye sinners and purify your hearts ye double-minded; be afflicted; be afflicted and mourn and weep, let your laughter be turned to mourning and your joy to heaviness."

After a second address by the teacher one of the members of the church arose and appeared to speak feelingly to his people on the subject of their soul's salvation. I did feel to pray with weeping, that God would appear to build up his Zion, in the midst of this heathen population.

Tuesday, Feb. 27. God is drawing nigh to this people in judgments as well as mercy. Today two of their children were brought to the mission house to be interred, suddenly cut down by the stroke of death. One of these was a youth of about 20 years of age, the oldest son of one of the principal chiefs of the nation. He was in many respects an interesting young man, but died without giving any satisfactory evidence, to us, of meeting with a saving change. He was greatly beloved by his parents, who mourn his loss intensely. The father, when the corpse was exhibited for the last time, went to the coffin and spreading his hands over his face, poured a flood of tears over the face of his deceased son, and then retired, weeping as he went, and seeming to me to say with David, "Oh Absolom, my son, would God I had died for thee, Oh Absolom, my son, my son."

The other was an infant child of about a year old, belonging to a young man in the tribe, who has indeed been sufficiently wicked and profligate in his life, although of a good understanding and of considerable education. This

was the second bereavement of the kind to which he had been called in a short time. God seems to have spoken to his soul in this dispensation loudly. After a pointed address from both minister and teacher, the father of this child arose and said: that he believed that every word which the minister and teacher had said was true, that he was an awful sinner against God and must repent, and that God was justly punishing him for his iniquity. This address, accompanied with weeping, instantly produced a gush of tears from almost every eye in the room. It was truly a melting season. He was followed by the chief who had lost his first-born, in an address of some minutes, whose utterance was often choked by the deep sorrows which appeared to overwhelm his soul. I doubt not but God's spirit was there. The funeral was uncommonly large, still and solemn as the grave itself. The father of the infant voluntarily knelt down at the mouth of the grave and spreading his hands over the coffin, prayed audibly in the presence of all the company, that God would watch over this infant's dust, and prepare him and his to meet him in judgment. Never did I attend an Indian funeral with such deep excitement as on this day.

Wednesday, Feb. 28. We had again this afternoon a goodly number met together for prayer. It was our weekly prayer-meeting and conference. Several friends of missions were providentially present with us, amongst whom was the Presbyterian minister from Buffalo, with some friends who encouraged the people, by telling them that he rejoiced greatly in seeing so many of them seeking the salvation of their souls; that some sinners of the whites in his village were similarly engaged at this time, and hoped they would seek Christ together. My own soul I thought was drawn out with some meltings in prayer for this poor people, and I had reason to believe that every Christian present did feel that God was in the midst of us. I could discover some of our vicious young men, formerly addicted to drunkenness and lust, manifestly moved, having their handkerchiefs to their faces. We long to see God come down by his infinite spirit to lay hold of the hearts of sinners and convict their souls. We have some faith to believe he will.

Sabbath, March 4. To us a most interesting Sabbath. The minister being absent on a visit to the Tuscarora brethren, the exercises of the day were opened by the teacher in reading, the Sunday School singing and an address to a very crowded house, so full as that numbers could not be seated. He was followed by six others, who desired an opportunity of expressing their feelings. Some were the native members of the church who talked and wept as they talked. One was a pagan chief, and considered as one of Red Jacket's principal props. He professes to give up his paganism. Another was a youth of our school, about 15 years of age, who appears to have found Christ within a short time. He was one of the first members of the school that was awakened. Although it was the first time he ever spoke to such an assembly he rose up deliberately and made a short address, and then in a feeling manner prayed. Some of the other speakers were some of our young men, who on Wednesday were discovered as indicating much agitation and occasionally wiping their eyes with their kerchiefs. Oh this has been a day which has gladdened the hearts of God's people and we doubt not has produced joy in Heaven.

March 5. Monthly concert of prayer. It was judged expedient on account of the numbers to adjourn from the school-room to the council-house, the place of our Sabbath exercises. One of the members of the church in Buffalo was present and made an address to the people. Several addresses were made and very considerable feeling was manifested. A request was finally made that if any were present who wished Christians to pray for them, that they should rise. Among others several women arose and addressed a few words to this meeting which created much interest. Among the rest was the wife of the celebrated pagan chief Red Jacket, who says she feels she must repent; that she is an old and wicked sinner, and wishes to be remembered in the prayers of Christians. There is something peculiar in the case of this woman. She has for a long time had great struggles of conscience in conforming to heathenish customs, but she states she has done it out of regard to the feelings of her husband, by whom she was over-

awed. She has recently conversed with him on her desires to become a Christian. He has told her plumply that the moment she publicly professes such an intention that moment will terminate forever their connection as man and wife. She has deliberately made up her mind to seek the salvation of her soul, and if he leaves her for it, he must go. She hopes to gain more than he has to give her. The salvation of her soul she views of far more importance than all that. The Lord Jesus she must seek and hazard all consequences. I understand that her husband has really fulfilled his threat; and we humbly trust that he who said "He that loveth father or mother, son or daughter or husband or wife more than me, is not worthy of me," will strengthen her to take up her cross and bear it. She is about 50 years old.

Wednesday, March 7. The exercises of this afternoon were not without interest. Several members of the church addressed the meeting. Towards the close of the meeting a woman arose and expressed a desire of making known her feelings. She is on a visit from the Genesee River to her son's family who reside in this place and who is himself a member of the mission church. She stated that she had lived a pagan all her days until very lately. She had heard something of the Gospel, but knew not what it meant, neither did she believe in it. It was not till she came here to see her son that her mind became impressed with a sense of the danger of her soul. The first thing which had the effect of opening her eyes was the sight of an emblematical cut, exhibiting the heart of a sinner under control of the Devil and influenced by the evil feelings which he produced in this heart. After the representations in this plate were explained to her by another, she felt at that moment and ever since, that she was the very person. She went the next Sabbath to meeting with a heart sorrowful indeed on account of the load of her sins; and there for the first time in her life she heard of a merciful Saviour of men who had come into this world to save just [such] a poor old sinner as she was. She entreated her relations to remember her in their prayers that God might please to have mercy on

her poor soul. She thought with God's help she should follow on to know the Lord.

Sabbath, March 11. The council house was this day crowded again with men, women and children, listening with solemn stillness to the words of eternal life. Preached from Hosea, 13: 9: "Oh Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself, but in me is thine help." After the usual exercises of singing, prayers and speaking, an opportunity was offered to all and every person who had a desire to express their feelings, to let them be known. Among those who spoke were some of the church, whose solemn appearance and lively Christian feelings were creditable to their profession. Among the speakers also was the young man who felt so deeply at the burial of his child. He had not spoken publicly since. He has been a vicious youth, but is now evidently stricken of God's spirit. Every look and intonation of voice seemed to show that God's hand was upon him. He spoke with great solemnity and deep feeling.

The now repudiated wife of Red Jacket again arose and spoke a few words which were not distinctly understood, but what she said was accompanied with sobs and tears.

It was again requested that those who were desirous of being remembered by Christians in their prayers, should rise; when 17 arose from their seats, among whom were several of our old chiefs, some of whom have long been addicted to habits of intemperance. With how much of sincerity they made this request is known only to God. Blessed be the name of the Lord of Hosts, for the assurance that "with God, all things are possible."

Thursday, May 3. The native members of the mission church at this station were this evening called together for two reasons. The first was to endeavor to impress their minds with the importance of a suitable preparation of heart for the solemn renewal of their covenant with God, at the sacramental board on the Sabbath approaching. They were affectionately and earnestly admonished in regard to those feelings and views which they ought to cherish on such an occasion, both as it respected God and each other. The other was to consult with them on the propriety of inviting

several persons to participate with us in the solemnities of that day, who have for some time appeared to give evidence of genuine Christian character. This interview was truly interesting and appeared calculated to draw out their affection to each other, and to promote each other's eternal welfare. They did not retire until a late hour, apparently under deeply solemn feelings.

Friday, May 4. At the preparatory lecture this afternoon there was a very full attendance, increased probably by the expectation of hearing the examination of the persons above referred to, as candidates for the approaching communion. It was moving to hear the relations of some of these persons and to witness the humility and tenderness which appeared in their whole deportment. I cannot but hope that that God who searches the heart and tries the reins of the children of men will graciously regard this surrender of themselves to his service, and if made in faith and contrition of soul, the desire of their souls will be granted. The number received from this Reservation was six, one male and five females, together with two who had arrived from the Allegany and whom the church had voted to receive to their communion during our visit thither last winter and who were baptised on that occasion.

Sabbath, May 6. The mission church, consisting of 20 native members together with the mission family have again been privileged in the good providence of God of surrounding the sacramental board and commemorating the love of our infinitely exalted Lord and Saviour. Although the weather was cold and stormy the house was well filled with decently-dressed native men and women at an early hour. A number of men and women had come down from Cattaraugus on purpose to witness the solemnities of this communion season. We do feel that it has been truly a refreshing season to us all. There were a number of the spectators who appeared deeply affected during the exercises. The countenances of many (though always grave) had acquired additional solemnity. The trickling tear was seen to glisten on the face of some, and the involuntary sigh seemed to indicate they felt the need of that which these emblems but

feeble shadowed forth. Long may the impressions continue which the exercises of this day were calculated to produce.

Wednesday, May 9. This afternoon the people met for the monthly concert of prayer. The interest of feeling on the subject of their soul's salvation remains unimpaired. Indeed the opportunity afforded at the close of this meeting of expressing their feelings, drew forth some affecting statements from a number, principally from Cattaraugus. The relation of their feelings was accompanied with weeping. Our souls feel strengthened to trust in God, to carry on his own work, which we trust the malice of wicked men or devils will not be able to frustrate.

Sabbath, May 20. We have been much gratified in witnessing the eagerness with which the adults in the tribe attend upon the Sabbath school which by the brothers of the mission has been recently commenced for their benefit. Its exercises are attended to on Sabbath morning at the place of meeting. On entering the house you might discover persons of both sexes and of all ages with their books, striving to learn to read, some taught by their children and grandchildren belonging to the school, others by the teachers. The school at present consists of 70 or 80, and is increasing. It is our intention if the Lord will, and provided they pursue the subject until they are able to read, to attempt a translation of certain parts of the Scriptures into their language. This is an object towards which a number look with great interest.

Sabbath, June 17. We are still encouraged to believe that God is carrying on his work amongst this poor people. I visited the Cattaraugus station last Sabbath with a number of the native brethren and sisters from Seneca. They had heard that a number of their brethren at Cattaraugus had set out in the good ways of the Lord, and felt anxious to encourage and pray with them. We found that God was in the midst of them. The solemnity and attention to the great concerns of the soul are evidently greatly increased within a few weeks at this station. One young man, a pagan, came forward before the congregation on the Sabbath, and stated that he had in days past been addicted to lying, stealing,

adultery and drunkenness, and everything that was bad, and that he could get no peace in his soul, until he had made this confession. He was directed to the Saviour of sinners. Eight or ten are indulging hope of God's mercy.

Tuesday, June 19. We were this evening visited by about 20 persons, chiefly females, attended by the interpreter. They came to be instructed, they said, in the commands of the Saviour. A few seemed to be rejoicing in hope, others were but partially convinced of their dangerous condition as rebels against God, and others were deeply sensible of their lost and ruined state by nature and practice. The deep concern and tenderness with which some spoke of the Saviour of lost men, truly affected and melted down our hearts. Oh that we had faith as a grain of mustard seed; surely we should see the work of God go on triumphantly among this people.

Monday, July 9. Have just returned from the Cattaraugus station, whither I had gone in company with a party of Christian Indians from this village to form a church and administer the communion. We enjoyed a very interesting and to me truly solemn season yesterday. A church was organized of 13 members, including Mr. and Mrs. Thayer. The statements of these persons in regard to their religious views and experiences were on the whole very satisfactory. The little chapel on Sabbath was well filled. A number of pagans of both sexes were present, to witness the exercises. All conducted themselves with the utmost propriety. Solennity appeared to pervade the assembly throughout all the exercises; and much tenderness was visible among the members. The Lord grant that this vine may be one of his own right hand's planting.

When I reflect upon what God has done for us since last January, at the stations of Seneca and Cattaraugus I cannot but adore that almighty grace which so far succeeded our unworthy labors. The hopeful conversion of 15 or 20 heathen must under any circumstances gladden the hearts of God's people; but here we trust the Spirit of God has blessed his truth before we have acquired the language of the [natives] delivered through an interpreter destitute of

learning, and though seriously disposed is not pious. The seriousness at Cattaraugus commenced after the return of the Cattaraugus people from witnessing the exercises of our communion at Seneca in April. It was evident that God did make the solemnities of that occasion a means of extending his own work among the poor Senecas. Several were so affected with a sense of their condition that at the monthly concert next day they stated unasked their feelings with sobs and tears. From this time forward the seriousness at Cattaraugus spread rapidly. Cases of conviction for sin were multiplied daily, and strong indications of the operations of the Holy Spirit were manifested in every meeting, and we hope that the good work has not yet ceased. A number profess to have found peace in Christ, besides those admitted to communion, but it is necessary that the greatest caution be used in dealing with these ignorant people. It has ever been our uniform practice to give them an opportunity of proving themselves whether they be in the faith. Some of those admitted we had looked upon as pious for more than a year. The experience of the others appeared so clear and satisfactory that we judged it might conduce to their spiritual improvement and strengthen them in their resolutions to be for God by entering into a solemn covenant to be his forever.

In a conversation had by one of these young converts with a Quaker, the latter stated to him his view of the work of the Spirit, under the similitude of a cord let down from Heaven, and attached to every man's heart; and that when this cord was touched by the finger of God, the motion was invariably felt at the lower extremity. "It may be so," said the man, "but I still have my doubts whether that is just so. I have been a good deal accustomed to fishing. I have frequently cast in my hook, well baited. I have sometimes felt very certain after it has sunk from my sight that I felt the bite of a fish. On examination I found I had no fish, and the bait was undiminished. Now it might possibly have been a fish that thus deceived me or it might have been the Devil. So, friend, I am afraid the Devil has more to do with this cord you speak of than you think for."

Another person, an old pagan, who is still an inquirer, stated that his first serious impressions were made by going to hear the minister preach on one occasion out of curiosity. The text was, "Come unto me, all ye that are weary and heavy laden," etc. After stating who made the promise and to whom it was made, he felt much surprised. He had thought always that the Bible was sent to the white people; but now for the first time in his life he heard that this promise was made to poor sinners of every tribe and nation and to the very wickedest and the chief of sinners, if they would but repent and turn to God. And further the minister held up the book in his hand and said that this was not the only promise that was made to such poor sinners; but that the Bible was full of just such promises to the penitent. "Then I felt," said the man, "that it was not possible for man to contrive to make such words as I heard that day from the Bible, for nobody but God could do it; and fully believe that this is the Word of God and the true religion, and I am determined to seek the salvation of my soul till I die."

August 1. Again visited Cattaraugus. The religious excitement which has prevailed at this station for some time appears to have abated in a considerable degree. The state of feeling on the subject of religion is however, still interesting. On Sabbath a meeting was appointed for Monday afternoon in a very remote corner of the Reservation where two or three families reside, at the distance of eight miles from the house of worship. There were about 25 souls present, as a number had come from the settlement below. A woman at this place appears to be rejoicing in hope, who has a child perfectly blind of about seven years of age. While the mother was about answering a question which was addressed to her, her little blind boy requested leave to speak a few words to me. Leave being granted, he turned and said that he wished me to understand that he "lately thought much about his God and Saviour, and he was constantly praying that God might prepare him to die and go to Heaven," and then turning up his sightless balls, lay down in his place. The manner in which the child spoke

these words produced instant weeping by all present. A number spoke their feelings after this, and the meeting became truly interesting. After spending about two hours in religious conversation and prayer the meeting was closed. On rising to return home the man of the house remarked that it was too far to go without some refreshment, and stated that the women had prepared something for us. The table was then spread with a very wholesome meal, of which we all heartily partook. It may here be remarked that this man has for years been addicted to drinking, but for months [MS. incomplete].

Sept. 12. Visited again the Allegany Reservation in company with Mr. Cowles, our assistant teacher and a small company of native Christians from Seneca and Cattaraugus, some of whom had resided there several years ago. They embraced the opportunity of accompanying us to pay a visit and attend upon the religious meetings which were expected to be held among their brethren. Word had been previously sent to the Alleganies that we were expected; and preparations were made for our reception (as their circumstances admit), among which we were all not a little pleased to find that a fat ox had the day previous been slaughtered, to ensure a plentiful supply for our table.

We did not reach the Reservation the first day, but were all kindly invited to spend the night. The people all seemed greatly pleased to see us. Our meetings were frequent while we tarried and at times quite solemn and encouraging. We were enabled to visit a number of families and have become better [acquainted]. On one occasion several men and women expressed their feelings on the subject and appeared truly affected with their condition as sinners, expressed their determination in the strength of the Saviour to repent and obey the voice of God in the Gospel of his Son; which once in a great while they were permitted to hear, when the minister from Seneca took upon him to come and see them once or twice a year, or when some passing messenger of God felt disposed to convene them for such a purpose, which however very rarely occurred. On the whole I am satisfied that God is extending the knowledge of his truth among this

branch of the Seneca family; and although now destitute of the stated exertions of any devoted missionary of Christ, there are individuals who appear to have truly set out to seek the Saviour of lost men. There is a missionary establishment at this village by the Society of Friends, who instruct a small school; but they hold no meetings with them on the Sabbath or at other times. The natives of the Christian party meet regularly on the Sabbath, sing and pray together by themselves, and are usually addressed by one of the three brethren who belong to the church at Seneca. The Lord grant that some faithful, etc.

Oct. 7. Yesterday our little church was once more privileged to commemorate the dying love of Christ, at this place. There were some circumstances of peculiar interest connected with this celebration of the supper. Ten individuals were baptised in the name of the Holy Trinity, and for the first time sealed their covenant engagements to be the Lord's. The most of these persons we look upon as the fruits of the revival with which God was pleased to visit this mission the last season. These together with six admitted last spring has increased our little church to the number of 30. To suppose that all these are the redeemed children of God, regenerated by his spirit and sanctified by grace, is probably more than can be supposed of an equal number of Christians educated in the bosom of the Christian church, and living under the more enlarged dispensations of his goodness. But their deportment, their attention to the means of grace, their apparent affection towards the children of God and the Saviour of men, have in the main led us to hope that the most if not all are essentially acquainted with the truth as it is in Jesus. Much solemnity and unaffected devotion of spirit this day appeared among the native members of the church, for which we desire to bless our covenant God, Oh that men would praise the Lord for his goodness and for his wonderful works to the children of men!

Oct. 25, 1828. Went to the Tuscarora village on Thursday by invitation from Mr. Elliot, together with two members of the mission family for the purpose of dedicating the

mission chapel, which has just been finished, to the service of God. This chapel was commenced several years ago under the superintendence of our lamented Brother Crane; but owing to the fluctuating state of the mission for some time since Mr. C's departure, it has not been completed till now. It was commenced by the Indians themselves but they were not able to finish it without foreign aid. This has been afforded chiefly by a gentleman in Rochester, N. Y.

The day was uncommonly fine for the season, and the seats were all filled at an early hour with red men and white, many having come from a number of miles distant. Rev. Mr. Parsons the elder from L—— and Mr. Parsons the younger from the Falls were present and took part in the exercises of the day. Preached from Genesis 28: 17: "How dreadful is this place," etc. After the sermon the communion of the Lord's body was administered to a large company of Christians of different denominations who had flocked to attend this omen of good to the Tuscaroras.

Thursday, Nov. 13. Have just returned from the Cattaraugus station, whither I had gone to attend a joint council of the church at Seneca and Cattaraugus, convened for the purpose of administering church discipline in the case of a man and wife, members of the church at Cattaraugus. As this is the first instance at either of the stations in which it has become necessary to inflict the censures of the church, the case, as might naturally be expected, excited among the Indians a great deal of interest. It was the request of the chiefs at Cattaraugus that some of the old chiefs at Seneca should come down to settle some difficulties which had grown out of this affair. The principal circumstances attending this case of discipline were as follows: A young man and his wife, both members of the church at Cattaraugus, had of late so disagreed as in their opinion to be unable to live together. When this was announced, the church took up the subject and succeeded as was supposed in settling the matter between the parties, as to induce them to lay aside their animosities and return to their duties as Christians. They did so return for awhile; but ere long the flame broke out still more violently than before and attended too with

very suspicious circumstances on the part of the woman. The reports which were in circulation made it necessary for the council to investigate the whole business from the beginning. After spending the greater part of three days and two nights in the trial, the council believed the individuals equally guilty of the offences which each alleged against the other and suspended both from the privileges of the church. As there were some circumstances of peculiar delicacy that were subjected to the council I could not but admire the caution, self-command and candid judgment exhibited by the members of the court.

[The journal ends abruptly at this point, no continuation of it being known.]

NOTE. In 1831 there was published by the Massachusetts Sabbath School Union, Boston, a little book entitled "Letters and Conversations on the Indian Missions at Seneca, Tuscarora, Cattaraugus, in the State of New York, and Maumee in the State of Ohio." (24mo, pp. 112.) Though written for children in the old-time "juvenile" style which no child ever can have enjoyed, its many facts relating to these missions give it historical value. It appears to be based on letters written from the reservations, especially that on Buffalo Creek, by some one connected with the mission during Mr. Harris's service there. The work sets forth that Mr. Harris, with his wife, went to the Buffalo Creek reservation in October, 1821, under the auspices of the New York Missionary Society, which that year united with the United Foreign Missionary Society. The mission boarding school was opened in the spring of 1822, with fifteen pupils. The mission church is stated to have been organized in April, 1823; the church register gives the date as August 10th. Numerous incidents are related not mentioned in the Harris journal. One of them is the following:

"In May, 1823, after Mr. Harris had labored at Seneca about two years he attended the anniversary of the society under whose patronage he labored, in the city of New York and took with him two little Indian girls. At one of the large meetings, Mr. Harris made a very animating speech, in the midst of which these children were introduced to the audience. It was unexpected, and the sight of them, hanging on each other's necks in all their native artlessness and simplicity, raised such a tide of sympathy, affection and compassion for their whole tribe, that many tears flowed, and large sums were contributed for the support of that mission and school."

When the law of 1821, prohibiting white men to live on the reservation, was enforced, Mr. Harris sent his scholars and their teachers to the Cattaraugus station, came to Buffalo with his wife and took lodgings, visiting the Seneca mission often and preaching there on Sundays, so continuing until the law was modified, when he resumed his residence. In 1826 occurred the "revival of religion" among the Senecas, when Red Jacket's wife joined the church. That chief continued hostile to Mr. Harris, but, when about to die, asked to see him. "His wife sent for him, but he did not arrive until an hour or two after the chief had expired." He died "like a true heathen; he charged his wife to put a phial of water in his hand, just before he ceased

breathing, to prevent the wicked one from carrying off his soul." Red Jacket died Jan. 20, 1830. For the true account of the funeral, written by Mr. Harris, see *The Missionary Herald*, vol. xxvi. An erroneous account of Red Jacket's relations with Mr. Harris, given in McKenney's "Indian Biography," is refuted in Stone's "Life" of Red Jacket, q. v. It was soon after Red Jacket's death that the Senecas became disaffected with Mr. Harris and he left the mission, June 28, 1830. His subsequent career is not known to the editor of the present volume.

The enforcement of the removal law in 1821 occasioned much acrimonious discussion, especially in religious journals. In the *Western Recorder*, printed at Utica, an article, said to be written by Rev. M. P. Squier of Buffalo, charged the removal of the Seneca mission to the Universalists of Buffalo. This was sharply refuted in long letters in the *Gospel Advocate*, April 2 and 9, 1824. The *Advocate* was Buffalo's first religious paper, or rather magazine. It was edited by Thomas Gross and printed by H. A. Salisbury. (Vol. I, January 17, 1823, to January 9, 1824; Vol. II, "Published by Simon Burton," January 16, 1824, to January 7, 1825, misprinted 1824.) Only one set of these volumes—that in the Buffalo Historical Society library—is known.

XII. THE SENECA MISSION CHURCH.

"REGISTER OF THE SENECA MISSION CHURCH ORGANIZED AUGUST 10TH, 1823. (NEAR BUFFALO.)"

NOTE—This list appears to have been made in 1879, and was found with other papers at the Mission Station on the Cattaraugus Reservation, 1903. It seems to contain some repetitions.

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| 1823.
1. Rev. T. S. Harris,
2. Mrs. T. S. Harris,
3. James Young,
4. Mrs. James Young,
5. Miss Phebe Selden,
6. Miss Asenath Bishop,
7. Seneca White,
8. John Seneca,
9. James Stephenson,
10. Tall Peter. | 23. Mrs. Tall Peter,
24. Mrs. George Smith,
25. Mrs. Samuel Wilson (sister of John Seneca),
26. Mrs. William King,
27. John Snow,
28. Mother Seneca, mother of Seneca White, John Seneca, and White Seneca,
29. Mrs. Jenette Wilson (alive in 1870),
30. Jacob Shongo,
31. Wife of Tall Peter,
32. Mrs. Robert Pierce,
33. Mrs. George Smith,
34. Mother Jimeson (grandmother of Wm. Jimeson),
35. Lewis Twoguns (brother of Daniel Twoguns),
36. Daniel Twoguns,
37. Mrs. Red Jacket (grandmother of John Jacket),
38. Mrs. Wm. Jones (mother of Wm. Jones),
39. Mrs. John Snow,
40. Mrs. Seneca White,
41. Mother White (same as No. 28),
42. Mrs. James Stevenson (mother of Moses Stevenson),
43. Big Jacob (Alleghany Res.). |
| 1824. | |
| 11. Col. John Pollard (chief),
12. Henry Twoguns, died Jany. 17, 1855. | |
| 1825. | |
| 13. John Snow,
14. George Smith,
15. Mrs. John Pollard. | |
| 1826. | |
| 16. White Seneca (chief),
17. Father White (chief),
18. Samuel Wilson,
19. T. S. Harris, Jr. (Indian),
20. Mrs. Lydia Young King. | |
| 1827. | |
| 21. William King,
22. Mrs. George Jimeson, | |

880 SENECA MISSION CHURCH REGISTER.

- 1828.
- 44. Joseph Isaac,
 - 45. Mrs. Sally Twoguns (wife of Daniel),
 - 46. Miss Hannah White (daughter of White Seneca),
 - 47. Miss Susan White (daughter of White Seneca),
 - 48. Mrs. Eliza Twenty Canoes,
 - 49. Mrs. Henry Twoguns,
 - 50. Mrs. Polly Johnson, 1st,
 - 51. George Silverheels (father of Henry S.),
 - 52. Miss Lydia Moore.
- 1832.
- 53. Young King (father of Jabez King),
 - 54. Jacob Bennet,
 - 55. Destroy Town,
 - 56. Capt. Billy,
 - 57. Reuben James,
 - 58. Miss Laura Black Squirrel,
 - 59. Mrs. Destroy Town,
 - 60. Mrs. Jacob Bennet,
 - 61. Miss Ruth Judd (Mrs. Jabez Stevenson),
 - 62. Mrs. White Seneca,
 - 63. Mrs. George Fox,
 - 64. Mrs. Logan (mother of Saul),
 - 65. Mrs. Polly Johnson (2nd),
 - 66. Robert Silverheels (brother of Henry S.),
 - 67. Mrs. Sally Lockwood (white),
 - 68. Mrs. Joseph Silverheels,
 - 69. Miss Rachel Crouse,
 - 70. George Crouse,
 - 71. Mrs. George Crouse,
 - 72. Mrs. Isaac Pierce,
 - 73. Chas. Fisher Pierce,
 - 74. Isaac Jamieson,
 - 75. Mrs. James Shongo,
 - 76. John Jacob,
 - 77. Miss Helen Robertson (daughter of James),
 - 78. Da-andi Jamieson,
 - 79. Mrs. Jacob Blacksnake,
 - 80. Aleck Doxtater,
 - 81. Mrs. Aleck Doxtater,
 - 82. James Young,
 - 83. Mrs. James Young,
 - 84. Miss Mary King,
 - 85. Miss Olive Peter,
 - 86. Miss Catharine V. King.
- 1833.
- 87. Polly Dennison.
- 1834.
- 88. Wilson's mother,
 - 89. Mrs. Capt. Billy,
 - 90. Wm. Jones (interpreter and father of Wm. Jones),
 - 91. Josiah Armstrong,
 - 92. Mrs. Chas. (Ruth) Seneca.
- 1837.
- 93. Henry Sheldon (white),
 - 94. Mrs. Philinda Stiles,
 - 95. Miss Tirza Ann Hoyt (white),
 - 96. Mrs. Nancy (Levi) Williams.
- 1842.
- 97. Wm. Krouse.
- 1843.
- 98. Mrs. Lucy (Wm.) Krouse,
 - 99. Widow Wm. Armstrong,
 - 100. Mrs. Hannah Howard (white),
 - 101. Mrs. Nancy (Deacon) Isaac.
- 1844.
- 102. Sylvester Cowles Lay,
 - 103. Lydia Giddings Krouse,
 - 104. Mrs. Nancy Sundown,
 - 105. Phebe Seneca (Mrs. Jabez Jones).
- 1845.
- 106. Deacon Jacob Johnson,
 - 107. George Turkey,
 - 108. John Turkey (father of George Turkey),
 - 109. Joseph Turkey (interpreter in M. E. Ch. son of 107),
 - 110. Mrs. John Turkey,
 - 111. Mrs. George Turkey,
 - 112. William Scott,
 - 113. Mrs. Harriet W. Jones (sister of Z. Jimeson),
 - 114. Mrs. Aurelia W. Bennet (sister of Z. Jimeson),
 - 115. Thomas Crow,
 - 116. James Turkey,
 - 117. Mrs. James Turkey,
 - 118. Aaron Turkey (cousin of 107),
 - 119. Miss Laura Turkey (sister of Aaron T.),
 - 120. Charles Greybeard,
 - 121. Mrs. Chas. Greybeard,
 - 122. Miss Martha Dennis.
- 1846.
- 123. Miss Julia Pierce,
 - 124. Miss Mary M. Howe,
 - 125. Franklin Crow (son of 115),
 - 126. Mrs. Esther Baltimore (wife of Henry Baltimore),
 - 127. Miss Abagail Silverheels (daughter of George S.),
 - 128. Mrs. Lucy King,
 - 129. Miss Rhode Bates.
- 1847.
- 130. John Thomas (colored),
 - 131. Mrs. John Bennet,
 - 132. Mrs. Wm. Scott,
 - 133. Jonathan Johnson,
 - 134. Mrs. George Jimereson,
 - 135. Mrs. Samuel Gordon,
 - 136. Miss Nancy Wilson (daughter of Samuel),
 - 137. Miss Belsey W. Turkey,
 - 138. Mrs. James Spring,
 - 139. Miss Nancy Talchier,
 - 140. Samuel Gordon,
 - 141. John Jacket,
 - 142. Miss Martha E. Hoyt (white),
 - 143. Miss Mary Jacket (Mrs. Wm. Jones), daughter of John Jacket,
 - 144. Mrs. John Jacket.
- 1848.
- 145. Mrs. Saul Logan,
 - 146. Miss Lucy Talchier.
- 1850.
- 147. S. W. McLane,
 - 148. Mrs. S. W. McLane.

**THE LIFE OF
HORATIO JONES.**

BY

GEORGE H. HARRIS.



THE TRUE STORY *of* HOC-SA-GO-WAH PRISONER, PIONEER AND INTERPRETER

THE LIFE OF HORATIO JONES.

By GEORGE H. HARRIS.

INTRODUCTION.

The following narrative of the life and adventures of Horatio Jones was written by George H. Harris of Rochester. Having in view its publication as a volume by itself, he amplified the somewhat scanty personal data, by sketching the general history of the Six Nations Indians, among whom his hero spent the active years of his life. Could Mr. Harris have completed his work, on his original plan, this amplification would have been a welcome and appropriate feature; but Death stepped in, and the researches which had employed such time as Mr. Harris could gain from his daily duties, through a period of some fifteen years, were but partly recorded by his pen. He had written out the life of Horatio Jones, down to June, 1791. About a year ago the Buffalo Historical Society purchased the unfinished manuscript, and received with it the notes, correspondence and other papers which Mr. Harris had evidently designed to utilize in completing his history. From that material, and other sources, the editor of the present volume has endeavored to complete the story.

The narrative, for the most part, is printed as Mr. Harris wrote it; but it has been found advisable to rearrange it, and to omit certain discursive chapters which, although they would have been proper in the volume that Mr. Harris hoped to make, would be out of place in a series of Publications like the present, the purpose of which is to present new historical material. A genealogical chapter is also omitted, the data being presented more compactly, at the end of the narrative. One other chapter, which dealt with the captivity of Sarah Whitmore, has been condensed, the facts of that captivity being more fully given in a separate paper written by a descendant of the fair captive of the Mohawks, who became wife to Horatio Jones.

For most readers of this volume it is probably superfluous to state that Horatio Jones was a strikingly picturesque figure in the history of Western New York during the Revolution and the pioneer years that followed. As soldier-boy he was taken prisoner by the Senecas, and compelled to run the gauntlet. He was adopted by them, and took an Indian wife. He was made a chief, and shared in the councils of the tribe. No white man ever more closely allied himself with the Senecas. He lived among them for many years, serving as interpreter on many occasions of great importance in their councils and negotiations with the United States Government and with representatives of land companies. In 1798, in grateful recognition of his services, the Senecas induced the State to cede to him a square mile of land, now embraced within the limits of Buffalo. With his fellow-prisoner, Jasper Parrish, who also received a square mile, his name has been coupled for a century, and the history of land titles and deeds in the northwest part of Buffalo has many allusions to the "Jones and Parrish tracts." Even more than to the Niagara region, the story of Horatio Jones belongs to the Genesee valley, in which he was a pioneer settler and where his dust now reposes. His career was one of great usefulness; yet, important as he was in the history of so large a region, throughout many years, one may search in vain for any adequate records of the man's career. Mr. Harris appreciated this lack in the history of Western New York, and undertook, with a considerable degree of success, to supply what was needed. He appreciated too the dramatic and picturesque quality of the subject; and while he followed his hero's course with conscientious fidelity to facts, for which he searched indefatigably, he did not fail to bring out to the full the wealth of adventure and local color which more often appertain to romance than to matter-of-fact chronicles of history.

GEORGE H. HARRIS was a corresponding member of the Buffalo Historical Society, and at one time a resident of Buffalo. Shortly after his death, in Rochester, October 5, 1893, Mr. J. G. D'Olier prepared a memorial sketch, for the Rochester Academy of Science. From that paper the following data are drawn:

In the year 1816, there moved to Rochester from Otsego County, N. Y., a Mr. Daniel Harris. This gentleman purchased a farm which included what is now Mount Hope Cemetery, and built a log cabin in front of where Mr. Ellwanger's residence now stands. With other children he brought with him Daniel Ely Harris, a boy of three years. Young Daniel's boyhood was spent on the farm, sharing the hardships and pleasure of pioneer life.

In 1836, Daniel Harris married Miss Strickland, a relative of Agnes Strickland, author of "The Lives of the Queens of England," and a sister of General Silas A. Strickland. Of this marriage was

born George Henry Harris, the subject of our sketch, in West Greece, Monroe County, on the 29th of December, 1843.

During George Harris's early years his father was a contractor, which probably accounts for the fact that while yet a lad he had lived in Charlotte, Rochester, Hinsdale and Buffalo. His grandfather was also interested in public works and almost ruined himself on a contract to deepen a section of the Erie Canal, having to blast an immense quantity of rock not counted on. When George was a lad of twelve years his father moved with the family to Green Bay, Wisconsin, where he engaged in the lumbering business. As the boy was in delicate health the physician advised his father to take him out of school and let him run wild in the woods for a year. That year instilled in the boy a love of nature, canoe, camp and rifle that never waned while life lasted. It was always a pleasure to him to live over in memory those days, telling of the many adventures that he had with a young companion. Having regained his health he was apprenticed, at the age of fifteen, to a watchmaker. This man was a student of history, and without doubt it was largely due to his influence that the boy's taste turned to historical subjects. Three years later he came back to Rochester and entered Pierce's Military Academy. . . . As in everything he undertook he soon mastered the details of military tactics, and in 1863 he joined Company K, 54th Regiment, in which he held the rank of orderly sergeant. When his regiment was disbanded he returned to Rochester, and his health again failing, he engaged in farming for a time, after which he went to Oil City, and in the spring of 1868 to Omaha. Here, after trying farming and storekeeping, he was appointed on the night force of the postoffice. In this duty he came near ending his career in a bloody adventure with a burglar. Later he was appointed first mail clerk between Omaha and St. Joseph.

Trusting a friend to get out papers for a claim which he had taken up near Omaha, and upon which he had spent all his spare cash, he found like many another that the friend had played him false and had taken out the papers in his own name. Returning to Rochester he studied surveying and landscape gardening under Mr. Stillson at Mount Hope.

In 1872 he married Miss Julia E. Hughes, and moved to Peterborough, Canada, where he laid out and beautified the Little Lake Cemetery, which stands today a monument to his skill as a landscape gardener, being one of the most beautiful in the Dominion. Having finished his work in Peterborough he moved to Detroit, Mich., where he took charge of Elmwood Cemetery, but once more his delicate health stood in his way and he was forced to give it up. He then returned to Rochester. This was about 1877. . . . He took up the study of history, reading everything he could get relating in any way to the early settlement of the Genesee country, as well as all works bearing on the Seneca Indians. He also took long tramps following up the old Indian trails and locating their villages, looking up old settlers and gleaning from them all they could remember of pioneers and pioneer life. It was most interesting to listen to him catechise some old resident, awakening memories by some incident of long ago. Mr. Harris made friends wherever he went. His gentle nature, coupled with a rare faculty of thinking about the little things of life endeared him to his friends and companions. A striking characteristic was his capacity for details.

All his life Mr. Harris was a frequent contributor to the newspapers, and on all sorts of subjects. His best known work, that has made his name familiar to all students of our early Indian History, is "The Aboriginal Occupation of the Lower Genesee Country." The value of this work cannot be too highly estimated, containing as it does facts gathered from old residents, with whom would have perished much that is of great interest, had it not been for the untiring labors of Mr. Harris.

In Mr. Harris's terminology of the Genesee country he has left us a most valuable collection of Indian names. In tracing the Indian paths or trails that once crossed and re-crossed the Genesee valley like a network, he had a field of labor distinctively his own and that he excelled in it is witnessed by the following letter from the Honorable George S. Conover:

The Seneca Indians have long been aware of the great interest that George H. Harris of Rochester, N. Y., has manifested in resurrecting Indian history, and the energy he has exhibited in locating the sites of their former villages. On account of the remarkable success he has had in tracing out and locating the Indian paths or trails that once laced the Genesee valley, they have recognized and called him the Pathfinder. A letter lately received from Chester C. Lay, the United States interpreter for the Senecas on the Cataraugus Reservation, says that in recognition of so eminent an Indianologist as Mr. Harris has become, it has been decided to show their appreciation by adopting him into the tribe and bestowing upon him the name of Ho-tar-shan-nyooh, meaning "he has found the path," or "the Pathfinder." As Mr. Lay is of the Wolf Clan, it necessarily follows that Mr. Harris among his Indian brethren will be recognized as a member of the Wolf Clan, the same clan to which Red Jacket belonged. This is a well-merited tribute and worthily bestowed, as Mr. Harris has been for many years a diligent and painstaking investigator of early local history, and has won for himself an enviable reputation being an acknowledged authority on Indian antiquities of the region around Rochester and the Genesee valley.

(Signed)

Hy-WE-SAUS.

GENEVA, N. Y., February, 1889.

In making researches Mr. Harris was struck by the prominent part played in the early history of Western New York by Horatio Jones, his name recurring again and again. He was a man of good family, whose early training, coupled with a fine physique and wonderful powers of endurance, eminently fitted him for the remarkable sequence of adventures through which he passed. Running away from home when a boy, to fight the Indians, he was captured, made to run the gauntlet and finally adopted by a Seneca family. Becoming master of the language and customs, he obtained the entire confidence and esteem of the Indians and figured prominently in many important treaties as interpreter. Indeed Mr. Harris found this man to be so woven into the early history of the country that he became impressed with the idea of making him the grand figure around which to group the many startling scenes of early times. . . . Before he laid down his pen forever he had brought his hero down to a point where everything of historical value had been recorded, and it only required a few closing scenes to have the work ready for publication. Mr. Harris left many other manuscripts which, when compiled, will undoubtedly be of much public interest. . . .

Mr. Harris was an honorary member of the Buffalo, Waterloo, and Livingston County Historical Societies, and an active member of the Rochester Academy of Science, the Rochester Historical Society, and the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

THE LIFE OF HORATIO JONES.

I. THE CAPTURE.

In Western New York have occurred some of the most thrilling episodes of American history. The home of the fiercest of the Iroquois, it was early visited by the Jesuit and *courieur de bois*, the French explorer and invader, the scout and ranger. Among its pioneer population were men whose reckless daring furnished themes for song and story. Of the number Horatio Jones stood preéminent. His captivity, his conspicuous and picturesque career in the pioneer days of the Genesee Valley, and the region west to Lake Erie and the Niagara, his valuable services as interpreter and agent for the United States Government during its negotiations with the native owners of the soil, made him an important factor of the history of Western New York during the troublous times in which he lived. He was of Welsh ancestry, a descendant of the Rev. Malachi Jones who immigrated to America and settled at Abington, 14 miles north of Philadelphia, about 1714.* Horatio, the subject of this sketch, was the first child of William and Elizabeth (Hunter) Jones, and was born at Downington, Pa., Nov., 1763. William Jones, by trade a gunsmith, was a believer in the value of physical training; consequently, Horatio received the personal instructions of his father and early led his comrades in wrestling, riding, quoits, casting the sledge and

* Further genealogical data will be found in a subsequent chapter, at the close of the narrative.

other sports of the period. He was especially fleet in running. Unlike his brothers and sisters, Horatio had no great love for books and acquired only the rudiments of English. The influences of a refined home and intellectual associations left marks upon his manner and speech that were not obliterated in the years passed with rude, unlettered men. During his long life his language was correct and in his intercourse with those about him his bearing was indicative of gentle breeding.

In the workshop Horatio grew proficient in the use of tools, became an excellent mechanic, and though a mere youth, was assigned the difficult task of sighting the guns brought to his father for repairs. He thus became more skillful in the handling of arms than most men of the district. This mechanical and physical training and experience in woodcraft proved of great value to him in later days, while among the savages. From the soldiers and scouts who frequented his father's shop he gleaned facts regarding the nature and customs of the Indians that aided him greatly when he became associated with them in daily life.

Bedford County, Pennsylvania, was erected from Cumberland in 1770 and included all the northwestern part of the State. At the opening of the Revolution John Piper of Yellow Creek was appointed commandant of the county with the rank of lieutenant colonel. In 1777 he raised a regiment of minute men for home service. When the first Indian forays were made in Bedford County the inhabitants adopted means of defence. In place of Fort Bedford, which had been demolished several years previously, a stout stockade called Fetler's fort was erected at Frankstown on the Juniata, and smaller forts were erected in various localities. Fetler's fort was occupied by troops and termed the Frankstown garrison. In the spring of 1781, in consequence of the frequent depredations of the Indians, a body of Cumberland County militia, variously estimated at thirty-five to seventy-five, under command of Colonel Albright and Capt. Brown, were sent to Frankstown. Instead of scouring the country to discover the enemy the soldiers remained in garrison. In-

dian outrages continued and County Lieutenant Albright advised the settlers to organize a scouting party, promising to assist them with the Bedford Rangers.

The quasi-military life in which Horatio Jones passed his boyhood fostered a natural love for adventure and he looked forward impatiently to the time when he could bear arms as a profession. In 1777 he joined one of Col. Piper's companies of minute men as fifer and served one winter in camp. In his sixteenth year he enlisted in the Bedford Rangers, performing some service as a scout. When off duty he worked in his father's shop.

About the last of May, 1781, Capt. Boyd, then commanding the rangers, ordered a company to assemble for the purpose of joining the Frankstown scouts. Indian signs were being discovered and it was thought the scouts would have to do some fighting before they returned.

To Horatio's surprise his father objected to his accompanying the rangers on this occasion. The father thought him too young and that he would furnish one more scalp for the Indians. Horatio was greatly mortified at the unexpected edict, as he thought himself the equal save in age of several men in this company. He considered the refusal of his father based upon a regard for his personal safety. To the hot-headed youth it seemed cowardly to remain behind, when others were going into peril for the protection of his home. He thought it improbable that his father would recall him if he were fairly started. When the battle was over and he returned, public sentiment would approve his act. He decided to join the outgoing company and face parental displeasure.

A word now as to existing conditions in Western New York, with which our hero is soon to be concerned.

The "door of the long-house," or most western town of the Senecas prior to the Revolution, was located upon the present (1893) farm of Alonzo A. Arnold, in the town of Caneadea, on the east bank of the Genesee, some thirty miles above Little Beard's Town. The locative title of the place was Gah-ne-ya-de-o, "where the heavens rest or lean upon the earth," since corrupted to Caneadea. The heredit-

ary military sachem of the Iroquois league, Do-ne-ho-ga-weh, or "open door," had his residence there. The person bearing this title at the beginning of the Revolution was an aged man, who had in his early manhood taken the name of a white friend, Hutson, commonly called Hudson. It was a habit among the whites when they could not easily pronounce the Indian name of a chief to call him John; hence John Hudson, John Blacksmith, John Luke, John Abeel, Johnny John and a score of others. They in time lost their native designations. After this Seneca sachem became known as a military leader he was called Capt. Hudson. It is said he knew every hill and valley and stream of the section of New York and Pennsylvania lying between the Senecas on the Genesee and Alleghany, and the settlements of the whites on the Susquehanna in the same states. About 1770 Hudson's eldest son sickened and died and the second son of the sachem became the eldest of the family. He was known as Hah-yen-de-seh, "Dragging Wood," or "Hemlock Carrier." In the first campaigns of the Revolution he won rank as a chieftain of note. It is now impossible to distinguish the deeds of the old sachem from those of his son in the early years of the war.

The second chief at Caneadea in 1779 was Gah-nee-songo, "Man fond of berries." He and Hah-yen-de-seh had been friends from childhood, inseparable companions in peace and war, won their honors together and now ranked equally as chiefs. Gah-ne-songo was a dignified man of powerful frame and great strength. The British officers with whom he often associated, abbreviated his name to Shongo and after the Revolution he was termed Col. Shongo.*

Among the British adherents at Fort Niagara was a Capt. Nelles. In the same company with him was Lieut. Robert Nelles, his son. Early in the spring of 1781 Col. Butler ordered Nelles with his company to the Genesee. Marching to Gah-an-o-deo he procured a log house, took an Indian wife and set up housekeeping in primitive style. Not caring for the fatigue and discomforts of a forest march

* His descendants now reside on the Cattaraugus Reservation, and in Buffalo.

at that season of the year, Capt. Nelles placed a platoon of men under the command of his son and rallied the Indians under the lieutenant in an expedition to Pennsylvania to cut off bodies of continental troops passing between the Susquehanna and Ohio rivers. Hey-en-de-seh had changed his residence to a town afterwards known as Ah-wes-coy, on the west side of the Genesee, about seven miles below Caneadea. The latter name was also applied to the valley lying between the two villages. In later days Shongo told a Mr. Baker that John Hudson and himself were the leaders of the expedition. As it was organized at the lower town the one to whom Shongo referred was probably Hah-yen-de-seh, though old Captain Hudson accompanied and guided the party.

While preparations for the expedition were in progress one family of Senecas residing at Ah-wes-coy viewed them with sorrow. In a previous foray upon a settlement of whites the members of this family had lost a son and brother, a promising young brave named To-an-do-qua. The season of mourning had nearly passed, yet the mother refused to be reconciled. The stir and confusion in the town reminded her of that other time when her brave son marched proudly away into the forest never to return. She reflected upon the probable results of the contemplated expedition and became inspired with the idea of averting, in a degree, the horrors of warfare by securing the capture, instead of the killing, of some innocent youth. With this thought in mind the woman approached a chief named Do-eh-saw* who resided at Deonundagao. Though in outward appearance an Indian, the chief was really a half-breed son of a white trader, and was generally known as Jack Berry. He was a powerful man, though not above medium height, swift on foot, brave and in the forefront of any conflict in which he engaged; yet he was kind-hearted and the Seneca mother knew he had been a good friend to her boy. To this man the woman made a request, that, from the sol-

* The word signifies one who propels, pushes, himself or makes either progress or resistance like a sturdy or obstinate animal; the idea being strength and courage as manifested in a beast of burden, like a mule.

diers the Indians were going to attack, he would bring her the youngest captive they might take, to replace the lost To-an-do-qua. As a sign of her commission to him and of her right to the prisoner, she gave Do-eh-saw a belt of wampum bearing her clan totem and family mark. The chief accepted the belt and promised to consider her request.

When the British-Indian expedition left the Genesee, it consisted of Lieut. Nelles commanding, his platoon of rangers, nearly a hundred warriors and some squaws. They crossed the Genesee early in May, took the Niagara trail southward through Chautauqua valley, crossed over to the Canisteo, down that stream to the Tioga, thence by Pine Creek (Ti-a-dagh-ton) to the west branch of the Susquehanna (Ot-zin-ach-son), marched through forest trails, and established their camp about a two days' journey from Bedford. It was a custom of the Indians to form such a camp as a base of operations, where they left the women and baggage, the warriors going and coming as they pleased.

From the reserved camp the warriors advanced to the Juniata intending to attack some of the forts, or to cut off troops on the march. It appears that Shongo led a band some distance down the Juniata, but learning of the number of soldiers at Frankstown fort, he proceeded up the river and joined Hudson, who had formed a temporary camp at a place called Hart's Log. Thence they sent out runners to watch the garrison. These spies saw white scouts in the vicinity and notified the chiefs, who hastily called a council. They decided to form an ambuscade at a favorable place on the river, so the war-party retreated into the forest to await the coming night.

The white scouts discovered the camp, found it recently abandoned and hurried to Frankstown to give the alarm. The Indians permitted their safe return, hoping, by so doing, to secure a larger number of victims at a later hour. The place selected for ambush was near a ford of the river not far from the fort. The location seemed to afford little opportunity for the concealment of a body of men, but the

Iroquois were adepts in forest stratagem and laid their plans with skill.

June 2d the scouting party assembled at Holliday's fort, a mile or so below Fetler's. This fort had been built for a stable but was a strong building and had been loop-holed for a garrison or to serve as a place of refuge. Instead of a full company of rangers there were Capt. Boyd, Lieutenant Woods, and eight men; the volunteers numbering twenty-three or four men, including several of the most experienced woodsmen and Indian fighters of the Alleghany frontier. The personnel of the company was about as follows: Capt. John Boyd, the eldest of three brothers—William fell at the battle of the Brandywine and Thomas was horribly tortured and killed at the Genesee Castle in 1779; Lieutenant Harry Woods, a son of the George Woods of Bedford, released from Fort Du Quesne in 1756 through Chief Hudson; Capt. Moore, one of the famous Moore family of Scotch Valley; he with Lieutenant Smith had recruited nearly all the volunteers; Capt. Dunlap, a militia officer then off regular duty; Lieut. John Cook, a relative of the Col. Wm. Cook of Northumberland County, under whom Moses Van Campen first served.

These men were versed in Indian warfare, of tried courage and patriotism. Among the men in the ranks were William and Adam Holliday; James Summerville, son-in-law of Adam Holliday; Thomas and Michael Coleman; a George Jones and brother; Michael Wallack; Edward Milligan; William and John McDonald; Ross; Ricketts; Beatty; Gray; Johnson, and Horatio Jones. Whether the Jones brothers were relatives of Horatio or not is not known.

The Americans wore the dress of the frontiersmen of that time: A cap, hunting-shirt or frock, breeches or leggins, and moccasins. The frock was gathered at the waist by a belt tied in the back. Bullet-pouch, wadding and other small articles were carried in the frock above the belt, from which were suspended a tomahawk and hunting-knife. The moccasins were of dressed deer skins made with flaps reaching to the shin, and secured by long strings bound around the

ankles and legs. Each man was also armed with a rifle and its equipments.

These men set out for Fetler's where they planned to spend the following day, Sunday, thence to march through the Kitanning Gap to a road that led to Pittsburg, and home by way of Bedford. While completing their arrangements to leave Fetler's the two scouts came in and reported the discovery of the Indian camp at Hart's Log, saying the savages probably numbered twenty-five or thirty, the fires were still burning and the enemy doubtless near at hand. A fight was probable and the scouts were eager for the fray. The officers felt sure the savages would not venture into the settlement until the following day and thought best to march out and meet the invaders near the mouth of the gap. They tendered the command to Colonel Albright and asked him to permit some of his men, who were anxious to go, to accompany them. The Colonel refused both requests, not allowing his men to leave the fort.

Just before daylight Sunday morning they ate breakfast, took five days' provisions, loaded their rifles and started for the mountains. A narrow path ran close along the river; the men marched in single file, with Capt. Boyd at their head, in command. A thick fog rendered even near objects invisible. The scouts deemed this condition a favorable one as it would conceal them from observation. The obscurity covered all traces of the ambuscade as well. When the company reached the flat within thirty rods of Sugar Run, the British and Indians poured a murderous volley into the single line of scouts and, springing up with tomahawks in hand, awoke the echoes of the wilderness with appalling yells. The surprise was complete. A number fell, several fled without discharging their guns, but Capt. Boyd, Lieut. Cook and a few other veteran fighters bravely held their ground, raised a yell and returned fire, killing some of the savages.

Seeing they were greatly outnumbered, Boyd ordered his gallant men to save themselves. They at once scattered. As Boyd turned to run the Indians pursued. They struck him several times with their tomahawks before he surren-

dered. Lieut. Cook was a powerful man and swift runner, but the four warriors who pursued him threw their weapons and knocked him down, when he was promptly secured.

Capt. Dunlap, Ross and the two McDonalds who were in Boyd's company, were seized upon the battle ground. Lieut. Woods discharged his rifle and with Wallack and Summerville crossed the river, running up what was later known as O'Friel's Ridge, pursued by Hay-en-de-seh, who calculated either to kill or capture the three men. Summerville's moccasin became loose and as he stooped to fix it the chief approached with uplifted tomahawk. Woods aimed his empty rifle at the Indian who sheltered himself behind a tree, but quickly recognizing the officer shouted out, "No hurt you Woods! No hurt you Woods!" exposing himself to view. Woods, seeing that he was the son of the Seneca chief who had saved his father from torture in 1756, and had often visited at the senior Woods' in Bedford, dropped his gun. Hudson made no further demonstration of hostility and allowed the other two rangers to escape over the ridge. One of the Jones brothers was the first to reach the fort with news of the disaster. Capt. Young started out with help to bring in the wounded. The other Jones brother had been killed and scalped. Five wounded men were found as well as the mutilated bodies of nearly half the company.

When the first volley was fired Horatio was marching proudly along in line. Deafened by the firing and half blinded by the smoke, he was caught in the sudden rush of those who fled and carried to the middle of the river. The rattle of musketry, the yells of the savages, the shrieks of the wounded filled the air. Forgetting his visions of bravery he sprang up the bank and ran straight away from the scene of action. Suddenly two Indians appeared before him with leveled guns; in presence of more immediate danger his scattered senses began to return, and while he changed his direction he wondered if this were indeed his last moment. He glanced over his shoulder and saw the Indians in hot pursuit. Seeing that he had gained upon them and encouraged by a hope of escape he turned about,

raised his rifle to his shoulder, took aim at the foremost pursuer and pulled the trigger. It missed fire and to his dismay he discovered that the priming had been wet in the river and that the weapon was useless; but when he raised his rifle the Indians had dropped to the ground to disconcert his aim and thus had not discovered the condition of his gun.

Comprehending that his escape now depended upon his fleetness alone, Horatio closed the rifle pan, renewed his flight, crossed the valley and began to ascend the hill. Just then, the long string of one of his moccasins becoming loose, it began snapping about his legs, impeding his progress. The fog was clearing up; he thought he heard some one call him. Looking back again he saw the foremost warrior raise his hand and heard him shout in plain English, "Stop boy, stop!" At that instant the vexatious moccasin string caught in a shrub throwing him heavily to the ground. Though stunned by the shock he retained his senses and hastily attempted to rise. Finding his foot fastened he made a violent effort to free himself, rolled over and sat up. As the pursuers came up, gun in hand, it was evident to him that any further effort to escape would result in being shot. He decided to sit still. As the Indians approached, Horatio looked steadily at them to discover some intimation of their intentions, and if necessary, make a desperate effort at defence. The mild manner of the leading warrior dissipated his fears and he made no show of resistance. The Indian halted within a few feet of him, dropped the butt of his rifle to the ground, leaned upon the muzzle, looked smilingly down at the young ranger and addressed him pleasantly:

"No be scart, me no hurt you; you berry nice boy; you run like deer; you make fine Indian boy; me good friend; me help you." Stooping over he released the strings, fastened the moccasin, placed his hand on Horatio's shoulder and said quietly but authoritatively "Dis-dot" ("get up"). Notwithstanding the smiling face, the sharp eyes watched every motion of the captive with keen interest, and as the latter stood up submissively the warrior took from his own person a belt of wampum and placed it around Horatio's

neck. Picking up the rifle he removed the flint, threw out the wet powder, handed the weapon to the boy and, still smiling, extended his hand saying, "Go with me." Reassured, Horatio suffered his captors to lead him back to a spot near the point from which he first started to escape. Then the two Indians took away his weapons, bound a blanket about his legs so that he could move only at a slow walk, and left him in the company of some of his late comrades, who were huddled together under the care of five or six young warriors.

II. THE MARCH.

Horatio now had the opportunity to look about; he carefully noted every particular of his surroundings. The conflict was over and singly and in groups the Indians were returning from the pursuit of the fleeing Americans, bringing in two or three more captives. Near by lay the bodies of several rangers and warriors. As the boy stood staring at the inanimate forms, trying to realize what had happened, the savages set to work scalping the dead soldiers. The mutilated bodies of the whites were stripped and left upon the ground, while the greatest efforts were made to conceal the remains of the warriors. The arms and other effects of the dead men were gathered and placed in heaps; the most important trophies of the fight were nine scalps exultantly flaunted before the shrinking captives. During this time the British and Indians scrutinized the prisoners to see if any of them could be identified. The general interest soon centered upon Horatio Jones, at whom the savages stared with undisguised curiosity. He was a perfect specimen of vigorous, healthful youth, with light complexion, ruddy cheeks, grey eyes and hair tending to auburn, a color greatly admired by the black-haired savages. "Hoc-sa-ah hoc-sa-go-wah" ("the boy is very handsome"), they said; but the object of their admiration did not understand their remarks, and his fears were excited by these attentions which

ceased only when the warriors gathered in a group to talk over the situation.

The prisoners now exchanged a few words of condolence and expressed to each other the belief that their comrades who had escaped would soon return with a large party to rescue them. Their hopes were not to be realized. That the soldiers had marched out to attack them convinced the leaders of the war party that Fort Fetler was strongly garrisoned, and that a larger party of troops would speedily be sent out to avenge the defeat of the rangers. A number had been killed and they were now encumbered with prisoners and plunder. They decided to retreat. The plunder was tied in large packages and fastened on the shoulders of the captives, who were placed in the middle of the party, and the band immediately took the back trail into the wilderness.

The prisoners included Capts. Boyd and Dunlap, Lieutenant Cook, the two McDonalds, Ross, Johnson and Horatio Jones, the last being the youngest of the party, though others were quite young. Each captive had a blanket bound about his legs to prevent an attempt to escape; the grass was still wet with dew, the blankets became saturated and obstructed the movements of the men to such a degree that they were removed.

After marching at a rapid rate for several hours, Capt. Dunlap, who was severely wounded, showed signs of exhaustion. Blows failed to keep him in pace with the warriors; at last he was so weak that he staggered under his load. Without the slightest warning a painted savage stepped behind the wounded man, buried a tomahawk deep in his neck and jerked him over backwards. As the officer fell, the wretch stripped off his scalp and left him quivering in the agonies of death. Dunlap's fate was a frightful warning to his companions of what they themselves might expect. They dare not exhibit the slightest resentment of the deed, and the stern commands of their masters, together with blows from the tomahawk handles, hastened them onward. In the afternoon a runner was sent ahead to notify

the reserve camp of the return party and to hasten their preparations for a speedy departure.

They reached the camp in the evening. They knew that the white scouts could trace their party to camp, and fearing a large force would attack them, they halted only long enough to allow the squaws to finish packing, when the entire band moved on. Years later Horatio Jones would recall the horrors of that night's march. Some of the captives had had no sleep the previous night, and all had marched at a rapid rate many hours without food. borne down by heavy burdens, urged along by cruel savages, faint, fearful that each moment might be their last, they stumbled forward in the darkness. After many hours' travel in the dense gloom, the leaders called a halt. Warriors and captives alike threw themselves upon the ground too weary to think of aught but rest; they sank into uneasy slumber.

At daylight they rose from the damp earth and resumed their journey. Although they had then reached a point beyond the probable danger of being overtaken by a pursuing force, they were still within range of scouting parties sent out from stations along the West Branch and liable any moment to an attack; hence they preserved strictest silence and moved with caution. All that day the party hastened through the shadows of the forest, spending another miserable night on the ground without shelter, fire or food. The third day even the Indians were visibly suffering. No hunting was allowed, not a gun having been discharged since the battle. The third afternoon a bear was discovered and to prevent starvation a warrior fired at and killed it. The band halted and gathered about the carcass, which was soon cut in pieces and distributed. The prisoners received as their portion the entrails and a small quantity of flesh, which was devoured raw; the long fast had destroyed all sense of taste.

Not long after this the company crossed the Susquehanna and camped for the night in a secluded spot near the Sinnemahoning Creek. Scouts sent out to scour the neighborhood returned with a fair supply of meat and the information that no sign of the enemy could be discovered.

The food and a prospect of a night's rest would have made the prisoners comparatively happy but for the uncertainty regarding their future. Knowing Indian customs, they had reason to believe that they were driven alive through the wilderness only to suffer torture at the stake. Their fears were but too speedily realized.* Capt. Boyd, faint from the loss of blood, was tied to an oak sapling and compelled to be a spectator of the torture of Ross. It was his turn next and he quietly resigned himself to his fate. While these fiends were making preparations to torture him, he sang a pathetic Free-Masons' song with a plaintive voice that attracted their attention; they listened to it very closely till he was through.

At this critical moment an elderly squaw came up and claimed him for her son. The Indians did not interfere. She dressed his wounds and attended him carefully through the remainder of the journey. "Lieutenant Cook's captors amused themselves by burning his legs with fire brands and as he was exhausted from the loss of blood from his wounds he was scarcely able to walk."†

On leaving Sinnemahoning Creek the Indians thought themselves so safe that they began to relax in vigilance, were not so careful about making a noise, and permitted their prisoners greater liberty of action; they also sent out hunting parties, without however much success, for the frequent passage of war parties had driven most of the larger game away from the trails. In the afternoon the hunters joined the main body on the march. They had succeeded in killing a deer and as the place where they met was a convenient one in which to camp, there being plenty of water and wood, they were soon busy with their preparations for supper and the night. The captives were all so bound that they could not travel faster than a walk nor use

* "Ross was very badly wounded," says J. F. Meginness in his history of the West Branch of the Susquehanna called "Otzinachson," "and being unable to travel, his captors determined to massacre him in a cruel manner. He was fastened to a stake, his body stuck full of pitch pine splinters and fire applied. They danced around him making the woods resound with their hideous yells. His tortures were terrible but at length death put an end to his sufferings."

† Meginness.

their hands to relieve themselves of their burdens. Their assistance being needed in making camp, their bonds were loosened and their packs taken off. Some of the young Indians were ordered to prepare the deer and bring in the venison and Jones was told to go with them. Cheered by a measure of freedom and with the prospect of a supper and willing to show his good will in the matter, he pushed to the front where he found himself by the side of a savage, who, by general assent seemed to be the leader of the party. This warrior was small and lean with short bowed legs. His profile reminded Horatio of a reaping-hook sharpened on the outer edge, but he was wiry and as he moved along there was evidence of muscular power that suggested unusual strength. In fact, in spite of his appearance, he was the fleetest runner among the Senecas, and had been employed as messenger by the officers at Fort Niagara, who jestingly said he ran so swiftly his shins cut the air. He thus became known to the whites as Sharp Shins.*

Up to this time Sharp Shins had never been beaten on foot and the Indians had no fear that the captive could escape while the famous runner bore him company; but Horatio had no knowledge of the powers of his companion and no other thought than a desire to obtain a supper of meat as speedily as possible. The party set off at a smart run and the white boy quickly took the lead; becoming aware that the captive was in advance Sharp Shins gave a shrill yell drawing the attention of the entire party, and darted forward. Horatio had taken a dislike to the runner and determined not to let him have the satisfaction of winning in the race. Putting forth all his energies he increased the distance between himself and the Indians and reached the carcass of the deer several feet in advance of Sharp Shins. When the attention of the warriors was called to the race by the yell of the runner they shouted their approval, but as the captive gained in the lead it occurred to them that he was attempting to escape and nearly the entire band joined in pursuit. As soon as Horatio halted beside the deer he was surrounded by the excited warriors

* His Seneca name was Ha-ah-ta-o, "He climbs."

who whirled their tomahawks about his head to the consternation of his fellow-prisoners who expected to see him butchered on the spot. Appreciating the gravity of the situation he folded his arms and stood like a statue in the center of a circle of whooping savages. Some one called out in the Indian tongue that the boy was not trying to escape and that he should be praised and not hurt as he had beaten their swiftest runner in a fair race. Satisfied that this was the case the mood of the warriors instantly changed and their demonstrations of delight were unrestrained. Yelling with glee they cut ridiculous capers and cried out, "Hoc-sa-go-wah ha-yah-no-weh; sa-qart-neh-ga-ha"; ("The handsome boy is a fast runner; he runs like the wind"). Then as if by a common impulse they desired to attest his victory over their comrade they repeated the phrase "Ha-yah-no-weh, ha-yah-no-weh"; ("He is a fast runner; he is a fast runner"). Sharp Shins, amazed at his defeat stood sullenly aside. When his fellow warriors continued to taunt him his rage was beyond control and drawing his tomahawk he rushed furiously at Horatio and attempted to strike him down. The others promptly interposed and Do-eh-saw claiming the captive lad as his personal property, dared the defeated runner to injure him at his peril.

The speed which had been exhibited by Horatio on two occasions convinced them he could distance their fastest runners in a fair race, and they determined to disable him from making a third display of his prowess. They seized him, dragged him roughly back to camp, laid him upon his back, stretched out his legs and arms, tied each with thongs to a separate tree, pinned the thongs closely to the earth with crotched sticks, then drove stakes crosswise over his arms, legs and body. Satisfied that the boy could not move the Indians turned their attention to the carcass of the deer, which was hastily skinned. As before, they gave the intestines to the prisoners, but on dividing the meat a fair portion was allotted each captive except Horatio. At sunset rain set in and fell steadily through the night upon the motionless form of the young ranger,

chilling him through. If an occasional thought of the comfortable home and loving family he had left obtruded itself it was quickly crowded out of his mind by the pains of intense hunger. He could smell the burning flesh as great pieces were thrown upon the hot coals to roast, but the savages did not give him a mouthful. The savory scent tantalized his senses during the long hours of that miserable night. Our frontier boy knew that his existence and future comfort depended entirely upon his fortitude and endurance. He lay without complaint until the dawn of day aroused the camp and the expedition was ready to resume the march. His apparent indifference to his physical sufferings and his manifest good humor when released had their effect upon the warriors. They seemed to think they had been too severe with him and in some measure to atone for their unnecessary cruelty they gave him a substantial breakfast of venison and permitted him to dry his clothes and warm himself by the fire. Upon resuming the march they permitted him to walk unbound, and by and by relieved him of his pack. Horatio was satisfied he owed these indulgences to his captor Do-eh-saw and determined to show his gratitude in every way he could. During the day he kept close to him and sought to win his confidence.

In order to secure captives at night the Indians usually made a rude sort of stocks by cutting down a tree and hacking notches a few inches in depth along the fallen trunk. Prisoners were then compelled to place their ankles in the notches. A pole was put on the tree trunk above them and fastened down tight with cross stakes driven into the ground. A second and heavier pole was laid in the V formed by the cross sticks. In addition a cord was passed over the bodies of the victims and under several Indians at each end. Horatio was left unbound that night when the other prisoners were secured.

He crept closely to Do-eh-saw and encouraged by a friendly smile lay quietly down by him. Thereafter he slept always by that warrior's side. He began to look upon Do-eh-saw as a trusty friend and protector. He soon became convinced that as long as he kept up with the rest in the

march and made no effort to escape he had little reason to fear immediate danger from the party. From the hour he was relieved of his own pack he helped Johnson, who was over sixty years of age, with his, and frequently availed himself of his own freedom of action to assist other comrades less able than himself to endure fatigue.

From the Sinnemahoning Creek the war-party crossed the country to the Tioga River and followed that stream to the mouth of the Cohocon, on their homeward journey. Here they decided to halt for a few days' rest. The camping place was known as Da-ne-ne-ta-quen-deh, "where two valleys come together."* Here several principal Indian trails crossed and it was frequented by Indians journeying east, west, north and south. Several wigwams were located near the river and there were many cultivated fields about. A huge post painted in a fantastic manner to represent an enemy stood in the open. When war parties halted at the camp they usually held brag dances about the post. Any one could brag and dance after making a small present to the "master of ceremonies," usually the head warrior. The proceeds were a benefit for the whole party.

After their arrival the Genesee warriors proposed to hold a dance on the second evening. Large fires were started to give light, and Indians, British and prisoners, gathered in a great circle about the post. Most of the audience sat or lay on the ground smoking pipes, some Indians on one side beating a small drum and shaking rattles, occasionally accompanying the instruments with monotonous vocal exercises which were anything but inspiring to the white prisoners. The dancer advanced to the post, pranced about it, and addressed it as though the thing were a real enemy. Recounting in a loud voice the history of his personal achievements, the braggart danced or rather mimicked the motions of the act described, derided his imaginary foe in

* This was a descriptive term applied to other similar localities and had no local significance with Painted Post. It was also applied to the present location of Bath, and Dr. Lewis H. Morgan renders it "Do-na-ta-ta gwen-da," "Opening in an opening." Horatio Jones narrated these facts about Painted Post to Orlando Allen. The first white settlers found the post and named the place Painted Post, now Erwin, Steuben Co., N. Y.

unmeasured terms, then striking the post with his tomahawk retired amid loud applause. When the scenes of the Juniata Valley were rehearsed by the savage participants and the scalps of the murdered rangers were paraded before the survivors, all their courage was needed to prevent an outbreak of their rage. Prudence forbade any show of feeling, and hiding their resentment they sat quietly among the crowd of Indians and British until the hateful ceremonies ended.

From the hour of his capture Horatio had worn the belt of wampum placed about his neck by his captor, who had cautioned him not to lose it nor permit any person to remove it. He perceived that he was treated more leniently than his comrades were and could not but think that the belt of wampum was in some way connected with the preference. Do-eh-saw understood and could speak the English language fairly well but he was taciturn with Jones; however he was good-natured and frankly answered questions. As time passed on and the young protégé grew in favor the Indian became somewhat communicative. While the war-party lay at the painted post, Horatio ventured to ask for an explanation from the chief. Do-eh-saw told him that an Indian mother had sent out the belt to secure for herself from among the prisoners taken the youngest to be a son to her in place of her own boy, lost in a recent foray, and accordingly he was to be given to the woman after they reached the Seneca village; that his interest in Horatio was accepted by the warriors and that they all looked upon the young captive as one of their own people; hence he need have no fear of being ill-treated upon the journey. But Do-eh-saw also told him that it was the custom of the Indians to "caress" all captives brought to their villages; in other words the inhabitants vented their spite by beating the prisoners and many times taking their lives. This was a rule and no male prisoner was exempt, as it afforded those who had been left at home a chance to vent their vindictiveness upon their enemies. Even if his captor adopted him he could not save him from the perils of the gauntlet as it was considered a test of the victim's courage and endurance.

When the war-party should reach the home village all the captives were alike to be subjected to the trial; if Horatio lived through it his future was assured.

From the "painted post" the band followed up the Canisteo valley, through the Chautauqua valley,* along the main Niagara trail to the vicinity of what is now known as Hunt's Hollow, Livingston Co., New York. Here, leaving the Niagara trail, they turned to the south and descended the hillside to the bottom of a deep valley where a swift stream flowed over the rocks. "Kish-a-wah," Do-eh-saw answered when Horatio asked him the name of the creek. Crossing the stream, they camped on the southern bank near the ground now known as Hunt's Hollow. A spring of excellent water flowed from the hillside and there were many indications that the spot had long been a favorite resort of the Indians. The prisoners had now become familiar with their captors and while the vigilance of the latter was unrelaxed they were friendly enough and shared with their captives their scanty provisions. The prisoners collected sticks and brush for the camp fires and as the shadows of evening deepened in the valley many of the men gathered in groups. Horatio was seated by Do-eh-saw, who was smoking his pipe near a fire, when he noticed that the warrior was more than usually grave: he soon found out that he was concerned about his young protégé. He told the boy that on the morrow they would reach the Genesee. He described to Horatio the manner of the prisoners' reception and charged him to keep as close to him as he could and strictly to follow whatever orders he might give him; if so, perhaps some of the horrors of running the gauntlet might be avoided. So saying the kindly Indian stretched himself upon the ground to sleep and Horatio lay by his side, thinking of the approaching day and what his fate might be.

When the sun rose on the morning of June 20th upon the valley of the Kishawa the camp was aroused by the sentries posted by Lieut. Nelles. The soldiers brightened their firearms and the warriors adorned their persons in the finery they had captured, painted their faces and disp^{layed}

* In the northeastern corner of Allegany county.

upon their lances the captured scalps. A small body of Indians led the way up the hillside, the rangers marching next. Then came the prisoners, followed by the main body of the savage party. After passing over comparatively level ground, the trail led down a steep slope through a broad hollow and struck a small brook, followed down its course, sometimes along the edge of the water which it occasionally crossed, the passage growing narrower and the pathway steeper as they went on. The ravine was densely wooded, and gloomy, and the hearts of the captives were oppressed by forebodings. Constantly descending, it seemed to them an endless path before they came to a break in the foliage, emerged from the dense shadows, and stood in the bright sunlight upon the bank of the Genesee. The river swept around the foot of the hill down which they had come, and was in sight for a short distance only, but the captives saw stretched before them a great valley enclosed by densely wooded slopes. Turning to the left the party followed the trail along the foot of the slope forming the east side of the valley, and within an hour halted upon the river opposite to the home village of these Senecas.

III. THE GAUNTLET.

In an open space several acres in extent a few bark huts, ordinary houses, and a large building of hewn logs were visible. This last stood by itself upon an elevation a quarter of a mile away. It was well made after the style of the better class of frontier buildings; it had been put up by English carpenters from Niagara. A white flag was flying from a staff on the roof, marking it as the "long house" or council house of the village.

The warriors gathered in a compact body and uttered a series of yells to announce their arrival, the losses the party had sustained and the number of captives and scalps they had brought home. The echoes had scarcely ceased reverberating along the hills, when men, women and children armed with tomahawks, clubs, knives, whips and other

weapons came running from all directions of the town, forming two disorderly lines extending from the council house down nearly to the river opposite to the place where the war party stood. While these movements were in progress the prisoners stood in the midst of their grim captors watching the proceedings, and as they saw the extent and nature of the preparations for their reception their hopes died within them. It seemed impossible that anyone should escape death or mortal injuries while attempting to run through those formidable lines of savages, who had all lost friends in encounters with the whites and many of whom had undoubtedly been bereft of near relatives in this very expedition and were exasperated to the height of fury.* Before giving the order to cross the river Lieut. Nelles addressed the prisoners, saying he thought it right to tell them that immediately after reaching the opposite side, when the word should be given, they were to run for their lives and endeavor to reach the house on the hill where the white flag was waving. According to Indian usage any person in the lines of people they saw had a right to strike, wound or kill them and they could expect no mercy before they succeeded in getting into it; once there they would be safe until the council decided their fate.

Crossing the stream, fordable at that point, with the prisoners in the van, the party ascended the bank. On reaching the level ground the signal was given. Boyd and William McDonald, hoping to gain some slight advantage by a sudden start, instantly bounded forward and were at once followed by all the other captives except Horatio. Their appearance was greeted by a chorus of yells and shrieks as the mob of young men, women and children rushed forward like wild beasts, each one frantically struggling to strike a blow at the victims.

Do-eh-saw had been standing in the front rank of the war-party with Horatio by his side. As the other prisoners started he moved in front of Horatio, concealing him until the attention of the mob was entirely occupied with the other captives who had made considerable headway, when

* Orlando Allen's narrative.

he suddenly stepped aside, gave Horatio a push and said, "Run, boy, run!" Horatio nerved himself for the trial. Seeing the advantage of this slight delay and confident of his fleetness he put forth his greatest energies. The attention of the Indians nearest him was so engrossed by what was going on ahead that Jones fled past them unobserved until he had nearly overtaken the party in advance, when the Indians began to aim their blows at him. These he avoided as best he could by dodging from side to side and passing some of the captives, when he found himself near Boyd, McDonald and Johnson, all of whom had reached the "long house" slightly in advance of himself. The men had been roughly handled and were bleeding from many wounds, but according to Indian usage were entitled to free entrance to the council house and immunity from further abuse. Three or four ferocious young Indians were huddled about the door with uplifted weapons, and, despite the warning cries from the older warriors attacked the three white men. The leader, a young savage named the Wolf, was armed with a sword. As Johnson came up the savage struck him a frightful blow with the sword taking off the top of his head. Horatio was so near the victim that brains were dashed over his face and breast. The young demon slashed and hacked again and again at Johnson's body. Fear for himself gave place in Horatio's bosom to rage at the cowardly murder and he paused to avenge him, but the comrades of the Wolf, beginning to attack the rest of the prisoners who were struggling in the doorway, he turned suddenly to one side and came face to face with Sharp Shins, who stood with raised tomahawk ready to cleave his skull.

From the time of his defeat in the race for the deer Sharp Shins had avoided the fleet-footed young ranger, biding his time to avenge his defeat. He had been sent in advance to announce the home-coming of the party, and had stationed himself in line near the council house, not doubting that Horatio would succeed in reaching that goal, where he could be sure of the chance to tomahawk him. The sudden turn made by his intended victim disconcerted him and he hesitated to strike. Before the revengeful savage could

rally Horatio had dashed through a break in the mob; with a howl of rage Sharp Shins hurled his axe at the fleeing form. To the day of his death Horatio Jones never recalled, without a shudder, the sound produced by the whirling tomahawk as it passed close to his head and buried itself in the earth. Whether he was indebted for his escape to his own skill in dodging the missile or to the haste of the thrower he never knew.

With the idea prominent in his mind that he must obtain entrance to the council house, he instinctively turned towards the building and dodged around the corner. The wall of the building was unbroken by door or window. A path leading into a thicket close at hand opened before him. With a bound he was in the bush and out of sight of the struggling mob. Pursuing the path with all his speed he quickly emerged from the thicket into a clearing where he discovered, only a few feet in advance, a rude house, past the door of which the path led.

On arrival of the runner with the news of the returning expedition the Seneca mother, who had commissioned Berry to bring her a son, being unwilling to witness the cruelties of the gauntlet, remained in her home with her daughter, while the male members of the family joined in the frightful ceremonies. From their house in the woods the women heard the whoops announcing the arrival of the war-party. As the dreadful race began they could distinguish the sounds of turmoil and the approach towards the long house. Standing at the opening serving as a window to their humble home, they listened closely to note the first indication that the captives had passed the ordeal. Suddenly the bushes growing along the path leading to the long house were agitated as by the passage of one in haste, and a boy, dazed by fright, dashed into the opening. Was it Providence that warmed the heart of his captor, assisted the lad to escape the perils of the gauntlet and led his footsteps to the only habitation in all that wilderness in which he could escape death? Was it instinct that directed the attention of the Indian woman to the wampum belt on the breast of the terrified young runner, or an over-ruling Providence? At

a glance she recognized the token she had sent forth to the settlements of the whites. With a cry to the daughter the woman ran out of the doorway as the boy came near. Before he could fully realize the occurrence the women caught him in their arms, pushed him into the house, secreted him under a bench of poles that ran around the side of the house, and placed blankets in front which concealed him from view, then calmly resumed their station at the window. The panting fugitive had scarcely had time to reflect that the action of the squaws indicated a desire on their part to befriend him, when he heard footsteps approach and excited voices at the door, some reply in the native tongue from the elder woman and footsteps receding, apparently in an opposite direction from that from which they came. Hardly had these sounds ceased when the squaw drew the covering aside and called the boy forth. He rolled out of his close quarters and stood before them ready to obey their commands. The women placed themselves in front of him, drew their blankets around all three in such a manner as to conceal him from observation and stepped out of the door.

Jones was so confounded by the rapidity of events that he felt impelled to place confidence in his strange friends, and closely followed their hurried lead, he knew not whither. He could hear the soft pat of their moccasined feet upon the hard ground, the rustle of branches as they passed through obstructing brush, the murmur of voices and the tramp of men about him; he could feel the sway of his guides as they pushed through a crowd of people, and he fancied the beating of his heart would betray him. Then he felt an inclination to throw off the sheltering folds that held him in darkness and face death openly.

Suddenly the grip upon his arms tightened, he was jerked forward, then stopped so sharply that but for the restraining hands of the women he would have fallen. The blankets dropped to the ground. Horatio perceived he was in a large room, filled with Indians who surrounded some of his fellow captives covered with blood from numerous wounds. Instinct told him that he was in "the long house" and the perils of the gauntlet were ended.

The women who had rescued him could not speak English, but their intelligent faces bore expressions of proud satisfaction as they resumed their blankets and walked away leaving the boy with his white friends. He soon learned that the latter were in a pitiable plight, and that of all who braved the mob he alone had escaped without serious bruises. A guard was soon stationed at the door of the long house, which was made to serve as a prison. Food was given the prisoners and they were allowed to seek such rest as their wretched condition would permit.

A quantity of liquor having been brought from Niagara, it was decided to celebrate the return by a general carousal. As night approached great fires were kindled in the open space in front of the long house, and here the Indians gathered in crowds. Liquor was supplied to all, and the men giving themselves up to the excitement of the occasion, freely indulged their appetites. The more prudent women remained sober and as soon as possible removed and secreted all the weapons they could secure. As the shades of evening deepened to the darkness of night the imprisoned whites could hear the sounds of revelry increasing to an uproar that awoke their gravest anxiety and filled their minds with dismal forebodings. All too soon their fears were realized, for the drunken frenzy of the Indians reached a point beyond the control of the sober women and guards, and despite their protests the warriors broke down the door of the long house and rushed into the building. Among the foremost was the Wolf, with Johnson's scalp at his belt. Horatio recognized the brute and took solemn oath that if the opportunity ever occurred he would avenge the murder of his soldier friend. Without molesting others the savages seized McDonald and dragged him forth as an object of their cruel sport. From insults and cuffs the drunken rioters proceeded to greater violence. Sharp Shins finally tomahawked the unfortunate soldier, chopped off his head, thrust a spear into the skull and stood it up as an object of contumely. All the ferocity of their natures was now aroused, and the savages danced around the gory head shrieking like demons. Even the guards became attracted to the demon-

strations around the fire and followed the mob from the door of the prison. In the darkness, near at hand, stood a little group of women. As the guards left the door, the women glided around the corner into the house that was dimly lighted by the fires without. The prisoners were huddled together, full of forebodings. As the women suddenly entered with fingers placed over their mouths to denote silence, Jones recognized the two who had saved his life. Seizing the hands of the captives the squaws led them out of the doorway, around the corner of the building into the darkness. Without pausing at all they hurried through the bushes leading the white men to places of safety.

After dancing about the head of McDonald and offering it every indignity they could invent the crazy warriors again rushed to the long house bent on the destruction of the remaining prisoners. Finding them gone they awoke the echoes of the hills with howls of disappointment. Frantic, and thirsting for more blood, they quarreled among themselves. The liquor they had imbibed in unrestricted quantities soon overcame them, and one by one the maudlin wretches dropped to the earth in drunken stupor. Later the fires died away fitfully, and only an occasional yell from some half-awakened reveler reached the ears of the concealed captives.

On the following day, when the Indians had recovered their senses, the women restored the weapons and prisoners. They later convened in council, and few would have recognized the members of the drunken mob in the stately chiefs and grave warriors, who assembled calmly to determine the fate of the white captives. The prisoners understood little of the discussion but its purport was related to Jones at a later date. According to their custom the warriors sat upon the ground in a circle with the captives in front and men, women and children huddled about the outer circle. As each warrior took his place he lighted a pipe and continued to smoke during the session, save when speaking.

When all who desired had spoken Hudson arose. He said it seemed to be the general sentiment that enough white men had been slain to atone for the blood of the Indians

killed; it now remained for the council to decide upon the disposition of the survivors. Do-eh-saw, or Jack Berry, as he was called, knocked the ashes from his pipe and stood up. He said he spoke for the Indian mother who had sent by him a belt of wampum. He recounted his connection with the battle on the Juniata and the capture by himself and Hah-ney-wee* of the young prisoner. Berry narrated the subsequent events of the homeward march, the race with Sharp Shins, the incidents of the gauntlet, his rescue by the woman who sent the wampum, his entry into the long house, his removal, which prevented further bloodshed, and his return to the custody of the warriors. Neither he nor Ha-neh-wee-sah made any claim to the boy. The singular circumstances that had combined to bring him to the sorrowing mother convinced her that Ha-wen-ne-ya, the "Great Spirit," had sent the lad to replace her dead son, and she now claimed the young captive, whom she intended to adopt. While the members of the war-party were acquainted with these facts the greater number of Indians knew nothing of the particulars of the affair.

The story of the sturdy chief moved their superstitious natures, and a profound silence prevailed in the long house. At length Shongo stood erect and the audience waited upon his words. He said that his ears had been open to receive this story. He believed the Great Spirit watched over his Indian children and planned wisely for them. No one could listen to what had occurred without feeling that Ha-wen-ne-ya had sent this handsome boy to the Seneca nation for a good purpose. Some misfortune would surely fall upon the people if they failed to carry out the design of the Great Spirit. The lad should remain and become one of themselves, and the future would reveal why he had been sent to the red men of the Genesee. It was so decided, when the assemblage clapped their hands and cried, "Ya-ho, Ya-ho!" in approval.

It was decided to take the other prisoners to Niagara and

* English name, Blue Eyes. He was cousin of the woman who adopted Jones. He later became a chief of distinction and in his old age resided at Red House on the Alleghany.

deliver them to the British fathers. When ready Nelles took the men to the fort and turned them over to the commander. The Oneida woman, who interposed for Boyd at the mouth of Sinnemahoning Creek, and who had assisted in his rescue from the long house, accompanied him to Niagara. When Boyd was sent to Quebec with other prisoners, she nursed him on the voyage and did not leave him until he was placed in a hospital. When convalescent the hospital authorities turned him into the street without money or acquaintances, but as he walked along, he saw a sign-board bearing the legend, "Masonic Inn." Boyd entered, gave the sign to the landlord, and was received and cared for till he was exchanged. The Indian woman, in due time, returned to Oneida, where Capt. (afterwards Colonel) Boyd often sent her presents and on one occasion visited her there in person. Lieut. Cook was also exchanged at Quebec.*

IV. THE ADOPTION—LIFE AMONG THE SENECA.

The founders of the League of the Iroquois adopted a scheme of tribal relationship by which the people of each nation were separated into divisions or clans. The Mohawks say that in the beginning there were but three clans, wolf, bear and turtle; that the Oneidas have only those three and the same ones exist in each nation. Hale says that the Onondagas have in addition the deer, eel, beaver, ball and snipe. The Cayugas substitute the hawk and heron for the ball and eel; the Tuscaroras divide the wolf clan into gray and yellow wolf and the turtle clan into great and little turtle.

According to ancient custom a person adopted into an Iroquois family to replace one dead, was supposed to assume the personality of the deceased and the station and property of the predecessor. The rites of adoption severed all former ties and the person was thereafter a blood de-

* Boyd died in Northumberland in 1833. Cook died in 1822, aged 76 years. Horatio Jones and his companions ran the gauntlet at what is now Fort Hill farm, near Caneadea.

Another person, an old pagan, who is still an inquirer, stated that his first serious impressions were made by going to hear the minister preach on one occasion out of curiosity. The text was, "Come unto me, all ye that are weary and heavy laden," etc. After stating who made the promise and to whom it was made, he felt much surprised. He had thought always that the Bible was sent to the white people; but now for the first time in his life he heard that this promise was made to poor sinners of every tribe and nation and to the very wickedest and the chief of sinners, if they would but repent and turn to God. And further the minister held up the book in his hand and said that this was not the only promise that was made to such poor sinners; but that the Bible was full of just such promises to the penitent. "Then I felt," said the man, "that it was not possible for man to contrive to make such words as I heard that day from the Bible, for nobody but God could do it; and fully believe that this is the Word of God and the true religion, and I am determined to seek the salvation of my soul till I die."

August 1. Again visited Cattaraugus. The religious excitement which has prevailed at this station for some time appears to have abated in a considerable degree. The state of feeling on the subject of religion is however, still interesting. On Sabbath a meeting was appointed for Monday afternoon in a very remote corner of the Reservation where two or three families reside, at the distance of eight miles from the house of worship. There were about 25 souls present, as a number had come from the settlement below. A woman at this place appears to be rejoicing in hope, who has a child perfectly blind of about seven years of age. While the mother was about answering a question which was addressed to her, her little blind boy requested leave to speak a few words to me. Leave being granted, he turned and said that he wished me to understand that he "lately thought much about his God and Saviour, and he was constantly praying that God might prepare him to die and go to Heaven," and then turning up his sightless balls. lay down in his place. The manner in which the child spoke

these words produced instant weeping by all present. A number spoke their feelings after this, and the meeting became truly interesting. After spending about two hours in religious conversation and prayer the meeting was closed. On rising to return home the man of the house remarked that it was too far to go without some refreshment, and stated that the women had prepared something for us. The table was then spread with a very wholesome meal, of which we all heartily partook. It may here be remarked that this man has for years been addicted to drinking, but for months [MS. incomplete].

Sept. 12. Visited again the Allegany Reservation in company with Mr. Cowles, our assistant teacher and a small company of native Christians from Seneca and Cattaraugus, some of whom had resided there several years ago. They embraced the opportunity of accompanying us to pay a visit and attend upon the religious meetings which were expected to be held among their brethren. Word had been previously sent to the Alleganies that we were expected; and preparations were made for our reception (as their circumstances admit), among which we were all not a little pleased to find that a fat ox had the day previous been slaughtered, to ensure a plentiful supply for our table.

We did not reach the Reservation the first day, but were all kindly invited to spend the night. The people all seemed greatly pleased to see us. Our meetings were frequent while we tarried and at times quite solemn and encouraging. We were enabled to visit a number of families and have become better [acquainted]. On one occasion several men and women expressed their feelings on the subject and appeared truly affected with their condition as sinners, expressed their determination in the strength of the Saviour to repent and obey the voice of God in the Gospel of his Son; which once in a great while they were permitted to hear, when the minister from Seneca took upon him to come and see them once or twice a year, or when some passing messenger of God felt disposed to convene them for such a purpose, which however very rarely occurred. On the whole I am satisfied that God is extending the knowledge of his truth among this

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branch of the Seneca family; and although now destitute of the stated exertions of any devoted missionary of Christ, there are individuals who appear to have truly set out to seek the Saviour of lost men. There is a missionary establishment at this village by the Society of Friends, who instruct a small school; but they hold no meetings with them on the Sabbath or at other times. The natives of the Christian party meet regularly on the Sabbath, sing and pray together by themselves, and are usually addressed by one of the three brethren who belong to the church at Seneca. The Lord grant that some faithful, etc.

Oct. 7. Yesterday our little church was once more privileged to commemorate the dying love of Christ, at this place. There were some circumstances of peculiar interest connected with this celebration of the supper. Ten individuals were baptised in the name of the Holy Trinity, and for the first time sealed their covenant engagements to be the Lord's. The most of these persons we look upon as the fruits of the revival with which God was pleased to visit this mission the last season. These together with six admitted last spring has increased our little church to the number of 30. To suppose that all these are the redeemed children of God, regenerated by his spirit and sanctified by grace, is probably more than can be supposed of an equal number of Christians educated in the bosom of the Christian church, and living under the more enlarged dispensations of his goodness. But their deportment, their attention to the means of grace, their apparent affection towards the children of God and the Saviour of men, have in the main led us to hope that the most if not all are essentially acquainted with the truth as it is in Jesus. Much solemnity and unaffected devotion of spirit this day appeared among the native members of the church, for which we desire to bless our covenant God, Oh that men would praise the Lord for his goodness and for his wonderful works to the children of men!

Oct. 25, 1828. Went to the Tuscarora village on Thursday by invitation from Mr. Elliot, together with two members of the mission family for the purpose of dedicating the

mission chapel, which has just been finished, to the service of God. This chapel was commenced several years ago under the superintendence of our lamented Brother Crane; but owing to the fluctuating state of the mission for some time since Mr. C's departure, it has not been completed till now. It was commenced by the Indians themselves but they were not able to finish it without foreign aid. This has been afforded chiefly by a gentleman in Rochester, N. Y.

The day was uncommonly fine for the season, and the seats were all filled at an early hour with red men and white, many having come from a number of miles distant. Rev. Mr. Parsons the elder from L—— and Mr. Parsons the younger from the Falls were present and took part in the exercises of the day. Preached from Genesis 28: 17: "How dreadful is this place," etc. After the sermon the communion of the Lord's body was administered to a large company of Christians of different denominations who had flocked to attend this omen of good to the Tuscaroras.

Thursday, Nov. 13. Have just returned from the Cattaraugus station, whither I had gone to attend a joint council of the church at Seneca and Cattaraugus, convened for the purpose of administering church discipline in the case of a man and wife, members of the church at Cattaraugus. As this is the first instance at either of the stations in which it has become necessary to inflict the censures of the church, the case, as might naturally be expected, excited among the Indians a great deal of interest. It was the request of the chiefs at Cattaraugus that some of the old chiefs at Seneca should come down to settle some difficulties which had grown out of this affair. The principal circumstances attending this case of discipline were as follows: A young man and his wife, both members of the church at Cattaraugus, had of late so disagreed as in their opinion to be unable to live together. When this was announced, the church took up the subject and succeeded as was supposed in settling the matter between the parties, as to induce them to lay aside their animosities and return to their duties as Christians. They did so return for awhile; but ere long the flame broke out still more violently than before and attended too with

very suspicious circumstances on the part of the woman. The reports which were in circulation made it necessary for the council to investigate the whole business from the beginning. After spending the greater part of three days and two nights in the trial, the council believed the individuals equally guilty of the offences which each alleged against the other and suspended both from the privileges of the church. As there were some circumstances of peculiar delicacy that were subjected to the council I could not but admire the caution, self-command and candid judgment exhibited by the members of the court.

[The journal ends abruptly at this point, no continuation of it being known.]

NOTE. In 1831 there was published by the Massachusetts Sabbath School Union, Boston, a little book entitled "Letters and Conversations on the Indian Missions at Seneca, Tuscarora, Cattaraugus, in the State of New York, and Maumee in the State of Ohio." (24mo, pp. 112.) Though written for children in the old-time "juvenile" style which no child ever can have enjoyed, its many facts relating to these missions give it historical value. It appears to be based on letters written from the reservations, especially that on Buffalo Creek, by some one connected with the mission during Mr. Harris's service there. The work sets forth that Mr. Harris, with his wife, went to the Buffalo Creek reservation in October, 1821, under the auspices of the New York Missionary Society, which that year united with the United Foreign Missionary Society. The mission boarding school was opened in the spring of 1822, with fifteen pupils. The mission church is stated to have been organized in April, 1823; the church register gives the date as August 10th. Numerous incidents are related not mentioned in the Harris journal. One of them is the following:

"In May, 1823, after Mr. Harris had labored at Seneca about two years he attended the anniversary of the society under whose patronage he labored, in the city of New York, and took with him two little Indian girls. At one of the large meetings, Mr. Harris made a very animating speech, in the midst of which these children were introduced to the audience. It was unexpected, and the sight of them, hanging on each other's necks in all their native artlessness and simplicity, raised such a tide of sympathy, affection and compassion for their whole tribe, that many tears flowed, and large sums were contributed for the support of that mission and school."

When the law of 1821, prohibiting white men to live on the reservation, was enforced, Mr. Harris sent his scholars and their teachers to the Cattaraugus station, came to Buffalo with his wife and took lodgings, visiting the Seneca mission often and preaching there on Sundays, so continuing until the law was modified, when he resumed his residence. In 1826 occurred the "revival of religion" among the Senecas, when Red Jacket's wife joined the church. That chief continued hostile to Mr. Harris, but, when about to die, asked to see him. "His wife sent for him, but he did not arrive until an hour or two after the chief had expired." He died "like a true heathen; he charged his wife to put a phial of water in his hand, just before he ceased

breathing, to prevent the wicked one from carrying off his soul." Red Jacket died Jan. 20, 1830. For the true account of the funeral, written by Mr. Harris, see *The Missionary Herald*, vol. xxvi. An erroneous account of Red Jacket's relations with Mr. Harris, given in McKenney's "Indian Biography," is refuted in Stone's "Life" of Red Jacket, *q. v.* It was soon after Red Jacket's death that the Senecas became disaffected with Mr. Harris and he left the mission, June 28, 1830. His subsequent career is not known to the editor of the present volume.

The enforcement of the removal law in 1821 occasioned much acrimonious discussion, especially in religious journals. In the *Western Recorder*, printed at Utica, an article, said to be written by Rev. M. P. Squier of Buffalo, charged the removal of the Seneca mission to the Universalists of Buffalo. This was sharply refuted in long letters in the *Gospel Advocate*, April 2 and 9, 1824. The *Advocate* was Buffalo's first religious paper, or rather magazine. It was edited by Thomas Gross and printed by H. A. Salisbury. (Vol. I, January 17, 1823, to January 9, 1824; Vol. II, "Published by Simon Burton," January 16, 1824, to January 7, 1825, misprinted 1824.) Only one set of these volumes—that in the Buffalo Historical Society library—is known.

XII. THE SENECA MISSION CHURCH.

"REGISTER OF THE SENECA MISSION CHURCH ORGANIZED AUGUST 10TH, 1823. (NEAR BUFFALO.)"

NOTE—This list appears to have been made in 1879, and was found with other papers at the Mission Station on the Cattaraugus Reservation, 1903. It seems to contain some repetitions.

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| 1. Rev. T. S. Harris,
2. Mrs. T. S. Harris,
3. James Young,
4. Mrs. James Young,
5. Miss Phebe Selden,
6. Miss Asenath Bishop,
7. Seneca White,
8. John Seneca,
9. James Stephenson,
10. Tall Peter.

11. Col. John Pollard (chief),
12. Henry Twoguns, died Jany. 17,
1855.
13. John Snow,
14. George Smith,
15. Mrs. John Pollard.

16. White Seneca (chief),
17. Father White (chief),
18. Samuel Wilson,
19. T. S. Harris, Jr. (Indian),
20. Mrs. Lydia Young King.

21. William King.
22. Mrs. George Jimeson, | 1823.

1824.

1825.

1826.

1827.

1828.

1829.

1830.

1831.

1832.

1833.

1834.

1835.

1836.

1837.

1838.

1839.

1840.

1841.

1842.

1843. | 23. Mrs. Tall Peter,
24. Mrs. George Smith,
25. Mrs. Samuel Wilson (sister of
John Seneca),
26. Mrs. William King,
27. John Snow,
28. Mother Seneca, mother of Sen
eca White, John Seneca, and
White Seneca,
29. Mrs. Jenette Wilson (alive in
1870),
30. Jacob Shongo,
31. Wife of Tall Peter,
32. Mrs. Robert Pierce,
33. Mrs. George Smith,
34. Mother Jimeson (grandmother
of Wm. Jimeson),
35. Lewis Twoguns (brother of
Daniel Twoguns),
36. Daniel Twoguns,
37. Mrs. Red Jacket (grandmother
of John Jacket),
38. Mrs. Wm. Jones (mother of
Wm. Jones),
39. Mrs. John Snow,
40. Mrs. Seneca White,
41. Mother White (same as No. 28),
42. Mrs. James Stevenson (mother
of Moses Stevenson),
43. Big Jacob (Alleghany Res.). |
|--|---|---|

1828.

44. Joseph Isaac,
 45. Mrs. Sally Twoguns (wife of Daniel),
 46. Miss Hannah White (daughter of White Seneca),
 47. Miss Susan White (daughter of White Seneca),
 48. Mrs. Eliza Twenty Canoes,
 49. Mrs. Henry Twoguns,
 50. Mrs. Polly Johnson, 1st,
 51. George Silverheels (father of Henry S.),
 52. Miss Lydia Moore.

1832.

53. Young King (father of Jabez King),
 54. Jacob Bennet,
 55. Destroy Town,
 56. Capt. Billy,
 57. Reuben James,
 58. Miss Laura Black Squirrel,
 59. Mrs. Destroy Town,
 60. Mrs. Jacob Bennet,
 61. Miss Ruth Judd (Mrs. Jabez Stevenson),
 62. Mrs. White Seneca,
 63. Mrs. George Fox,
 64. Mrs. Logan (mother of Saul),
 65. Mrs. Polly Johnson (2nd),
 66. Robert Silverheels (brother of Henry S.),
 67. Mrs. Sally Lockwood (white),
 68. Mrs. Joseph Silverheels,
 69. Miss Rachel Crouse,
 70. George Crouse,
 71. Mrs. George Crouse,
 72. Mrs. Isaac Pierce,
 73. Chas. Fisher Pierce,
 74. Isaac Jamieson,
 75. Mrs. James Shongo,
 76. John Jacob,
 77. Miss Helen Robertson (daughter of James),
 78. Da-an-di Jamieson,
 79. Mrs. Jacob Blacksnake,
 80. Aleck Doxtater,
 81. Mrs. Aleck Doxtater,
 82. James Young,
 83. Mrs. James Young,
 84. Miss Mary King,
 85. Miss Olive Peter,
 86. Miss Catharine V. King.

1833.

87. Polly Dennison.

1834.

88. Wilson's mother,
 89. Mrs. Capt. Billy,
 90. Wm. Jones (interpreter and father of Wm. Jones),
 91. Josiah Armstrong,
 92. Mrs. Chas. (Ruth) Seneca.

1837.

93. Henry Sheldon (white),
 94. Mrs. Philinda Stiles,
 95. Miss Tirza Ann Hoyt (white),
 96. Mrs. Nancy (Levi) Williams.

1842.

97. Wm. Krouse.

1843.

98. Mrs. Lucy (Wm.) Krouse,
 99. Widow Wm. Armstrong,
 100. Mrs. Hannah Howard (white),
 101. Mrs. Nancy (Deacon) Isaacs.

1844.

102. Sylvester Cowles Lay,
 103. Lydia Giddings Krouse,
 104. Mrs. Nancy Sundown,
 105. Phebe Seneca (Mrs. Jabez Jones).

1845.

106. Deacon Jacob Johnson,
 107. George Turkey,
 108. John Turkey (father of George Turkey),
 109. Joseph Turkey (interpreter in M. E. Ch. son of 107),
 110. Mrs. John Turkey,
 111. Mrs. George Turkey,
 112. William Scott,
 113. Mrs. Harriet W. Jones (sister of Z. Jimeson),
 114. Mrs. Aurelia W. Bennet (sister of Z. Jimeson),
 115. Thomas Crow,
 116. James Turkey,
 117. Mrs. James Turkey,
 118. Aaron Turkey (cousin of 107),
 119. Miss Laura Turkey (sister of Aaron T.),
 120. Charles Greybeard,
 121. Mrs. Chas. Greybeard,
 122. Miss Martha Dennis.

1846.

123. Miss Julia Pierce,
 124. Miss Mary M. Howe,
 125. Franklin Crow (son of 115),
 126. Mrs. Esther Baltimore (wife of Henry Baltimore),
 127. Miss Abigail Silverheels (daughter of George S.),
 128. Mrs. Lucy King,
 129. Miss Rhode Bates.

1847.

130. John Thomas (colored),
 131. Mrs. John Bennet,
 132. Mrs. Wm. Scott,
 133. Jonathan Johnson,
 134. Mrs. George Jimerson,
 135. Mrs. Samuel Gordon,
 136. Miss Nancy Wilson (daughter of Samuel),
 137. Miss Belsey W. Turkey,

1848.

138. Mrs. James Spring,
 139. Miss Nancy Tallchief,
 140. Samuel Gordon,
 141. John Jacket,
 142. Miss Martha E. Hoyt (white),
 143. Miss Mary Jacket (Mrs. Wm. Jones, daughter of John Jacket),
 144. Mrs. John Jacket.

1850.

145. Mrs. Saul Logan,
 146. Miss Lucy Tallchief.

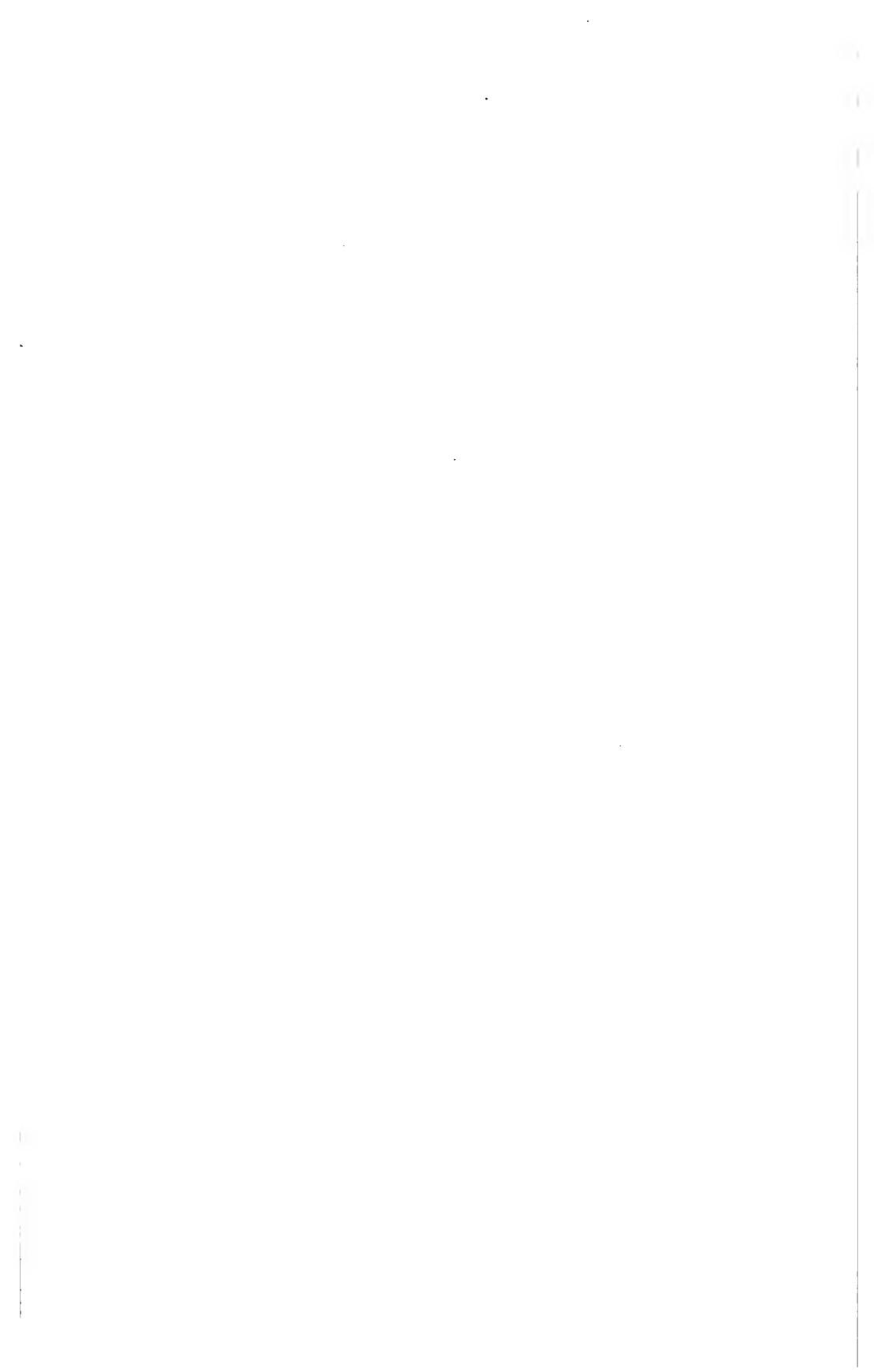
1850.

147. S. W. McLane,
 148. Mrs. S. W. McLane.

**THE LIFE OF
HORATIO JONES.**

BY

GEORGE H. HARRIS.



THE TRUE STORY of HOC-SA-GO-WAH PRISONER, PIONEER AND INTERPRETER

THE LIFE OF HORATIO JONES.

By GEORGE H. HARRIS.

INTRODUCTION.

The following narrative of the life and adventures of Horatio Jones was written by George H. Harris of Rochester. Having in view its publication as a volume by itself, he amplified the somewhat scanty personal data, by sketching the general history of the Six Nations Indians, among whom his hero spent the active years of his life. Could Mr. Harris have completed his work, on his original plan, this amplification would have been a welcome and appropriate feature; but Death stepped in, and the researches which had employed such time as Mr. Harris could gain from his daily duties, through a period of some fifteen years, were but partly recorded by his pen. He had written out the life of Horatio Jones, down to June, 1791. About a year ago the Buffalo Historical Society purchased the unfinished manuscript, and received with it the notes, correspondence and other papers which Mr. Harris had evidently designed to utilize in completing his history. From that material, and other sources, the editor of the present volume has endeavored to complete the story.

The narrative, for the most part, is printed as Mr. Harris wrote it; but it has been found advisable to rearrange it, and to omit certain discursive chapters which, although they would have been proper in the volume that Mr. Harris hoped to make, would be out of place in a series of Publications like the present, the purpose of which is to present new historical material. A genealogical chapter is also omitted, the data being presented more compactly, at the end of the narrative. One other chapter, which dealt with the captivity of Sarah Whitmore, has been condensed, the facts of that captivity being more fully given in a separate paper written by a descendant of the fair captive of the Mohawks, who became wife to Horatio Jones.

For most readers of this volume it is probably superfluous to state that Horatio Jones was a strikingly picturesque figure in the history of Western New York during the Revolution and the pioneer years that followed. As soldier-boy he was taken prisoner by the Senecas, and compelled to run the gauntlet. He was adopted by them, and took an Indian wife. He was made a chief, and shared in the councils of the tribe. No white man ever more closely allied himself with the Senecas. He lived among them for many years, serving as interpreter on many occasions of great importance in their councils and negotiations with the United States Government and with representatives of land companies. In 1798, in grateful recognition of his services, the Senecas induced the State to cede to him a square mile of land, now embraced within the limits of Buffalo. With his fellow-prisoner, Jasper Parrish, who also received a square mile, his name has been coupled for a century, and the history of land titles and deeds in the northwest part of Buffalo has many allusions to the "Jones and Parrish tracts." Even more than to the Niagara region, the story of Horatio Jones belongs to the Genesee valley, in which he was a pioneer settler and where his dust now reposes. His career was one of great usefulness; yet, important as he was in the history of so large a region, throughout many years, one may search in vain for any adequate records of the man's career. Mr. Harris appreciated this lack in the history of Western New York, and undertook, with a considerable degree of success, to supply what was needed. He appreciated too the dramatic and picturesque quality of the subject; and while he followed his hero's course with conscientious fidelity to facts, for which he searched indefatigably, he did not fail to bring out to the full the wealth of adventure and local color which more often appertain to romance than to matter-of-fact chronicles of history.

GEORGE H. HARRIS was a corresponding member of the Buffalo Historical Society, and at one time a resident of Buffalo. Shortly after his death, in Rochester, October 5, 1893, Mr. J. G. D'Olier prepared a memorial sketch, for the Rochester Academy of Science. From that paper the following data are drawn:

In the year 1816, there moved to Rochester from Otsego County, N. Y., a Mr. Daniel Harris. This gentleman purchased a farm which included what is now Mount Hope Cemetery, and built a log cabin in front of where Mr. Ellwanger's residence now stands. With other children he brought with him Daniel Ely Harris, a boy of three years. Young Daniel's boyhood was spent on the farm, sharing the hardships and pleasure of pioneer life.

In 1836, Daniel Harris married Miss Strickland, a relative of Agnes Strickland, author of "The Lives of the Queens of England," and a sister of General Silas A. Strickland. Of this marriage was

born George Henry Harris, the subject of our sketch, in West Greece, Monroe County, on the 29th of December, 1843.

During George Harris's early years his father was a contractor, which probably accounts for the fact that while yet a lad he had lived in Charlotte, Rochester, Hinsdale and Buffalo. His grandfather was also interested in public works and almost ruined himself on a contract to deepen a section of the Erie Canal, having to blast an immense quantity of rock not counted on. When George was a lad of twelve years his father moved with the family to Green Bay, Wisconsin, where he engaged in the lumbering business. As the boy was in delicate health the physician advised his father to take him out of school and let him run wild in the woods for a year. That year instilled in the boy a love of nature, canoe, camp and rifle that never waned while life lasted. It was always a pleasure to him to live over in memory those days, telling of the many adventures that he had with a young companion. Having regained his health he was apprenticed, at the age of fifteen, to a watchmaker. This man was a student of history, and without doubt it was largely due to his influence that the boy's taste turned to historical subjects. Three years later he came back to Rochester and entered Pierce's Military Academy. . . . As in everything he undertook he soon mastered the details of military tactics, and in 1863 he joined Company K, 54th Regiment, in which he held the rank of orderly sergeant. When his regiment was disbanded he returned to Rochester, and his health again failing, he engaged in farming for a time, after which he went to Oil City, and in the spring of 1868 to Omaha. Here, after trying farming and storekeeping, he was appointed on the night force of the postoffice. In this duty he came near ending his career in a bloody adventure with a burglar. Later he was appointed first mail clerk between Omaha and St. Joseph.

Trusting a friend to get out papers for a claim which he had taken up near Omaha, and upon which he had spent all his spare cash, he found like many another that the friend had played him false and had taken out the papers in his own name. Returning to Rochester he studied surveying and landscape gardening under Mr. Stillson at Mount Hope.

In 1872 he married Miss Julia E. Hughes, and moved to Peterborough, Canada, where he laid out and beautified the Little Lake Cemetery, which stands today a monument to his skill as a landscape gardener, being one of the most beautiful in the Dominion. Having finished his work in Peterborough he moved to Detroit, Mich., where he took charge of Elmwood Cemetery, but once more his delicate health stood in his way and he was forced to give it up. He then returned to Rochester. This was about 1877. . . . He took up the study of history, reading everything he could get relating in any way to the early settlement of the Genesee country, as well as all works bearing on the Seneca Indians. He also took long tramps following up the old Indian trails and locating their villages, looking up old settlers and gleaning from them all they could remember of pioneers and pioneer life. It was most interesting to listen to him catechise some old resident, awakening memories by some incident of long ago. Mr. Harris made friends wherever he went. His gentle nature, coupled with a rare faculty of thinking about the little things of life endeared him to his friends and companions. A striking characteristic was his capacity for details.

All his life Mr. Harris was a frequent contributor to the newspapers, and on all sorts of subjects. His best known work, that has made his name familiar to all students of our early Indian History, is "The Aboriginal Occupation of the Lower Genesee Country." The value of this work cannot be too highly estimated, containing as it does facts gathered from old residents, with whom would have perished much that is of great interest, had it not been for the untiring labors of Mr. Harris.

In Mr. Harris's terminology of the Genesee country he has left us a most valuable collection of Indian names. In tracing the Indian paths or trails that once crossed and re-crossed the Genesee valley like a network, he had a field of labor distinctively his own and that he excelled in it is witnessed by the following letter from the Honorable George S. Conover :

The Seneca Indians have long been aware of the great interest that George H. Harris of Rochester, N. Y., has manifested in resurrecting Indian history, and the energy he has exhibited in locating the sites of their former villages. On account of the remarkable success he has had in tracing out and locating the Indian paths or trails that once laced the Genesee valley, they have recognized and called him the Pathfinder. A letter lately received from Chester C. Lay, the United States interpreter for the Senecas on the Cattaraugus Reservation, says that in recognition of so eminent an Indianologist as Mr. Harris has become, it has been decided to show their appreciation by adopting him into the tribe and bestowing upon him the name of Ho-tar-shan-nyooh, meaning "he has found the path," or "the Pathfinder." As Mr. Lay is of the Wolf Clan, it necessarily follows that Mr. Harris among his Indian brethren will be recognized as a member of the Wolf Clan, the same clan to which Red Jacket belonged. This is a well-merited tribute and worthily bestowed, as Mr. Harris has been for many years a diligent and painstaking investigator of early local history, and has won for himself an enviable reputation, being an acknowledged authority on Indian antiquities of the region around Rochester and the Genesee valley.

(Signed)

Hy-WE-SAUS.

GENEVA, N. Y., February, 1889.

In making researches Mr. Harris was struck by the prominent part played in the early history of Western New York by Horatio Jones, his name recurring again and again. He was a man of good family, whose early training, coupled with a fine physique and wonderful powers of endurance, eminently fitted him for the remarkable sequence of adventures through which he passed. Running away from home when a boy, to fight the Indians, he was captured, made to run the gauntlet and finally adopted by a Seneca family. Becoming master of the language and customs, he obtained the entire confidence and esteem of the Indians and figured prominently in many important treaties as interpreter. Indeed Mr. Harris found this man to be so woven into the early history of the country that he became impressed with the idea of making him the grand figure around which to group the many startling scenes of early times. . . . Before he laid down his pen forever he had brought his hero down to a point where everything of historical value had been recorded, and it only required a few closing scenes to have the work ready for publication. Mr. Harris left many other manuscripts which, when compiled, will undoubtedly be of much public interest. . . .

Mr. Harris was an honorary member of the Buffalo, Waterloo, and Livingston County Historical Societies, and an active member of the Rochester Academy of Science, the Rochester Historical Society, and the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

THE LIFE OF HORATIO JONES.

I. THE CAPTURE.

In Western New York have occurred some of the most thrilling episodes of American history. The home of the fiercest of the Iroquois, it was early visited by the Jesuit and *courieur de bois*, the French explorer and invader, the scout and ranger. Among its pioneer population were men whose reckless daring furnished themes for song and story. Of the number Horatio Jones stood preëminent. His captivity, his conspicuous and picturesque career in the pioneer days of the Genesee Valley, and the region west to Lake Erie and the Niagara, his valuable services as interpreter and agent for the United States Government during its negotiations with the native owners of the soil, made him an important factor of the history of Western New York during the troublous times in which he lived. He was of Welsh ancestry, a descendant of the Rev. Malachi Jones who immigrated to America and settled at Abington, 14 miles north of Philadelphia, about 1714.* Horatio, the subject of this sketch, was the first child of William and Elizabeth (Hunter) Jones, and was born at Downington, Pa., Nov., 1763. William Jones, by trade a gunsmith, was a believer in the value of physical training; consequently, Horatio received the personal instructions of his father and early led his comrades in wrestling, riding, quoits, casting the sledge and

* Further genealogical data will be found in a subsequent chapter, at the close of the narrative.

other sports of the period. He was especially fleet in running. Unlike his brothers and sisters, Horatio had no great love for books and acquired only the rudiments of English. The influences of a refined home and intellectual associations left marks upon his manner and speech that were not obliterated in the years passed with rude, unlettered men. During his long life his language was correct and in his intercourse with those about him his bearing was indicative of gentle breeding.

In the workshop Horatio grew proficient in the use of tools, became an excellent mechanic, and though a mere youth, was assigned the difficult task of sighting the guns brought to his father for repairs. He thus became more skillful in the handling of arms than most men of the district. This mechanical and physical training and experience in woodcraft proved of great value to him in later days, while among the savages. From the soldiers and scouts who frequented his father's shop he gleaned facts regarding the nature and customs of the Indians that aided him greatly when he became associated with them in daily life.

Bedford County, Pennsylvania, was erected from Cumberland in 1770 and included all the northwestern part of the State. At the opening of the Revolution John Piper of Yellow Creek was appointed commandant of the county with the rank of lieutenant colonel. In 1777 he raised a regiment of minute men for home service. When the first Indian forays were made in Bedford County the inhabitants adopted means of defence. In place of Fort Bedford, which had been demolished several years previously, a stout stockade called Fetler's fort was erected at Frankstown on the Juniata, and smaller forts were erected in various localities. Fetler's fort was occupied by troops and termed the Frankstown garrison. In the spring of 1781, in consequence of the frequent depredations of the Indians, a body of Cumberland County militia, variously estimated at thirty-five to seventy-five, under command of Colonel Albright and Capt. Brown, were sent to Frankstown. Instead of scouring the country to discover the enemy the soldiers remained in garrison. In-

dian outrages continued and County Lieutenant Albright advised the settlers to organize a scouting party, promising to assist them with the Bedford Rangers.

The quasi-military life in which Horatio Jones passed his boyhood fostered a natural love for adventure and he looked forward impatiently to the time when he could bear arms as a profession. In 1777 he joined one of Col. Piper's companies of minute men as fifer and served one winter in camp. In his sixteenth year he enlisted in the Bedford Rangers, performing some service as a scout. When off duty he worked in his father's shop.

About the last of May, 1781, Capt. Boyd, then commanding the rangers, ordered a company to assemble for the purpose of joining the Frankstown scouts. Indian signs were being discovered and it was thought the scouts would have to do some fighting before they returned.

To Horatio's surprise his father objected to his accompanying the rangers on this occasion. The father thought him too young and that he would furnish one more scalp for the Indians. Horatio was greatly mortified at the unexpected edict, as he thought himself the equal save in age of several men in this company. He considered the refusal of his father based upon a regard for his personal safety. To the hot-headed youth it seemed cowardly to remain behind, when others were going into peril for the protection of his home. He thought it improbable that his father would recall him if he were fairly started. When the battle was over and he returned, public sentiment would approve his act. He decided to join the outgoing company and face parental displeasure.

A word now as to existing conditions in Western New York, with which our hero is soon to be concerned.

The "door of the long-house," or most western town of the Senecas prior to the Revolution, was located upon the present (1893) farm of Alonzo A. Arnold, in the town of Caneadea, on the east bank of the Genesee, some thirty miles above Little Beard's Town. The locative title of the place was Gah-ne-ya-de-o, "where the heavens rest or lean upon the earth," since corrupted to Caneadea. The heredit-

ary military sachem of the Iroquois league, Do-ne-ho-ga-weh, or "open door," had his residence there. The person bearing this title at the beginning of the Revolution was an aged man, who had in his early manhood taken the name of a white friend, Hutson, commonly called Hudson. It was a habit among the whites when they could not easily pronounce the Indian name of a chief to call him John; hence John Hudson, John Blacksmith, John Luke, John Abeel, Johnny John and a score of others. They in time lost their native designations. After this Seneca sachem became known as a military leader he was called Capt. Hudson. It is said he knew every hill and valley and stream of the section of New York and Pennsylvania lying between the Senecas on the Genesee and Alleghany, and the settlements of the whites on the Susquehanna in the same states. About 1770 Hudson's eldest son sickened and died and the second son of the sachem became the eldest of the family. He was known as Hah-yen-de-seh, "Dragging Wood," or "Hemlock Carrier." In the first campaigns of the Revolution he won rank as a chieftain of note. It is now impossible to distinguish the deeds of the old sachem from those of his son in the early years of the war.

The second chief at Caneadea in 1779 was Gah-nee-songo, "Man fond of berries." He and Hah-yen-de-seh had been friends from childhood, inseparable companions in peace and war, won their honors together and now ranked equally as chiefs. Gah-ne-songo was a dignified man of powerful frame and great strength. The British officers with whom he often associated, abbreviated his name to Shongo and after the Revolution he was termed Col. Shongo.*

Among the British adherents at Fort Niagara was a Capt. Nelles. In the same company with him was Lieut. Robert Nelles, his son. Early in the spring of 1781 Col. Butler ordered Nelles with his company to the Genesee. Marching to Gah-an-o-deo he procured a log house, took an Indian wife and set up housekeeping in primitive style. Not caring for the fatigue and discomforts of a forest march

* His descendants now reside on the Cattaraugus Reservation, and in Buffalo.

at that season of the year, Capt. Nelles placed a platoon of men under the command of his son and rallied the Indians under the lieutenant in an expedition to Pennsylvania to cut off bodies of continental troops passing between the Susquehanna and Ohio rivers. Hey-en-de-seh had changed his residence to a town afterwards known as Ah-wes-coy, on the west side of the Genesee, about seven miles below Caneadea. The latter name was also applied to the valley lying between the two villages. In later days Shongo told a Mr. Baker that John Hudson and himself were the leaders of the expedition. As it was organized at the lower town the one to whom Shongo referred was probably Hah-yen-de-seh, though old Captain Hudson accompanied and guided the party.

While preparations for the expedition were in progress one family of Senecas residing at Ah-wes-coy viewed them with sorrow. In a previous foray upon a settlement of whites the members of this family had lost a son and brother, a promising young brave named To-an-do-qua. The season of mourning had nearly passed, yet the mother refused to be reconciled. The stir and confusion in the town reminded her of that other time when her brave son marched proudly away into the forest never to return. She reflected upon the probable results of the contemplated expedition and became inspired with the idea of averting, in a degree, the horrors of warfare by securing the capture, instead of the killing, of some innocent youth. With this thought in mind the woman approached a chief named Do-eh-saw* who resided at Deonundagao. Though in outward appearance an Indian, the chief was really a half-breed son of a white trader, and was generally known as Jack Berry. He was a powerful man, though not above medium height, swift on foot, brave and in the forefront of any conflict in which he engaged; yet he was kind-hearted and the Seneca mother knew he had been a good friend to her boy. To this man the woman made a request, that, from the sol-

* The word signifies one who propels, pushes, himself or makes either progress or resistance like a sturdy or obstinate animal; the idea being strength and courage as manifested in a beast of burden, like a mule.

diers the Indians were going to attack, he would bring her the youngest captive they might take, to replace the lost To-an-do-qua. As a sign of her commission to him and of her right to the prisoner, she gave Do-eh-saw a belt of wampum bearing her clan totem and family mark. The chief accepted the belt and promised to consider her request.

When the British-Indian expedition left the Genesee, it consisted of Lieut. Nelles commanding, his platoon of rangers, nearly a hundred warriors and some squaws. They crossed the Genesee early in May, took the Niagara trail southward through Chautauqua valley, crossed over to the Canisteo, down that stream to the Tioga, thence by Pine Creek (Ti-a-dagh-ton) to the west branch of the Susquehanna (Ot-zin-ach-son), marched through forest trails, and established their camp about a two days' journey from Bedford. It was a custom of the Indians to form such a camp as a base of operations, where they left the women and baggage, the warriors going and coming as they pleased.

From the reserved camp the warriors advanced to the Juniata intending to attack some of the forts, or to cut off troops on the march. It appears that Shongo led a band some distance down the Juniata, but learning of the number of soldiers at Frankstown fort, he proceeded up the river and joined Hudson, who had formed a temporary camp at a place called Hart's Log. Thence they sent out runners to watch the garrison. These spies saw white scouts in the vicinity and notified the chiefs, who hastily called a council. They decided to form an ambuscade at a favorable place on the river, so the war-party retreated into the forest to await the coming night.

The white scouts discovered the camp, found it recently abandoned and hurried to Frankstown to give the alarm. The Indians permitted their safe return, hoping, by so doing, to secure a larger number of victims at a later hour. The place selected for ambush was near a ford of the river not far from the fort. The location seemed to afford little opportunity for the concealment of a body of men, but the

Iroquois were adepts in forest stratagem and laid their plans with skill.

June 2d the scouting party assembled at Holliday's fort, a mile or so below Fetler's. This fort had been built for a stable but was a strong building and had been loop-holed for a garrison or to serve as a place of refuge. Instead of a full company of rangers there were Capt. Boyd, Lieutenant Woods, and eight men; the volunteers numbering twenty-three or four men, including several of the most experienced woodsmen and Indian fighters of the Alleghany frontier. The personnel of the company was about as follows: Capt. John Boyd, the eldest of three brothers—William fell at the battle of the Brandywine and Thomas was horribly tortured and killed at the Genesee Castle in 1779; Lieutenant Harry Woods, a son of the George Woods of Bedford, released from Fort Du Quesne in 1756 through Chief Hudson; Capt. Moore, one of the famous Moore family of Scotch Valley; he with Lieutenant Smith had recruited nearly all the volunteers; Capt. Dunlap, a militia officer then off regular duty; Lieut. John Cook, a relative of the Col. Wm. Cook of Northumberland County, under whom Moses Van Campen first served.

These men were versed in Indian warfare, of tried courage and patriotism. Among the men in the ranks were William and Adam Holliday; James Summerville, son-in-law of Adam Holliday; Thomas and Michael Coleman; a George Jones and brother; Michael Wallack; Edward Milligan; William and John McDonald; Ross; Ricketts; Beatty; Gray; Johnson, and Horatio Jones. Whether the Jones brothers were relatives of Horatio or not is not known.

The Americans wore the dress of the frontiersmen of that time: A cap, hunting-shirt or frock, breeches or leggins, and moccasins. The frock was gathered at the waist by a belt tied in the back. Bullet-pouch, wadding and other small articles were carried in the frock above the belt, from which were suspended a tomahawk and hunting-knife. The moccasins were of dressed deer skins made with flaps reaching to the shin, and secured by long strings bound around the

ankles and legs. Each man was also armed with a rifle and its equipments.

These men set out for Fetler's where they planned to spend the following day, Sunday, thence to march through the Kitanning Gap to a road that led to Pittsburg, and home by way of Bedford. While completing their arrangements to leave Fetler's the two scouts came in and reported the discovery of the Indian camp at Hart's Log, saying the savages probably numbered twenty-five or thirty, the fires were still burning and the enemy doubtless near at hand. A fight was probable and the scouts were eager for the fray. The officers felt sure the savages would not venture into the settlement until the following day and thought best to march out and meet the invaders near the mouth of the gap. They tendered the command to Colonel Albright and asked him to permit some of his men, who were anxious to go, to accompany them. The Colonel refused both requests, not allowing his men to leave the fort.

Just before daylight Sunday morning they ate breakfast, took five days' provisions, loaded their rifles and started for the mountains. A narrow path ran close along the river; the men marched in single file, with Capt. Boyd at their head, in command. A thick fog rendered even near objects invisible. The scouts deemed this condition a favorable one as it would conceal them from observation. The obscurity covered all traces of the ambuscade as well. When the company reached the flat within thirty rods of Sugar Run, the British and Indians poured a murderous volley into the single line of scouts and, springing up with tomahawks in hand, awoke the echoes of the wilderness with appalling yells. The surprise was complete. A number fell, several fled without discharging their guns, but Capt. Boyd, Lieut. Cook and a few other veteran fighters bravely held their ground, raised a yell and returned fire, killing some of the savages.

Seeing they were greatly outnumbered, Boyd ordered his gallant men to save themselves. They at once scattered. As Boyd turned to run the Indians pursued. They struck him several times with their tomahawks before he surren-

dered. Lieut. Cook was a powerful man and swift runner, but the four warriors who pursued him threw their weapons and knocked him down, when he was promptly secured.

Capt. Dunlap, Ross and the two McDonalds who were in Boyd's company, were seized upon the battle ground. Lieut. Woods discharged his rifle and with Wallack and Summerville crossed the river, running up what was later known as O'Friel's Ridge, pursued by Hay-en-de-seh, who calculated either to kill or capture the three men. Summerville's moccasin became loose and as he stooped to fix it the chief approached with uplifted tomahawk. Woods aimed his empty rifle at the Indian who sheltered himself behind a tree, but quickly recognizing the officer shouted out, "No hurt you Woods! No hurt you Woods!" exposing himself to view. Woods, seeing that he was the son of the Seneca chief who had saved his father from torture in 1756, and had often visited at the senior Woods' in Bedford, dropped his gun. Hudson made no further demonstration of hostility and allowed the other two rangers to escape over the ridge. One of the Jones brothers was the first to reach the fort with news of the disaster. Capt. Young started out with help to bring in the wounded. The other Jones brother had been killed and scalped. Five wounded men were found as well as the mutilated bodies of nearly half the company.

When the first volley was fired Horatio was marching proudly along in line. Deafened by the firing and half blinded by the smoke, he was caught in the sudden rush of those who fled and carried to the middle of the river. The rattle of musketry, the yells of the savages, the shrieks of the wounded filled the air. Forgetting his visions of bravery he sprang up the bank and ran straight away from the scene of action. Suddenly two Indians appeared before him with leveled guns; in presence of more immediate danger his scattered senses began to return, and while he changed his direction he wondered if this were indeed his last moment. He glanced over his shoulder and saw the Indians in hot pursuit. Seeing that he had gained upon them and encouraged by a hope of escape he turned about,

raised his rifle to his shoulder, took aim at the foremost pursuer and pulled the trigger. It missed fire and to his dismay he discovered that the priming had been wet in the river and that the weapon was useless; but when he raised his rifle the Indians had dropped to the ground to disconcert his aim and thus had not discovered the condition of his gun.

Comprehending that his escape now depended upon his fleetness alone, Horatio closed the rifle pan, renewed his flight, crossed the valley and began to ascend the hill. Just then, the long string of one of his moccasins becoming loose, it began snapping about his legs, impeding his progress. The fog was clearing up; he thought he heard some one call him. Looking back again he saw the foremost warrior raise his hand and heard him shout in plain English, "Stop boy, stop!" At that instant the vexatious moccasin string caught in a shrub throwing him heavily to the ground. Though stunned by the shock he retained his senses and hastily attempted to rise. Finding his foot fastened he made a violent effort to free himself, rolled over and sat up. As the pursuers came up, gun in hand, it was evident to him that any further effort to escape would result in being shot. He decided to sit still. As the Indians approached, Horatio looked steadily at them to discover some intimation of their intentions, and if necessary, make a desperate effort at defence. The mild manner of the leading warrior dissipated his fears and he made no show of resistance. The Indian halted within a few feet of him, dropped the butt of his rifle to the ground, leaned upon the muzzle, looked smilingly down at the young ranger and addressed him pleasantly:

"No be scart, me no hurt you; you berry nice boy; you run like deer; you make fine Indian boy; me good friend; me help you." Stooping over he released the strings, fastened the moccasin, placed his hand on Horatio's shoulder and said quietly but authoritatively "Dis-dot" ("get up"). Notwithstanding the smiling face, the sharp eyes watched every motion of the captive with keen interest, and as the latter stood up submissively the warrior took from his own person a belt of wampum and placed it around Horatio's

neck. Picking up the rifle he removed the flint, threw out the wet powder, handed the weapon to the boy and, still smiling, extended his hand saying, "Go with me." Reassured, Horatio suffered his captors to lead him back to a spot near the point from which he first started to escape. Then the two Indians took away his weapons, bound a blanket about his legs so that he could move only at a slow walk, and left him in the company of some of his late comrades, who were huddled together under the care of five or six young warriors.

II. THE MARCH.

Horatio now had the opportunity to look about; he carefully noted every particular of his surroundings. The conflict was over and singly and in groups the Indians were returning from the pursuit of the fleeing Americans, bringing in two or three more captives. Near by lay the bodies of several rangers and warriors. As the boy stood staring at the inanimate forms, trying to realize what had happened, the savages set to work scalping the dead soldiers. The mutilated bodies of the whites were stripped and left upon the ground, while the greatest efforts were made to conceal the remains of the warriors. The arms and other effects of the dead men were gathered and placed in heaps; the most important trophies of the fight were nine scalps exultantly flaunted before the shrinking captives. During this time the British and Indians scrutinized the prisoners to see if any of them could be identified. The general interest soon centered upon Horatio Jones, at whom the savages stared with undisguised curiosity. He was a perfect specimen of vigorous, healthful youth, with light complexion, ruddy cheeks, grey eyes and hair tending to auburn, a color greatly admired by the black-haired savages. "Hoc-sa-ah hoc-sa-go-wah" ("the boy is very handsome"), they said; but the object of their admiration did not understand their remarks, and his fears were excited by these attentions which

ceased only when the warriors gathered in a group to talk over the situation.

The prisoners now exchanged a few words of condolence and expressed to each other the belief that their comrades who had escaped would soon return with a large party to rescue them. Their hopes were not to be realized. That the soldiers had marched out to attack them convinced the leaders of the war party that Fort Fetler was strongly garrisoned, and that a larger party of troops would speedily be sent out to avenge the defeat of the rangers. A number had been killed and they were now encumbered with prisoners and plunder. They decided to retreat. The plunder was tied in large packages and fastened on the shoulders of the captives, who were placed in the middle of the party, and the band immediately took the back trail into the wilderness.

The prisoners included Capts. Boyd and Dunlap, Lieutenant Cook, the two McDonalds, Ross, Johnson and Horatio Jones, the last being the youngest of the party, though others were quite young. Each captive had a blanket bound about his legs to prevent an attempt to escape; the grass was still wet with dew, the blankets became saturated and obstructed the movements of the men to such a degree that they were removed.

After marching at a rapid rate for several hours, Capt. Dunlap, who was severely wounded, showed signs of exhaustion. Blows failed to keep him in pace with the warriors; at last he was so weak that he staggered under his load. Without the slightest warning a painted savage stepped behind the wounded man, buried a tomahawk deep in his neck and jerked him over backwards. As the officer fell, the wretch stripped off his scalp and left him quivering in the agonies of death. Dunlap's fate was a frightful warning to his companions of what they themselves might expect. They dare not exhibit the slightest resentment of the deed, and the stern commands of their masters, together with blows from the tomahawk handles, hastened them onward. In the afternoon a runner was sent ahead to notify

the reserve camp of the return party and to hasten their preparations for a speedy departure.

They reached the camp in the evening. They knew that the white scouts could trace their party to camp, and fearing a large force would attack them, they halted only long enough to allow the squaws to finish packing, when the entire band moved on. Years later Horatio Jones would recall the horrors of that night's march. Some of the captives had had no sleep the previous night, and all had marched at a rapid rate many hours without food. Borne down by heavy burdens, urged along by cruel savages, faint, fearful that each moment might be their last, they stumbled forward in the darkness. After many hours' travel in the dense gloom, the leaders called a halt. Warriors and captives alike threw themselves upon the ground too weary to think of aught but rest; they sank into uneasy slumber.

At daylight they rose from the damp earth and resumed their journey. Although they had then reached a point beyond the probable danger of being overtaken by a pursuing force, they were still within range of scouting parties sent out from stations along the West Branch and liable any moment to an attack; hence they preserved strictest silence and moved with caution. All that day the party hastened through the shadows of the forest, spending another miserable night on the ground without shelter, fire or food. The third day even the Indians were visibly suffering. No hunting was allowed, not a gun having been discharged since the battle. The third afternoon a bear was discovered and to prevent starvation a warrior fired at and killed it. The band halted and gathered about the carcass, which was soon cut in pieces and distributed. The prisoners received as their portion the entrails and a small quantity of flesh, which was devoured raw; the long fast had destroyed all sense of taste.

Not long after this the company crossed the Susquehanna and camped for the night in a secluded spot near the Sinnemahoning Creek. Scouts sent out to scour the neighborhood returned with a fair supply of meat and the information that no sign of the enemy could be discovered.

The food and a prospect of a night's rest would have made the prisoners comparatively happy but for the uncertainty regarding their future. Knowing Indian customs, they had reason to believe that they were driven alive through the wilderness only to suffer torture at the stake. Their fears were but too speedily realized.* Capt. Boyd, faint from the loss of blood, was tied to an oak sapling and compelled to be a spectator of the torture of Ross. It was his turn next and he quietly resigned himself to his fate. While these fiends were making preparations to torture him, he sang a pathetic Free-Masons' song with a plaintive voice that attracted their attention; they listened to it very closely till he was through.

At this critical moment an elderly squaw came up and claimed him for her son. The Indians did not interfere. She dressed his wounds and attended him carefully through the remainder of the journey. "Lieutenant Cook's captors amused themselves by burning his legs with fire brands and as he was exhausted from the loss of blood from his wounds he was scarcely able to walk."†

On leaving Sinnemahoning Creek the Indians thought themselves so safe that they began to relax in vigilance, were not so careful about making a noise, and permitted their prisoners greater liberty of action; they also sent out hunting parties, without however much success, for the frequent passage of war parties had driven most of the larger game away from the trails. In the afternoon the hunters joined the main body on the march. They had succeeded in killing a deer and as the place where they met was a convenient one in which to camp, there being plenty of water and wood, they were soon busy with their preparations for supper and the night. The captives were all so bound that they could not travel faster than a walk nor use

* "Ross was very badly wounded," says J. F. Meginness in his history of the West Branch of the Susquehanna called "Otzinachson," "and being unable to travel, his captors determined to massacre him in a cruel manner. He was fastened to a stake, his body stuck full of pitch pine splinters and fire applied. They danced around him making the woods resound with their hideous yells. His tortures were terrible but at length death put an end to his sufferings."

† Meginness.

their hands to relieve themselves of their burdens. Their assistance being needed in making camp, their bonds were loosened and their packs taken off. Some of the young Indians were ordered to prepare the deer and bring in the venison and Jones was told to go with them. Cheered by a measure of freedom and with the prospect of a supper and willing to show his good will in the matter, he pushed to the front where he found himself by the side of a savage, who, by general assent seemed to be the leader of the party. This warrior was small and lean with short bowed legs. His profile reminded Horatio of a reaping-hook sharpened on the outer edge, but he was wiry and as he moved along there was evidence of muscular power that suggested unusual strength. In fact, in spite of his appearance, he was the fleetest runner among the Senecas, and had been employed as messenger by the officers at Fort Niagara, who jestingly said he ran so swiftly his shins cut the air. He thus became known to the whites as Sharp Shins.*

Up to this time Sharp Shins had never been beaten on foot and the Indians had no fear that the captive could escape while the famous runner bore him company; but Horatio had no knowledge of the powers of his companion and no other thought than a desire to obtain a supper of meat as speedily as possible. The party set off at a smart run and the white boy quickly took the lead; becoming aware that the captive was in advance Sharp Shins gave a shrill yell drawing the attention of the entire party, and darted forward. Horatio had taken a dislike to the runner and determined not to let him have the satisfaction of winning in the race. Putting forth all his energies he increased the distance between himself and the Indians and reached the carcass of the deer several feet in advance of Sharp Shins. When the attention of the warriors was called to the race by the yell of the runner they shouted their approval, but as the captive gained in the lead it occurred to them that he was attempting to escape and nearly the entire band joined in pursuit. As soon as Horatio halted beside the deer he was surrounded by the excited warriors

* His Seneca name was Ha-ah-ta-o, "He climbs."

who whirled their tomahawks about his head to the consternation of his fellow-prisoners who expected to see him butchered on the spot. Appreciating the gravity of the situation he folded his arms and stood like a statue in the center of a circle of whooping savages. Some one called out in the Indian tongue that the boy was not trying to escape and that he should be praised and not hurt as he had beaten their swiftest runner in a fair race. Satisfied that this was the case the mood of the warriors instantly changed and their demonstrations of delight were unrestrained. Yelling with glee they cut ridiculous capers and cried out, "Hoc-sa-go-wah ha-yah-no-weh; sa-qart-neh-ga-ha"; ("The handsome boy is a fast runner; he runs like the wind"). Then as if by a common impulse they desired to attest his victory over their comrade they repeated the phrase "Ha-yah-no-weh, ha-yah-no-weh"; ("He is a fast runner; he is a fast runner"). Sharp Shins, amazed at his defeat stood sullenly aside. When his fellow warriors continued to taunt him his rage was beyond control and drawing his tomahawk he rushed furiously at Horatio and attempted to strike him down. The others promptly interposed and Do-eh-saw claiming the captive lad as his personal property, dared the defeated runner to injure him at his peril.

The speed which had been exhibited by Horatio on two occasions convinced them he could distance their fastest runners in a fair race, and they determined to disable him from making a third display of his prowess. They seized him, dragged him roughly back to camp, laid him upon his back, stretched out his legs and arms, tied each with thongs to a separate tree, pinned the thongs closely to the earth with crotched sticks, then drove stakes crosswise over his arms, legs and body. Satisfied that the boy could not move the Indians turned their attention to the carcass of the deer, which was hastily skinned. As before, they gave the intestines to the prisoners, but on dividing the meat a fair portion was allotted each captive except Horatio. At sunset rain set in and fell steadily through the night upon the motionless form of the young ranger,

chilling him through. If an occasional thought of the comfortable home and loving family he had left obtruded itself it was quickly crowded out of his mind by the pains of intense hunger. He could smell the burning flesh as great pieces were thrown upon the hot coals to roast, but the savages did not give him a mouthful. The savory scent tantalized his senses during the long hours of that miserable night. Our frontier boy knew that his existence and future comfort depended entirely upon his fortitude and endurance. He lay without complaint until the dawn of day aroused the camp and the expedition was ready to resume the march. His apparent indifference to his physical sufferings and his manifest good humor when released had their effect upon the warriors. They seemed to think they had been too severe with him and in some measure to atone for their unnecessary cruelty they gave him a substantial breakfast of venison and permitted him to dry his clothes and warm himself by the fire. Upon resuming the march they permitted him to walk unbound, and by and by relieved him of his pack. Horatio was satisfied he owed these indulgences to his captor Do-eh-saw and determined to show his gratitude in every way he could. During the day he kept close to him and sought to win his confidence.

In order to secure captives at night the Indians usually made a rude sort of stocks by cutting down a tree and hacking notches a few inches in depth along the fallen trunk. Prisoners were then compelled to place their ankles in the notches. A pole was put on the tree trunk above them and fastened down tight with cross stakes driven into the ground. A second and heavier pole was laid in the V formed by the cross sticks. In addition a cord was passed over the bodies of the victims and under several Indians at each end. Horatio was left unbound that night when the other prisoners were secured.

He crept closely to Do-eh-saw and encouraged by a friendly smile lay quietly down by him. Thereafter he slept always by that warrior's side. He began to look upon Do-eh-saw as a trusty friend and protector. He soon became convinced that as long as he kept up with the rest in the

march and made no effort to escape he had little reason to fear immediate danger from the party. From the hour he was relieved of his own pack he helped Johnson, who was over sixty years of age, with his, and frequently availed himself of his own freedom of action to assist other comrades less able than himself to endure fatigue.

From the Sinnemahoning Creek the war-party crossed the country to the Tioga River and followed that stream to the mouth of the Cohocton, on their homeward journey. Here they decided to halt for a few days' rest. The camping place was known as Da-ne-ne-ta-quen-deh, "where two valleys come together."* Here several principal Indian trails crossed and it was frequented by Indians journeying east, west, north and south. Several wigwams were located near the river and there were many cultivated fields about. A huge post painted in a fantastic manner to represent an enemy stood in the open. When war parties halted at the camp they usually held brag dances about the post. Any one could brag and dance after making a small present to the "master of ceremonies," usually the head warrior. The proceeds were a benefit for the whole party.

After their arrival the Genesee warriors proposed to hold a dance on the second evening. Large fires were started to give light, and Indians, British and prisoners, gathered in a great circle about the post. Most of the audience sat or lay on the ground smoking pipes, some Indians on one side beating a small drum and shaking rattles, occasionally accompanying the instruments with monotonous vocal exercises which were anything but inspiring to the white prisoners. The dancer advanced to the post, pranced about it, and addressed it as though the thing were a real enemy. Recounting in a loud voice the history of his personal achievements, the braggart danced or rather mimicked the motions of the act described, derided his imaginary foe in

* This was a descriptive term applied to other similar localities and had no local significance with Painted Post. It was also applied to the present location of Bath, and Dr. Lewis H. Morgan renders it "Do-na-ta-ta gwen-da," "Opening in an opening." Horatio Jones narrated these facts about Painted Post to Orlando Allen. The first white settlers found the post and named the place Painted Post, now Erwin, Steuben Co., N. Y.

unmeasured terms, then striking the post with his tomahawk retired amid loud applause. When the scenes of the Juniata Valley were rehearsed by the savage participants and the scalps of the murdered rangers were paraded before the survivors, all their courage was needed to prevent an outbreak of their rage. Prudence forbade any show of feeling, and hiding their resentment they sat quietly among the crowd of Indians and British until the hateful ceremonies ended.

From the hour of his capture Horatio had worn the belt of wampum placed about his neck by his captor, who had cautioned him not to lose it nor permit any person to remove it. He perceived that he was treated more leniently than his comrades were and could not but think that the belt of wampum was in some way connected with the preference. Do-eh-saw understood and could speak the English language fairly well but he was taciturn with Jones; however he was good-natured and frankly answered questions. As time passed on and the young protégé grew in favor the Indian became somewhat communicative. While the war-party lay at the painted post, Horatio ventured to ask for an explanation from the chief. Do-eh-saw told him that an Indian mother had sent out the belt to secure for herself from among the prisoners taken the youngest to be a son to her in place of her own boy, lost in a recent foray, and accordingly he was to be given to the woman after they reached the Seneca village; that his interest in Horatio was accepted by the warriors and that they all looked upon the young captive as one of their own people; hence he need have no fear of being ill-treated upon the journey. But Do-eh-saw also told him that it was the custom of the Indians to "caress" all captives brought to their villages; in other words the inhabitants vented their spite by beating the prisoners and many times taking their lives. This was a rule and no male prisoner was exempt, as it afforded those who had been left at home a chance to vent their vindictiveness upon their enemies. Even if his captor adopted him he could not save him from the perils of the gauntlet as it was considered a test of the victim's courage and endurance.

When the war-party should reach the home village all the captives were alike to be subjected to the trial; if Horatio lived through it his future was assured.

From the "painted post" the band followed up the Canisteo valley, through the Chautauqua valley,* along the main Niagara trail to the vicinity of what is now known as Hunt's Hollow, Livingston Co., New York. Here, leaving the Niagara trail, they turned to the south and descended the hillside to the bottom of a deep valley where a swift stream flowed over the rocks. "Kish-a-wah," Do-eh-saw answered when Horatio asked him the name of the creek. Crossing the stream, they camped on the southern bank near the ground now known as Hunt's Hollow. A spring of excellent water flowed from the hillside and there were many indications that the spot had long been a favorite resort of the Indians. The prisoners had now become familiar with their captors and while the vigilance of the latter was unrelaxed they were friendly enough and shared with their captives their scanty provisions. The prisoners collected sticks and brush for the camp fires and as the shadows of evening deepened in the valley many of the men gathered in groups. Horatio was seated by Do-eh-saw, who was smoking his pipe near a fire, when he noticed that the warrior was more than usually grave: he soon found out that he was concerned about his young protégé. He told the boy that on the morrow they would reach the Genesee. He described to Horatio the manner of the prisoners' reception and charged him to keep as close to him as he could and strictly to follow whatever orders he might give him; if so, perhaps some of the horrors of running the gauntlet might be avoided. So saying the kindly Indian stretched himself upon the ground to sleep and Horatio lay by his side, thinking of the approaching day and what his fate might be.

When the sun rose on the morning of June 20th upon the valley of the Kishawa the camp was aroused by the sentries posted by Lieut. Nelles. The soldiers brightened their firearms and the warriors adorned their persons in the finery they had captured, painted their faces and displayed

* In the northeastern corner of Allegany county.

upon their lances the captured scalps. A small body of Indians led the way up the hillside, the rangers marching next. Then came the prisoners, followed by the main body of the savage party. After passing over comparatively level ground, the trail led down a steep slope through a broad hollow and struck a small brook, followed down its course, sometimes along the edge of the water which it occasionally crossed, the passage growing narrower and the pathway steeper as they went on. The ravine was densely wooded, and gloomy, and the hearts of the captives were oppressed by forebodings. Constantly descending, it seemed to them an endless path before they came to a break in the foliage, emerged from the dense shadows, and stood in the bright sunlight upon the bank of the Genesee. The river swept around the foot of the hill down which they had come, and was in sight for a short distance only, but the captives saw stretched before them a great valley enclosed by densely wooded slopes. Turning to the left the party followed the trail along the foot of the slope forming the east side of the valley, and within an hour halted upon the river opposite to the home village of these Senecas.

III. THE GAUNTLET.

In an open space several acres in extent a few bark huts, ordinary houses, and a large building of hewn logs were visible. This last stood by itself upon an elevation a quarter of a mile away. It was well made after the style of the better class of frontier buildings; it had been put up by English carpenters from Niagara. A white flag was flying from a staff on the roof, marking it as the "long house" or council house of the village.

The warriors gathered in a compact body and uttered a series of yells to announce their arrival, the losses the party had sustained and the number of captives and scalps they had brought home. The echoes had scarcely ceased reverberating along the hills, when men, women and children armed with tomahawks, clubs, knives, whips and other

weapons came running from all directions of the town, forming two disorderly lines extending from the council house down nearly to the river opposite to the place where the war party stood. While these movements were in progress the prisoners stood in the midst of their grim captors watching the proceedings, and as they saw the extent and nature of the preparations for their reception their hopes died within them. It seemed impossible that anyone should escape death or mortal injuries while attempting to run through those formidable lines of savages, who had all lost friends in encounters with the whites and many of whom had undoubtedly been bereft of near relatives in this very expedition and were exasperated to the height of fury.* Before giving the order to cross the river Lieut. Nelles addressed the prisoners, saying he thought it right to tell them that immediately after reaching the opposite side, when the word should be given, they were to run for their lives and endeavor to reach the house on the hill where the white flag was waving. According to Indian usage any person in the lines of people they saw had a right to strike, wound or kill them and they could expect no mercy before they succeeded in getting into it; once there they would be safe until the council decided their fate.

Crossing the stream, fordable at that point, with the prisoners in the van, the party ascended the bank. On reaching the level ground the signal was given. Boyd and William McDonald, hoping to gain some slight advantage by a sudden start, instantly bounded forward and were at once followed by all the other captives except Horatio. Their appearance was greeted by a chorus of yells and shrieks as the mob of young men, women and children rushed forward like wild beasts, each one frantically struggling to strike a blow at the victims.

Do-eh-saw had been standing in the front rank of the war-party with Horatio by his side. As the other prisoners started he moved in front of Horatio, concealing him until the attention of the mob was entirely occupied with the other captives who had made considerable headway, when

* Orlando Allen's narrative.

he suddenly stepped aside, gave Horatio a push and said, "Run, boy, run!" Horatio nerved himself for the trial. Seeing the advantage of this slight delay and confident of his fleetness he put forth his greatest energies. The attention of the Indians nearest him was so engrossed by what was going on ahead that Jones fled past them unobserved until he had nearly overtaken the party in advance, when the Indians began to aim their blows at him. These he avoided as best he could by dodging from side to side and passing some of the captives, when he found himself near Boyd, McDonald and Johnson, all of whom had reached the "long house" slightly in advance of himself. The men had been roughly handled and were bleeding from many wounds, but according to Indian usage were entitled to free entrance to the council house and immunity from further abuse. Three or four ferocious young Indians were huddled about the door with uplifted weapons, and, despite the warning cries from the older warriors attacked the three white men. The leader, a young savage named the Wolf, was armed with a sword. As Johnson came up the savage struck him a frightful blow with the sword taking off the top of his head. Horatio was so near the victim that brains were dashed over his face and breast. The young demon slashed and hacked again and again at Johnson's body. Fear for himself gave place in Horatio's bosom to rage at the cowardly murder and he paused to avenge him, but the comrades of the Wolf, beginning to attack the rest of the prisoners who were struggling in the doorway, he turned suddenly to one side and came face to face with Sharp Shins, who stood with raised tomahawk ready to cleave his skull.

From the time of his defeat in the race for the deer Sharp Shins had avoided the fleet-footed young ranger, biding his time to avenge his defeat. He had been sent in advance to announce the home-coming of the party, and had stationed himself in line near the council house, not doubting that Horatio would succeed in reaching that goal, where he could be sure of the chance to tomahawk him. The sudden turn made by his intended victim disconcerted him and he hesitated to strike. Before the revengeful savage could

rally Horatio had dashed through a break in the mob; with a howl of rage Sharp Shins hurled his axe at the fleeing form. To the day of his death Horatio Jones never recalled, without a shudder, the sound produced by the whirling tomahawk as it passed close to his head and buried itself in the earth. Whether he was indebted for his escape to his own skill in dodging the missile or to the haste of the thrower he never knew.

With the idea prominent in his mind that he must obtain entrance to the council house, he instinctively turned towards the building and dodged around the corner. The wall of the building was unbroken by door or window. A path leading into a thicket close at hand opened before him. With a bound he was in the bush and out of sight of the struggling mob. Pursuing the path with all his speed he quickly emerged from the thicket into a clearing where he discovered, only a few feet in advance, a rude house, past the door of which the path led.

On arrival of the runner with the news of the returning expedition the Seneca mother, who had commissioned Berry to bring her a son, being unwilling to witness the cruelties of the gauntlet, remained in her home with her daughter, while the male members of the family joined in the frightful ceremonies. From their house in the woods the women heard the whoops announcing the arrival of the war-party. As the dreadful race began they could distinguish the sounds of turmoil and the approach towards the long house. Standing at the opening serving as a window to their humble home, they listened closely to note the first indication that the captives had passed the ordeal. Suddenly the bushes growing along the path leading to the long house were agitated as by the passage of one in haste, and a boy, dazed by fright, dashed into the opening. Was it Providence that warmed the heart of his captor, assisted the lad to escape the perils of the gauntlet and led his footsteps to the only habitation in all that wilderness in which he could escape death? Was it instinct that directed the attention of the Indian woman to the wampum belt on the breast of the terrified young runner, or an over-ruling Providence? At

a glance she recognized the token she had sent forth to the settlements of the whites. With a cry to the daughter the woman ran out of the doorway as the boy came near. Before he could fully realize the occurrence the women caught him in their arms, pushed him into the house, secreted him under a bench of poles that ran around the side of the house, and placed blankets in front which concealed him from view, then calmly resumed their station at the window. The panting fugitive had scarcely had time to reflect that the action of the squaws indicated a desire on their part to befriend him, when he heard footsteps approach and excited voices at the door, some reply in the native tongue from the elder woman and footsteps receding, apparently in an opposite direction from that from which they came. Hardly had these sounds ceased when the squaw drew the covering aside and called the boy forth. He rolled out of his close quarters and stood before them ready to obey their commands. The women placed themselves in front of him, drew their blankets around all three in such a manner as to conceal him from observation and stepped out of the door.

Jones was so confounded by the rapidity of events that he felt impelled to place confidence in his strange friends, and closely followed their hurried lead, he knew not whither. He could hear the soft pat of their moccasined feet upon the hard ground, the rustle of branches as they passed through obstructing brush, the murmur of voices and the tramp of men about him; he could feel the sway of his guides as they pushed through a crowd of people, and he fancied the beating of his heart would betray him. Then he felt an inclination to throw off the sheltering folds that held him in darkness and face death openly.

Suddenly the grip upon his arms tightened, he was jerked forward, then stopped so sharply that but for the restraining hands of the women he would have fallen. The blankets dropped to the ground. Horatio perceived he was in a large room, filled with Indians who surrounded some of his fellow captives covered with blood from numerous wounds. Instinct told him that he was in "the long house" and the perils of the gauntlet were ended.

The women who had rescued him could not speak English, but their intelligent faces bore expressions of proud satisfaction as they resumed their blankets and walked away leaving the boy with his white friends. He soon learned that the latter were in a pitiable plight, and that of all who braved the mob he alone had escaped without serious bruises. A guard was soon stationed at the door of the long house, which was made to serve as a prison. Food was given the prisoners and they were allowed to seek such rest as their wretched condition would permit.

A quantity of liquor having been brought from Niagara, it was decided to celebrate the return by a general carousal. As night approached great fires were kindled in the open space in front of the long house, and here the Indians gathered in crowds. Liquor was supplied to all, and the men giving themselves up to the excitement of the occasion, freely indulged their appetites. The more prudent women remained sober and as soon as possible removed and secreted all the weapons they could secure. As the shades of evening deepened to the darkness of night the imprisoned whites could hear the sounds of revelry increasing to an uproar that awoke their gravest anxiety and filled their minds with dismal forebodings. All too soon their fears were realized, for the drunken frenzy of the Indians reached a point beyond the control of the sober women and guards, and despite their protests the warriors broke down the door of the long house and rushed into the building. Among the foremost was the Wolf, with Johnson's scalp at his belt. Horatio recognized the brute and took solemn oath that if the opportunity ever occurred he would avenge the murder of his soldier friend. Without molesting others the savages seized McDonald and dragged him forth as an object of their cruel sport. From insults and cuffs the drunken rioters proceeded to greater violence. Sharp Shins finally tomahawked the unfortunate soldier, chopped off his head, thrust a spear into the skull and stood it up as an object of contumely. All the ferocity of their natures was now aroused, and the savages danced around the gory head shrieking like demons. Even the guards became attracted to the demon-

strations around the fire and followed the mob from the door of the prison. In the darkness, near at hand, stood a little group of women. As the guards left the door, the women glided around the corner into the house that was dimly lighted by the fires without. The prisoners were huddled together, full of forebodings. As the women suddenly entered with fingers placed over their mouths to denote silence, Jones recognized the two who had saved his life. Seizing the hands of the captives the squaws led them out of the doorway, around the corner of the building into the darkness. Without pausing at all they hurried through the bushes leading the white men to places of safety.

After dancing about the head of McDonald and offering it every indignity they could invent the crazy warriors again rushed to the long house bent on the destruction of the remaining prisoners. Finding them gone they awoke the echoes of the hills with howls of disappointment. Frantic, and thirsting for more blood, they quarreled among themselves. The liquor they had imbibed in unrestricted quantities soon overcame them, and one by one the maudlin wretches dropped to the earth in drunken stupor. Later the fires died away fitfully, and only an occasional yell from some half-awakened reveler reached the ears of the concealed captives.

On the following day, when the Indians had recovered their senses, the women restored the weapons and prisoners. They later convened in council, and few would have recognized the members of the drunken mob in the stately chiefs and grave warriors, who assembled calmly to determine the fate of the white captives. The prisoners understood little of the discussion but its purport was related to Jones at a later date. According to their custom the warriors sat upon the ground in a circle with the captives in front and men, women and children huddled about the outer circle. As each warrior took his place he lighted a pipe and continued to smoke during the session, save when speaking.

When all who desired had spoken Hudson arose. He said it seemed to be the general sentiment that enough white men had been slain to atone for the blood of the Indians

killed; it now remained for the council to decide upon the disposition of the survivors. Do-eh-saw, or Jack Berry, as he was called, knocked the ashes from his pipe and stood up. He said he spoke for the Indian mother who had sent by him a belt of wampum. He recounted his connection with the battle on the Juniata and the capture by himself and Hah-ne-yee-wee* of the young prisoner. Berry narrated the subsequent events of the homeward march, the race with Sharp Shins, the incidents of the gauntlet, his rescue by the woman who sent the wampum, his entry into the long house, his removal, which prevented further bloodshed, and his return to the custody of the warriors. Neither he nor Ha-neh-ween-sah made any claim to the boy. The singular circumstances that had combined to bring him to the sorrowing mother convinced her that Ha-wen-ne-ya, the "Great Spirit," had sent the lad to replace her dead son, and she now claimed the young captive, whom she intended to adopt. While the members of the war-party were acquainted with these facts the greater number of Indians knew nothing of the particulars of the affair.

The story of the sturdy chief moved their superstitious natures, and a profound silence prevailed in the long house. At length Shongo stood erect and the audience waited upon his words. He said that his ears had been open to receive this story. He believed the Great Spirit watched over his Indian children and planned wisely for them. No one could listen to what had occurred without feeling that Ha-wen-ne-ya had sent this handsome boy to the Seneca nation for a good purpose. Some misfortune would surely fall upon the people if they failed to carry out the design of the Great Spirit. The lad should remain and become one of themselves, and the future would reveal why he had been sent to the red men of the Genesee. It was so decided, when the assemblage clapped their hands and cried, "Ya-ho, Ya-ho!" in approval.

It was decided to take the other prisoners to Niagara and

* English name, Blue Eyes. He was cousin of the woman who adopted Jones. He later became a chief of distinction and in his old age resided at Red House on the Alleghany.

deliver them to the British fathers. When ready Nelles took the men to the fort and turned them over to the commander. The Oneida woman, who interposed for Boyd at the mouth of Sinnemahoning Creek, and who had assisted in his rescue from the long house, accompanied him to Niagara. When Boyd was sent to Quebec with other prisoners, she nursed him on the voyage and did not leave him until he was placed in a hospital. When convalescent the hospital authorities turned him into the street without money or acquaintances, but as he walked along, he saw a sign-board bearing the legend, "Masonic Inn." Boyd entered, gave the sign to the landlord, and was received and cared for till he was exchanged. The Indian woman, in due time, returned to Oneida, where Capt. (afterwards Colonel) Boyd often sent her presents and on one occasion visited her there in person. Lieut. Cook was also exchanged at Quebec.*

IV. THE ADOPTION—LIFE AMONG THE SENECA'S.

The founders of the League of the Iroquois adopted a scheme of tribal relationship by which the people of each nation were separated into divisions or clans. The Mohawks say that in the beginning there were but three clans, wolf, bear and turtle; that the Oneidas have only those three and the same ones exist in each nation. Hale says that the Onondagas have in addition the deer, eel, beaver, ball and snipe. The Cayugas substitute the hawk and heron for the ball and eel; the Tuscaroras divide the wolf clan into gray and yellow wolf and the turtle clan into great and little turtle.

According to ancient custom a person adopted into an Iroquois family to replace one dead, was supposed to assume the personality of the deceased and the station and property of the predecessor. The rites of adoption severed all former ties and the person was thereafter a blood de-

* Boyd died in Northumberland in 1833. Cook died in 1822, aged 76 years. Horatio Jones and his companions ran the gauntlet at what is now Fort Hill farm, near Caneadea.

scendant of the woman who occupied the place of mother, and a relative of every Iroquois of that clan. No person could marry in his or her clan but the children were classed with the clan of the mother.

Horatio's Indian mother was born at Gan-no-wan-gus, near present Avon, about 1744. She was a blood sister of Guy-an-gwa-ta or Cornplanter, who was the half-breed son of a Dutch trader named Abeel. Cornplanter, by his exploits and force of character became a war chief and eventually the most influential man of his time in the Seneca nation. When Horatio fell into Seneca hands Cornplanter's fame was in the ascendancy and his family one of the most prominent on the Genesee River. Although the Indian father held no title he was brave and skilled in the capture of game. He was called Hah-do-wes-go-wah, or "the Great Hunter." He did not object to the adoption, but seemed an indifferent spectator. The Iroquois seldom recognized a white person by his proper name. They gave a new captive some descriptive title which was liable to be changed from time to time. A change, however, required public announcement at some general assembly. In accordance with Indian custom the ceremony of adoption included the conferring of the name by which the person was to be designated by his Indian associates. Horatio had been spoken of as "The handsome boy" * from his capture and "Hocsagowah" † was a term so fitting that it was adopted by the clan. When the war song had been sung and his name proclaimed, Horatio was in their eyes no longer a white person, but a full-blooded Seneca of the hawk clan, like his mother.

When the strange ceremony ended the Indians pressed forward with greetings. Then Horatio's mother and sister proudly led him through groups of curious natives along the path in the bushes through which he had thrice passed in deadly peril, to the house in which he had so unexpectedly

* In 1831 Tom Cayuga's wife, Judy, the oldest squaw then at Squawkie Hill, told Benj. F. Angel that Jones was the handsomest person, white or red, that the Indians had ever seen.

† Given by John Jimeson as "Hocsahdeyoh."

found shelter and friends. Entering, the mother led him up to a fine-looking Indian, who greeted him with "Soh-ne-ho?" ("Who is it?") "Hehs-ha-wuk, Hocsagowah," ("Your son, Handsome Boy"), she replied and to Horatio she said, "Yuh-neh" ("Your father"). He required no introduction to his sister, but two bright, sturdy young lads came shyly forward to greet him. They all made him welcome in a manner that could not have expressed more affection if the dead Toandoqua had returned to assume his natural place in the household. Others came and were introduced as relatives.

Food was set before him and as he satisfied his hunger he turned his curious gaze from the members of the household to such detail of his surroundings as he could inspect. The dwelling stood in a small clearing. It was like most of the houses occupied by the Senecas in their permanent towns. The sides and ends were of logs, rudely laid up, with the crevices stuffed with sticks and clay. It was about ten by twelve feet; the door, loosely hung on wooden hinges, in one end; the roof formed of sheets of bark overlapping each other like long shingles and secured by poles laid on the outside fastened at each gable end. A square opening in one end of the house served as a window in the daytime; it was closed with a sheet of bark at night. The interior was as rude as the outside. The floor was the hard-packed earth. Two benches or shelves of poles, one about two feet above the floor, the other near the eaves, ran along the sides of the house, serving as seats in the daytime and beds at night. A rough shelf at one end held a small brass kettle, a few bark trays and several short square-edge wooden spoons. Pegs in the front wall supported a rifle and its equipments, a tomahawk and other articles, the property of the husband. In one corner, near the door, stood an ax, a hollow block of wood and a pestle for pounding corn, the implements of the wife. The fire occupied the center of the floor, the smoke supposed to find its way upward and out through an opening in the roof. On occasions, as Horatio soon learned, it settled in stifling clouds in every part of the room. Crotched sticks at each side of the fireplace supported a cross pole from which kettles and roasting

meat were hung. Three or four smooth flat stones, frequently used in baking, were half hidden in the bed of ashes. Had the place been far more forbidding in aspect, the sense of security and comfort would have rendered it a welcome haven to the weary boy. When he was thoroughly refreshed the mother tried to make him comprehend that as one of her children he was entitled to certain rights and privileges and the use of certain things. Also that he must respect the rights of other members of the family regarding their individual places and property in the house. He used every endeavor to adapt himself to his altered circumstances.

Berry continued with the war-party to Niagara and on his return to the Genesee went to his home at Little Beard's Town, leaving Jones among those who spoke only the native dialects. By continual application he rapidly advanced in a knowledge of the Seneca tongue and from the date of his adoption experienced little difficulty in communicating with his native associates. Closely observing the customs of the Senecas he learned that the men provided game, traded furs for clothing, arms and such other necessities as they could procure for barter with traders or at the fort, built canoes, debated in council and followed the pursuit of war. The women seldom interfered with the men in their particular business and no Seneca woman ever walked before her husband—such an offense would have been unpardonable. If a man killed a large animal while hunting he usually cut out sufficient for a meal, secured the rest from wild beasts, returned home and directed the women of his family to bring in the carcass. The women cured the meat, dressed the skins, made the clothing, belts, moccasins, bead work, collected wood, brought water, planted, hoed and harvested the crops, pounded corn into meal and prepared the food. While the care and correction of the children were left to the mother, the word of the father was law for all under his roof. The rule of parents was generally mild, and children were usually obedient and respectful, making their homes with and subject to their commands until marriage.

Horatio found the Indian domicile a remarkable contrast to the quiet home on the Juniata where the proverbial neat-

ness of the Quaker sect was exemplified. If his stomach sometimes rebelled at the domestic habits of his Indian mother, occasional scant fare furnished a keen appetite. To his own surprise he soon overcame these scruples regarding the untidy habits of those about him and learned to enjoy many things that under earlier conditions would have proved distasteful. To replace his worn clothing he adopted the full Indian dress. There were no underclothes. A stout belt was fastened about the body next to the skin. The waist-cloth, a strip of cloth or soft deer skin five or six feet long and from ten to sixteen inches wide, was passed between the legs and drawn under the belt, the ends usually highly ornamented and fringed, hanging loose before and behind. The legs were covered with leggins reaching the upper part of the thighs and secured to the belt by thongs of deers' hide. The frock or shirt was gathered about the waist by a second belt. The frock and leggins were trimmed with fringe; the feet encased in moccasins and the head covered with a cap made of skins or a piece of colored cloth wound round in form of a turban. Some of the men in place of a frock belted about the waist wore a blanket that was drawn up over the head like a hood. This blanket was used as a coat in the daytime and for a bed at night. The older Indians oftenest wore the blanket.

Horatio soon learned there was no law but personal might in an Indian community; he had the discernment to understand that by maintaining a fearless demeanor he would suffer fewer hardships and gain greater respect than by any attempt to conciliate those who chose to override his personal rights. He conducted himself consistently, always spoke the truth, endured physical discomfort without complaint, was foremost where his services were required or permitted, and was even-tempered and agreeable to all about him; but under no circumstances would he submit to insult from warrior or chief. Possessing a natural gift of speech, he soon not only mastered the Seneca tongue, but also acquired the accentuation so difficult for beginners, upon which the meaning of many Indian words depends. He was soon called upon to act as interpreter in examining

white prisoners brought into town and it became his recognized duty to question all the captives regarding such things as the red men wished to know. If a captive was found to have taken the life of an Indian in cold blood or in any manner save in battle he was condemned to torture. The position of interpreter was thus particularly responsible. To so question prisoners that he would retain the confidence of the red men and yet conceal from them that which would injure those who were questioned, required no little tact and courage.* Jones proved equal to such emergencies and sought opportunities to aid his fellow captives. He was soon referred to by the Indians as "Hi-e-wah-doo-gis-tah," or "The Interpreter."

Entering into Indian games and sports with the zest of youth, Horatio won the admiration of the village by his personal prowess. He had a passion for fishing and hunting, hence won success in the capture of game. His father gave him a gun and ammunition. His skill as a marksman was marveled at and no one ever affronted him when his favorite weapon, the rifle, was at hand.

It had been the custom of Sir William Johnson to send blacksmiths among the Six Nations to repair their firearms, but this favor was discontinued at the opening of the war. Supt. Guy Johnson attempted to accommodate the Iroquois by doing their work at Niagara. This was a serious inconvenience to journey eighty miles by trail or rather double that distance going and returning to have the work performed by the British armorer at the fort. Horatio made some repairs to his own equipments and this led to work of the same nature for others. Delighting in this mechanical work he set up a rude forge and from crude materials wrought out tools so that he repaired arms of the warriors. Then they called him "Hi-u-do-nis," "The Gunsmith." Whenever they obtained a tool or crude material they took it to him. Worn-out axes of iron and horseshoes were worked in his fire and on his stone anvil into hoes, spears and knife blades; horseshoe nails were transformed into drills, awls, primers and wormers. The remains of old brass kettles fur-

* S. H. Gridley, D. D., Collections, Waterloo Historical Society.

nished the ingenious captive with material for bands and ornaments on tomahawk handles and gun stocks, and then they called him "Ha-wes-do-ne," or "Blacksmith." The women termed him "Haw-wes-ta-no-she-o-ne," "The Silversmith." Silver coins he converted into rings for fingers and ears or hammered them into sheets from which he fashioned brooches and buttons. Bits of brass and thin strips of bone made an excellent comb. The horns of deer he made into knives, whips and awls, fish spears, hair pins and small boxes for holding paint. Mouthpieces for pipes were made of the same material, while a broken powderhorn, under his deft fingers, made a useful spoon. These labors were fully appreciated and the Indians assured him his services were of greater value to them than the combined work of all their other captives. Of course these experiences covered several months' residence among the Senecas during which time Junes had many and varied experiences.

Hah-do-wes-go-wah made his permanent residence in the house in which Horatio first found refuge, but he made frequent excursions for game or to different places to visit friends. The family were proud of their new son and brother and the mother took great pleasure in introducing him to her acquaintances.

V. THE MEETING WITH JASPER PARRISH.

As soon as Horatio could make himself understood in Seneca the family prepared for a trip down the river. They selected such light articles as they needed, leaving everything else in the house. Hah-do-wes-go-wah had neither lock or bolt upon his door. When the family was ready to depart a few sheets of bark were laid over the smoke vent in the roof, and the wife set a broom outside the door with the handle fastened against the board in such a manner as not to be easily displaced by wind or storm. This was to indicate that the owners were absent; the hunter left his home confident of finding it undisturbed on his return.

Proceeding down the river trail carrying their simple

baggage upon their backs, the party halted for a few days' visit at Little Beard's Town. Considerable attention was given the new Indian boy by his clan relatives residing there, and among other matters they related to him events connected with Sullivan's invasion. Jones knew that Lieutenant Thomas Boyd was a brother of his own company commander, and that incited an interest in the details of his capture. Nearly all the male inhabitants of Little Beard's Town had participated in the thrilling scenes and several of Horatio's new acquaintances had personally engaged in the torture of Boyd and Parker. These rehearsed for his entertainment the events leading to the death of the two prisoners, and escorted Horatio to the old town on the flat, and at the junction of two small streams they pointed out the exact spot of the execution. They described how Boyd's intestines were fastened to a tree and the unfortunate officer driven and dragged about its trunk until his entrails were drawn from his body. Approaching the tree closely Horatio found numerous marks made with tomahawks upon the sides of the small oak and discovered clinging to the bark particles of dried flesh that the Indians assured him had remained there since the death of Boyd. Not a single native would touch the tree as the superstitious creatures imagined bad luck would follow any contact with the flesh and that the spirits of the dead soldiers would haunt the offenders.

Soon after, having been left alone, he was startled by a cry of "Hi, you!" in plain English. Turning Jones saw a man leaning upon his rifle. The stranger was clothed in Indian dress, but it was easy to see that he was a white man. There was a quizzical look upon his face and Horatio good-naturedly answered him, "Hi, yourself!"

"Berry told me," said the stranger, "that he had brought a handsome boy to the Genesee, and he was tolerably correct, judging from your looks."

"I wish I could say the same of you," Jones replied, laughing, "but I don't think your dress adds to your natural beauty." The two laughed and shook hands cordially. The stranger said his name was Joseph Smith, that he was

captured at Cherry Valley, and was now living with an Indian family at Little Beard's Town. Soon observing that they were watched by the Indians, Jones and Smith went each his way. Thus began the friendship between these two men of which we shall hear more later on.

In consequence of their improvident habits the Indians frequently lacked food. During the absence of the Juniata war-party, corn, their principal article of diet, was exhausted at the upper Genesee village, and many of the Indians were compelled to resort to wild roots and herbage to preserve their lives. An appeal for assistance was made to the commandant of Fort Niagara, who sent an officer to ascertain the condition of affairs in the Seneca towns. Upon his recommendation a generous supply of food was forwarded to the needy people, just prior to the return of the expedition; hence, when Capt. Boyd and his fellow-prisoners arrived on the Genesee, the Indians were well supplied with provisions. It was the custom of the Genesee Indians when game was scarce to go to Lake Erie to catch a kind of fish which they called skis-tu-wa, now supposed to have been mullets. These were opened and dried in smoke, large quantities often being carried to the home towns. The Niagara River was also a noted resort, and parties of Indians were almost constantly fishing there, at favorite points.

Some time during the summer of 1781, a party from the Genesee, including the family to which Horatio belonged, went on a fishing excursion to the Niagara. Working their way down the stream they encamped near the Devil's Hole, a great depression in the east bank of the river, three miles below Niagara Falls. Standing on its brink one can look down upon the tops of tall forest trees growing in the bottom of the pit, which covers an area of several acres. Near the top the sides are precipitous, but further down huge moss-covered rocks are strewn about as though tossed to their positions, by a convulsion of nature, presenting so wild an appearance that the beholder recognizes the appropriateness of the name to the place. The Seneca name was Dy-osa-da-ny-ah-goh ("It has cleft the rocks off").*

* O. H. Marshall's Historical Writings.

informed of the massacre of 1763 at that point, and showed so keen an interest that his Indian friends took pride in calling his attention to objects and locations with which the memorable events were connected. A chief whose ancestors had been dispossessed of the Niagara country by the Iroquois, but who was reckoned a Seneca had been one of the leaders of this attack upon the English. In the fitful light of their camp-fire, located in view of the Devil's Hole he rehearsed the episode and in the morning went over his battle-ground of eighteen years before. Curiosity led some of the party into the deep gulf. At the bottom they found bits of the wagons, skulls and scattered bones, mementoes of the awful tragedy. Climbing up the rocks on the northern side they came to an opening in the escarpment in the bottom of which a tiny stream of water trickled forth. The guides crawled into the aperture and Horatio followed. Once accustomed to the dim light of the interior he beheld a chamber large enough to hold several people. He was glad to learn of this cavern and carefully noted its location in case he should ever need a safe retreat in that locality.

While the fishing party camped near the Devil's Hole, Jones asked permission to go to Fort Niagara and as there was little danger of his escaping the vigilance of so many people his request was granted. He had arrived within half a mile of the fort when he came upon three boys, two of whom were dressed in the scarlet uniforms of British drummers and were evidently out on leave. The other boy seemed, from his dress and general appearance, to be an Indian twelve or thirteen years old. The two red-coats were forcing a quarrel with the smaller boy, who was on the defensive with a determined air that held his adversaries in check; it was apparent however that force of numbers would decide the contest if the boys came to blows. Horatio believed in fair play and noting the state of affairs stepped up to the trio and inquired in Seneca, "Ah-ne-yo-dyah?" ("What is going on?") The lads turned to look at the newcomer and the Indian replied in Mohawk, "These two boys want to whip me."

"Can you whip one?"

"Yes."

"Then you whip one and I will whip the other."

"All right," he cried, and before the astonished drummers realized the nature of the conversation, the young Indians attacked them with vigor and soon punished them so severely that they beat a retreat towards the garrison, leaving the natives, so to speak, masters of the fields. Horatio could not restrain the impulse to shout:

"Run, you red-coated devils! Run like the cowards you are; the next time you try to whip a boy get a man to help you."

The Indian boy turned and gazed upon his generous champion, his eyes sparkling with delight. "You talk English?" he inquired.

"Certainly," replied Horatio promptly. "I am a Pennsylvania prisoner."

"Why, I believe you are a white boy also," the other exclaimed, viewing his new acquaintance critically. "Yes, I am," replied the lad, "and I cannot tell you how glad I am to meet a white friend." As the boys went on together to the fort they told their circumstances in mutual confidence. The lad told Jones that his name was Jasper Parrish. He was born in Connecticut in 1767. His father soon after went across the head waters of the Delaware and settled in New York. On the 5th of July, 1778, he accompanied his father and brother Stephen to assist a neighbor who lived in an exposed situation to remove nearer the settlement. When about six miles from home they were all captured, together with a man named James Pemberton, by a party of Munsee or Delaware Indians under a war-chief called Capt. Mounsh. The prisoners were conducted up the Delaware River to a camp called Cook House, near the mouth of Oquago Creek.* Two days later Mr. Parrish with others was separated from his son. Capt. Mounsh claimed Jasper as his prisoner and during the association of the two treated the white boy with

* Cook House was near Deposit, N. Y. These facts as narrated by Horatio Jones and given by descendants of the latter, have been verified by a MS. prepared by Stephen Parrish, son of Jasper, and loaned by the latter's granddaughter, Mrs. Carrie Cobb Draper, to the late Hon. Orlando Allen, who read the account before the Buffalo Historical Society.

kindness. Jasper remained at Cook House until the 1st of October, when Capt. Mounsh and his party, with all his prisoners, continued their journey to Chemung. On entering the village the Indians there gave a war-cry and ran out to meet them. They pulled Jasper off his horse and pounded him unmercifully with tomahawk handles and whips, until Capt. Mounsh interfered and rescued him. In the late fall Mounsh sold Jasper to a Delaware family, living near the village, on the south side of Tioga River. He was at once taken to his new home. During the winter he suffered greatly from lack of food and clothing. To harden him to cold the Indians compelled him to strip, each day of winter, and jump into the river through a hole cut in the ice; but in this and other respects he was treated as one of themselves by the Delawares. The family hunted and fished until the last of August, 1779; when General Sullivan's army approached, Jasper fled with the savages to Newtown, and was left with the squaws, other prisoners, and baggage, in a secure place. After the battle he continued with them up the river to Painted Post, where the warriors overtook the women the following day. They continued their flight by way of what are now Bath, Dansville, Fall Brook, Moscow and Tonawanda, making but brief stops until they reached Niagara, where nearly all the Iroquois were encamped on the plains near the fort. A few days later Jasper met James Pemberton, who had been captured with himself.

Pemberton told Jasper that he and his fellow-prisoners were brought to the Niagara River, where his captors camped on the flat under the mountain (now Lewiston). There the warriors decided to torture Pemberton, whose sturdy frame gave promise of great endurance. Joseph Brant, who was in command of the party, tried to persuade the band to give up their purpose. To this they would not consent, and setting up a green stake on the bluff overlooking the river, set Pemberton to work to collect wood for his own funeral pyre. Brant was displeased and secretly appealed to the women, telling them if they would effect his escape one of them should have this fine-looking man for her husband. While Pemberton was gathering brush near

a little runway the squaws hurried him out of sight. They took him to the fort where he was protected by Col. Butler who gave him work. Pemberton told Jasper that his father and brother had been sent to Montreal to be exchanged, but that he himself preferred to remain with the Indians.* Jasper said that the Indians became so troublesome at Niagara, that, to get rid of them, the British authorities offered a guinea for each Yankee scalp brought in. This reward led to an adventure that Jasper related to Horatio as the boys walked slowly towards the fort.

"The Delaware family I was with stayed here until late in the fall (1779). One day the Indians got to drinking and I was left with two warriors who were quite drunk. Being cold I gathered wood and kept up a good fire. The Indians sat on one side of the fire and I on the other. They began to talk, saying they would like more rum, and that it would be an easy matter to kill the young Yankee and get the bounty with which to buy it. I understood their conversation and watched them closely. After a little one of them plucked a long brand out of the fire and hurled it at me with all his might. I dodged the stick, sprang up and ran into the bushes where the Indians attempted to follow, but being drunk and the night dark they could not catch me. I kept away from the fire all night, but when they had become sober the next day I returned to camp.

"One day my Delaware master took me into the fort and tried to sell me to the white people there, but none of them would buy. Finally we met a large, fine-looking Mohawk named Capt. Daniel Hill, who bought me of the Delaware for twenty dollars. Capt. Hill took me to his tent and said to me in English: 'This is your home, and you must stay here.' I had been very well treated by the Delawares, had learned their language and did not like the idea of changing masters. However the change has proved a very happy one in many respects.

"In November the Six Nations held a great council in the

* Pemberton remained at Niagara until released in 1783. He then joined the Tuscaroras and married the mother of John Mountpleasant. His numerous descendants are among the most respected Tuscarora families of the present day.

fort. Capt. Hill took me in to the assemblage and I thought he was going to sell me to some other nation, but instead of that he put a belt of wampum about my neck, and a very old chief took me by the hand and made a speech. I did not understand what was said as the Mohawk language is so very different from the Delaware; the whole affair was conducted in a very solemn manner. After the speech all the chiefs came and shook hands with me and Capt. Hill told me he had adopted me as his son; that I must return to his tent, which was now my own home.

"We remained at the fort till the next May when all the Mohawks there moved up under the mountain about two miles east of the river; that is now our home. I have been treated very kindly by Capt. Hill and his family and the other Mohawks. I have hunted and fished with them, been with a war-party to the settlements and visited many of the Six Nations' towns."

The boys spent the day together at the fort. A warm friendship sprang up between them and their frequent meetings thereafter were among the most pleasant events of their forest lives.

VI. FLIGHT AND RETURN—AN ENCOUNTER.

The white captives in the Genesee towns had little opportunity for intercourse with each other. While apparently free to come and go they were each and all under surveillance and any attempt to pass certain limits was checked in a manner unpleasantly suggestive of fatal results in a serious attempt to escape.

Horatio so thoroughly ingratiated himself in the affections of the family and so vigorously resented interference with his personal rights that he was permitted many privileges denied to captives of less independence of spirit. There was much in the life he led in the wilderness that was congenial and to all outward appearances he was satisfied with the change in his condition; yet under his careless manner he, at times, carried a troubled heart. Visions of

the home on the Juniata, of parents and friends would intrude to disturb his slumbers and he secretly pined for home and civilization. He had little confidence in his ability to find his way back to Bedford County and he availed himself of the first opportunity to enlist in an expedition against the frontier settlers, thinking he might find an opportunity, when near settlements, to escape. His offer was rejected on the plea that his services were greatly needed at home to mend the guns and examine prisoners. At length he resolved to escape. Putting his weapons in order and securing a supply of ammunition and a little food, early one morning he left the camp. His departure was unobserved and his absence not noted until some hours later when his assistance was required in some small matter. As no one could tell where he was suspicions were aroused and the Indians at once concluded that Hoc-sa-go-wah "walk bushes" to escape. An alarm was spread and men scattered in all directions to discover traces of the fugitive. Thanks to his skill in woodcraft he covered his trail so perfectly that the experienced hunters found no sign. They scoured the forest paths for miles and sent their fleetest runners upon distant trails. Knowing this would be the course Jones sought the frontier of Pennsylvania by a route that would avoid Indian paths yet be sufficiently direct to reach his destination in the briefest possible time. The extra caution he was forced to exercise rendered his progress slow and laborious.

He had been alone in the wilderness many hours, when he discovered a sheltered place in a ravine where he could spend the night. Reconnoitering the surroundings and deciding the best course of retreat in case of an attack, he carefully effaced every trace of his trail and stretched his weary limbs for a night's repose upon a bed of soft leaves. He considered himself beyond all danger of pursuit and feared only a chance encounter with straggling hunters. Musing upon his situation the fugitive's thoughts ran to his boyhood's home. He wondered if he would find his friends as he left them, if his father and mother were still living; what changes might have occurred during his absence. Then his thoughts turned to himself. He had left home a fair-com-

plexioned boy; now every exposed part of his person was bronzed by sun and wind to a shade not very unlike the natural color of the Indians, and in outward appearance he was an uncouth native of the wilderness. He wondered if his friends would recognize and welcome him or would regard him with surprise and indifference. His relatives had doubtless given him up as dead, and though he had been absent so short a time it would seem like beginning a new life to reenter the settlement. Then he thought of the wretched captives whom the savages were constantly bringing to the Genesee, and how he had already been able to mitigate the sufferings and preserve the lives of several persons. It seemed as though the event of his capture was truly providential, and that he had been sent there for some special purpose. If he were to effect his escape would it not be like deserting a post of duty? Who would take his place as interpreter and befriend prisoners? Would it not be better to forego his own desires, return to the Indian town and continue in his increasing influence in behalf of captives? All the long hours of that dismal night his mind was active with conflicting thoughts and when morning came he decided to return to his Indian home. With this resolution he realized that to carry it into effect he must risk the danger of recapture and the horrors of certain torture, the usual fate of deserters. He felt sure if he could enter the village undetected he would not have to suffer severe punishment. On his return he used the same skill in forest strategem that accomplished his escape. Before his presence in the Indian town was known he entered his father's house, quietly laid aside his equipments, to all outward appearances unconscious of anything unusual or strange in his actions. The warm welcome that followed his entrance dissipated every doubt of the affection of the family and the wisdom of his return. No explanation of his absence was required, it being tacitly conceded that he had missed his course while hunting and was too proud to speak of the mistake. He received cautions and instructions for future guidance and thereafter the Indians were less vigilant in guarding him; but he never revealed to them his attempt to escape.

For a distance of sixteen miles below what is now Portage, as the channel runs, the Genesee River occupies the bottom of a deep gorge, the rocky walls of which rise in places nearly 500 feet above the water. In the town of Mt. Morris the stream suddenly breaks through the side of the mountain and thereafter winds in great curves through vast prairies or flats that extend to the city of Rochester nearly forty miles distant in air line. This opening in the side of the valley is a striking feature of the landscape; the Senecas called the spot "Da-yo-it-ga-o," "Where the river issues from the hill."* The west bank is broken by a plateau, 200 feet perhaps above the stream, from which a fine view may be obtained of a long and magnificent stretch of landscape. All about the student of aboriginal history discovers evidences of a pre-historic people who dwelt there before the Iroquois conquest; prior to the date of Sullivan's campaign, no Seneca village had been located upon the heights.

The Squagh-kie Indians, who figured as a separate nation in Colonel Butler's Niagara treaty in 1776, had been captured some years previous to that time, by the Iroquois, adopted and attached to the Seneca nation. According to Iroquois custom when a large body of prisoners was taken, the Squagh-kies, or Squakies, were established in a separate village, a few miles south of the principal town of the Senecas. They resided at Gath-se-o-wa-lo-ha-re in 1779, which village was destroyed by Sullivan. When Guy Johnson in the early spring of 1780 dispersed the Iroquois to new homes the Squakies were assigned a seat on the west side of the Genesee at Da-yo-it-ga-o on the trail between De-o-numda-gao and the up-river towns. The village bore a distinctive title but was generally termed Squakie Hill.

On the plateau previously described, overlooking the Genesee and Canaseraga valleys, was a level open space of about two acres, supposed to have been a clearing made by a prehistoric people, where the Iroquois of the Genesee held their annual feasts and dances. After the annual crop of beans, corn and squashes was harvested, the inhabitants of

* Squakie Hill.

the Seneca villages assembled there for a grand harvest festival. Hundreds of men, women and children camped in the vicinity; on the days of the feasts great fires were made, and huge kettles of succotash and squashes were cooked and distributed to the multitude. Horatio was much interested in the ceremonies on the occasion of his first visit to Squakie Hill and heartily enjoyed the novelty as well as the unusual supply of nourishing food.

Since the day of his adoption Horatio had had little intercourse with Sharp Shins. The famous hunter resided at Squakie Hill and on this occasion took part in the festivities. Jones soon discovered that an evil influence was at work against himself for some of the young braves began petty persecutions that he disdained to notice; so they determined to humiliate the handsome boy who seemed so unconscious of their efforts to awaken his resentment. One day several young persons were seated near a fire engaged in light talk as they received liberal portions of succotash which the women were dispensing. Presently a clique of young braves began to banter Jones who had then pretty thoroughly mastered the Seneca tongue. He met the raillery with such good-humored replies that he turned the laugh upon the assailants. Numbers began to gather about the fire listening to the badinage, when it became evident that the braves were endeavoring to force a quarrel. Jones felt sure of this when he saw Sharp Shins join the circle and heard the shrill laugh of the runner at each sally of the aggressive party and he quietly determined upon a plan of action. Finding that the white boy was too keen in repartee for their dull wit the braves began abuse, and one fellow attempted to anger Horatio by an open insult. The words hardly escaped the lips of the bully when Jones seized the offender by the collar of his deerskin frock and with a jerk brought him upon his knees in front of the fire. Pushing the fellow's head between his own knees Horatio held him as in a vice, tore open the frock at the throat and seizing a squash from a boiling kettle thrust it down the Indian's back next to the flesh. Loosening his hold of the man's head, Jones suddenly forced him over on his back, mashing the hot squash to a soft plaster that

burned the flesh to a blister. The yells and contortions of the victim incited the uproarious mirth of all present and as Horatio released him he scrambled to his feet, tore off his frock, and scraping the mass from his back slunk away amid a chorus of jeers. Jones quietly resumed his seat and continued his meal without further interruption.

Disappointed at the failure of his plan to injure the handsome boy through others, Sharp Shins determined to make a personal effort to kill him. The wily runner was thoroughly skilled in the use of the tomahawk and could split a sapling at a distance that few hunters could strike the tree. While some of the young men were exhibiting their skill in throwing axes at a tree, the runner joined the party and watching his opportunity during the excitement of the game managed to throw his tomahawk, apparently by accident, directly at Jones. As if by a miracle the weapon of the treacherous savage missed the boy but all the passion in Horatio's nature was aroused at the act. Catching up the keen axe he turned upon his persecutor and hurled the weapon back with tremendous force. If the tomahawk had been thrown with a skill equal to the strength expended in the effort Sharp Shins would never more have traveled the forest trails. As it was he received a blow from the flying axe that knocked him over, inflicting injuries that confined him to his hut for several days. The Indians generally approved the action of Hoc-sa-go-wah and he was not again molested during the festival season.

During the early winter of 1781-2 the Indians on the Genesee were attacked by smallpox, a disease that often raged among the red men until it exhausted its malignant force in a lack of victims. The Indians appealed to the commandant of Niagara who sent English surgeons to care for them. On the arrival of the surgeons, the sick were separated from the well, huts were prepared outside the village to serve as hospitals, and as soon as symptoms appeared the individuals were sent to these rude retreats. Few persons on the upper Genesee escaped the contagion. Many died and were immediately buried. Only those who had recovered from the plague could be prevailed upon to care for the

sick and the reckless indifference of some of these unwilling attendants was such that several persons were buried alive when it appeared probable they could not recover. It was the knowledge of this rather than the fatality of the scourge that seriously alarmed Horatio when he was stricken and removed to a lonely hut in the woods. "Against such a fate Jones zealously guarded. Hence when the disease was at its crisis, life was hanging in the balance equally poised and he was no longer able to give verbal indications of vitality, his irrepressible energy made sufficient sign that he was not to be buried so long as he could breathe. His hardy constitution withstood the shock of the disease, which cleansed his system of all impurities, leaving him stronger than before."* The scourge on the Genesee ran its course, when the survivors resumed their ordinary routine of life.

Although Sharp Shins avoided all personal contact with Jones after his unpleasant encounter at Squakie Hill, his evil influence was ever secretly at work to annoy and injure "the handsome boy." The latter was, on several occasions, placed in positions that required all his tact in order to extricate himself with credit to himself and he finally determined to bring matters to an issue either with Sharp Shins or those whom he influenced to annoy him.

The winter was severe and the snow so deep at times that persons wandering from beaten paths wore snowshoes. The labor of procuring the fuel became too great for the women who usually performed that duty and the young men were sent out to bring in wood. On these occasions the fuel hunters usually went in small parties, collected and packed the wood in bundles that they carried on their shoulders. By pursuing one route they made a narrow but well beaten path in the snow nearly on a level with the ground but wide enough for only one person. While out for wood one day the friends of Sharp Shins determined to have some sport at the expense of Jones, by pushing him, one after the other, off the trail into the deep snow, leaving him to flounder out unaided.

* Sketch of Horatio Jones by S. H. Gridley, D. D., in Collections of Waterloo Historical Society.

Horatio had secured some saplings and the sharp, jagged roots were closely packed together at the ends. The load was heavy and when the first brave threw him into the deep snow he joined in the laugh against himself, as he with some difficulty regained his footing. The second effort aroused his suspicions and the third his anger. As the third Indian came up to try his skill the persecuted boy suddenly paused and turning his strength into one desperate effort, whirled around on his toes. Jones had calculated his distance well and the roots of the saplings struck the offender square in the face, knocking him headlong into the deep snow. Jones recovered his balance and without a glance backward quietly continued his course, leaving the discomfited bullies to assist their unfortunate comrade who was badly injured.

It was encounters of this nature that taught even the bravest of the Senecas to hesitate before unnecessarily provoking the wrath that recked nothing of consequences in its swift punishment of offenders. Yet while they feared his anger even his worst enemy, the bow-legged runner, came to understand that Horatio was just in his resentment, honest in judgment and on occasions where others were at fault but subject to reason he was forbearing even to mildness. These traits of character won him many friends. An incident illustrates Jones' rare moral courage. The training of the frontiersmen of that day included a knowledge of wrestling, an art in which the Indians were quite deficient. In many hand to hand fights between white and red men the skill of the white wrestlers won the victory. The warriors were well aware of this fact and as Jones was proficient in all athletic exercises they frequently sought to improve their muscular dexterity by friendly wrestling matches with the nimble youth, whose skill usually proved more than equal to their greater strength. "On one occasion a powerful Seneca warrior challenged Horatio to a trial of strength. For a time Jones permitted the warrior to throw him so easily that many thought the captive had at length met his match; but suddenly the Indian was raised from his feet and laid upon his back. Instantly springing up he de-

manded another trial and was again placed carefully upon the ground. Greatly astonished the warrior insisted upon a third trial in which all his strength was exerted to overcome the young wrestler. Jones now brought into play an unexpected movement, called the hip-lock, throwing the warrior heavily to the earth. Stung by the shouts of the spectators and in pain from the shock, the Indian jumped up exclaiming fiercely, 'You hurt me; I kill you.' Running for his hatchet he quickly returned with the uplifted weapon. Horatio stood motionless, and as the Indian cautiously approached addressed him thus: 'Cousin, this was a trial of strength and you challenged me. I was the victor, but if my cousin thinks me worthy of death, here I am.' The Indian hesitated a moment, then threw away the hatchet, and approached with outstretched hands in token of friendship. This display of unflinching courage rendered the Seneca warrior a life-long friend."*

VII. HORATIO'S TRIP FOR THE TRADER.

In the early spring of 1782 an English trader came from Fort Niagara to the Genesee with a stock of clothes and trinkets. As Hoc-sa-go-wah was generally called upon to act as interpreter in transactions between the whites and Indians, the trader engaged his services. The goods sold rapidly and finding that he could still do a good business the trader concluded to replenish his stock. During his intercourse with the young interpreter he had become convinced that the latter was trustworthy, and in fact the only person he knew upon whom he could rely; accordingly he made a proposition to Horatio to go to Niagara and bring back a large package of goods, offering as a reward for the labor an entire suit of clothes, consisting of a blanket, coat, shirt, leggins, and colored head-dress, with some silver ornaments in addition. Jones at that time was permitted to go and come as he pleased in the vicinity of Caneadea, and as the offer was too

* Sketch of Jones by Hon. Norman Seymour of Mt. Morris.

tempting to be declined he agreed to start as soon as he could make the necessary preparations. Hastening home he entered the house, shouting "Noh-yeh, noh-yeh!" ("Mother, mother!") "Go-a-wak, go-a-wak," ("My son, my son,") returned the good woman, pausing a moment in her work to smile at the impetuous youth and learn the cause of his excitement. Horatio eagerly explained the proposition of the trader and his own agreement to go after the goods, without a thought that the arrangement would be otherwise than pleasing to his family. To his astonishment the smile gave place to an expression of grave disapproval and when he had finished she sternly refused her consent, telling Horatio he was not mature and was not strong enough to carry a large pack such a distance; besides, she said, if he went to Niagara alone among the white people he would not return and she would never see him again. In vain he promised and argued; she would not listen and positively forbade him to leave home.

Seeing her so resolute he apparently accepted her decision as final and cheerfully started upon some slight mission she required. Being quite as stubborn as his Indian mother he determined to go at any cost. During the day he informed the trader of the state of affairs and received from the latter an order upon the post-sutler at Niagara for the goods wanted. Later he removed his rifle and equipments to a hiding place in the woods, managed to secure some bread and rested as much as possible during the day. At night Horatio retired at an early hour and apparently soon fell asleep; he however watched the tardy movements of the other members of his family until all were wrapped in sound slumber. Then he stole quietly into the forest, secured his arms and food and started on the trail for Buffalo Creek.

The path ran northwest over the summit that divides the waters of the Genesee River from those of Lake Erie; fell into the valley of Cattaraugus Creek, passed over into the valley of the west branch of Buffalo Creek and followed the general course of that stream to the Seneca settlement at the junction of the branch with the main stream four miles from its mouth on Lake Erie. Having been over the trail with

the fishing party the young captive was familiar with the route. He had no fear of meeting any one during the night and as there was sufficient light to enable him to see the path quite plainly he started at a rapid pace; but as daylight approached he turned aside into a dense thicket at a bend of the path. Here on a bed of dry pine needles he reclined in such a manner that he could see the trail for a distance each way without danger of being discovered himself by persons on the road. After eating his simple meal and placing his arms ready for instant use he stretched out his weary limbs and fell asleep. Being awakened late in the afternoon by the sound of voices, he looked forth from his concealment and saw two Indians approaching over the trail by which he had come. He recognized them at once and knew they were in pursuit of him.

It had been his intention to abandon the regular path for the rest of the day and to travel parallel with and at such a distance from it as to avoid being seen, but as the pursuers were now in advance he had no further fear of being overtaken. An hour after the Indians passed he resumed his journey on the main trail. Traveling through the lonely forest all that night, he crossed several streams and avoiding Indian camps near the end of Lake Erie, passed over the present site of Buffalo on the trail running down the east side of the Niagara River. As he was again in advance of his pursuers, probably, he halted for a brief rest and ate his breakfast. Resuming the march by daylight he fortunately reached the crossing of Tonawanda Creek without encountering a human being. As the route was much traveled a canoe was usually kept at this point for general use as a ferry. Finding the canoe on the east side Horatio hastily paddled across the stream, secured the boat, hastened onward two or three miles and again turned aside at a place where he could rest and at the same time look out without himself being observed. As he munched his coarse brown bread he soberly considered the situation. At the point where he lay the trail turned nearly west following the curve of the Niagara River to Fort Schlosser, a few miles further on. He knew that Indians in greater or less numbers were

almost constantly encamped at Schlosser and he feared that some of them might annoy or detain him, if he kept the usual road.

By waiting a few hours he would get a much-needed rest and possibly be able to pass Schlosser unobserved in the darkness; but even if he were successful the delay might bring his pursuers upon him. He now decided upon a movement that illustrates his courage and self-reliance in taking risks to accomplish desired ends. Up to this point he had depended upon the regular Indian paths for his course, but he now decided to take a straight cut through the wilderness to Fort Niagara. To his great joy after several hours of travel he came out upon the portage road not far from the crest of the mountain ridge near the present village of Lewiston. Stepping into the well-beaten path he walked to the mouth of the river, some eight or nine miles, boldly entered the fort, presented his order, received his goods, obtained some bread and hurried back into the forest. Not daring to take the open trail on the return journey and encouraged by the success of his first venture Horatio again ventured through the woods, taking a course further east that avoided the river trail and led him to the crossing of Buffalo Creek, where he resumed the regular path to the Genesee. In due time he arrived safely with his heavy load. This had been a difficult, lonely journey of about 100 miles through a gloomy wilderness. Yet Horatio experienced no exultation beyond a thought of satisfaction at the probability of securing greater liberty in his future movements. The trader, receiving his goods, at once paid the carrier his well-earned reward. Horatio arrayed himself in his new clothes and marched proudly home. His mother was delighted at his return and his other relatives were loud in their expressions of welcome; his arrival in advance of the runners sent to bring him back convinced them of his sincerity.

Accepting the greetings with good-nature Horatio improved the opportunity to impress upon the minds of all that he had no desire to return to the settlements of the whites but wished to remain with the red men if they would permit

him the rights and privileges to which the other young men of the nation were entitled. Thereafter his family accorded him their full confidence, permitting him to come and go unquestioned; but he was conscious that others maintained secret watch upon his actions.

VIII. VAN CAMPEN'S CAPTURE AND ESCAPE.

Among those whose lives were intimately associated with Horatio Jones was Moses Van Campen,* who was born in 1757 in Hunterdon Co., New Jersey. Soon after his birth the family moved to Northampton Co., Pennsylvania, and located on the Delaware River; but in 1773, in company with a brother they moved to Northumberland Co., to the present town of Orange, about eight miles above the mouth of Fishing Creek. This stream enters the north branch of the Susquehanna, near the present town of Rupert, Columbia Co., the Fishing Creek country being one of the points where were the earliest settlements of the North Branch.

The Indian trail from the West Branch to Nescopeck crossed the divide several miles above Jerseytown, and an Indian town was located where Lycoming, Montour, and Columbia counties meet. Even after the whites began to occupy the soil in considerable numbers the savages clung tenaciously to that region which had been a favorite hunting ground. Among the pioneers of the Lower Fishing Creek were James McClure, Thomas Clayton, Peter Melick, Joseph Wheeler, Joseph Salmon, the Van Campens, Aikmans, McHenrys and others whose names have long been conspicuous in history.

"In 1775, two years subsequent to the advent of the Van

* "Life of Moses Van Campen" by J. N. Hubbard, B. A., Dansville, N. Y., 1842; revised and re-published at Fillmore, N. Y., in 1893 by John S. Minard; Also "Petition of Van Campen to Congress" with affidavits of Horatio Jones; Bates' "History of Columbia Co., Pa.," by C. F. Hill, Hazelton, Pa.; Stone's "Life of Brant," Sims' "History of Schoharie Co." and "Pioneers of the Genesee Valley."

Campens," says Bates, "George Whitmoyer,* Michael Billimer and Daniel Welliner came from that region on the Delaware in New Jersey opposite Northampton Co., and crossing Eastern Pennsylvania to Harris' ferry, followed the Susquehanna and Frozen Duck, or Chillisquaque, to the Jerseytown valley.

"Whitmoyer settled a short distance above Jerseytown, Billimer located on Muddy Run, and Welliner fixed his residence on Whetstone Run."

Surrounded by these pioneer families, in a comfortable log cabin, Moses Van Campen matured into a sturdy young man, innured to the hardships of border life, skilled in woodcraft, and with a considerable acquaintance among the Indians, who frequented the region. He was a natural leader of men engaged in desperate enterprises. In 1776 he entered the Continental army as an ensign in the 12th Pennsylvania regiment, commanded by Col. Wm. Cook, and the following year became orderly sergeant of Capt. Gaskin's company in Col. Kelley's regiment. In 1778 he was a lieutenant of a company of six-months' men and in April built Fort Wheeler, on Fishing Creek, about three miles above its mouth. In 1779 Moses Van Campen was appointed quartermaster of General Sullivan's army, held that position during the expedition to the Genesee valley, and at the close of the campaign returned to Fort Wheeler, where his father and several neighbors still remained.

The Indians had been so completely routed by Sullivan that the Americans had little fear of further invasions, so in the spring of 1780 the Fishing Creek settlers determined to re-occupy their farms. Late in March Moses Van Campen's father and uncle left Fort Wheeler for their farms about two miles up the creek. They were accompanied by Moses, a young brother, a cousin also a lad, and Peter Pence, one of the most noted hunters and Indian fighters of the Susque-

* The earliest form of this name that we find is "Witmer"; it was so spelled by the emigrant from Switzerland who reached Philadelphia in 1733. It has since had various forms. Mr. Harris usually wrote "Whitmoyer," as it is given in many records; the more modern form, "Whitmore," is used by Sarah Whitmore's granddaughter, Mrs. Sarah E. Gunn, in her narrative of the captivity, printed later on in this volume.

hanna region. Establishing a camp on each farm the parties began the work of reconstructing their houses. Not fearing any danger they were not armed, having with them but two rifles, one at each camp.

One of the first results of Guy Johnson's efforts to hasten the red men upon the warpath in the spring of 1780 was an expedition headed by Joseph Brant, that left Niagara in March. Proceeding to the Genesee, a number of people remained there, while the chief and forty-three Indians, and seventy Tory rangers, crossed the summit at the head of the Canaseraga and descended the Chemung to Tioga Point, where they joined detachments under John Mohawk and English, two noted chiefs, departing from there to ravage the Pennsylvania settlements. They continued in company down the Susquehanna to Meshoppen Creek, where the two bands separated. English, with six warriors, proceeded to the upper end of Wyoming valley, capturing Libbeus Hammond, a man named Bennett, and his young son. Retreating to Meshoppen Creek the party camped to await the return of the other detachment.

Chief English could talk with the prisoners in their own language; during the evening he began a conversation with Hammond. Among other matters he asked the latter if he had ever known Lieut. Boyd of Gen. Sullivan's army. Hammond replied that he was once intimately acquainted with that officer. English then produced a sword and drawing a blade from the scabbard handed it to Hammond with a smile of exultation, saying, "There is Boyd's sword." Hammond examined the weapon closely and discovered the initials T. B. stamped on the side near the hilt. English said he commanded the Indians lying in ambush for the advance of Sullivan's army the night Boyd was sent on as a scout. After describing in detail the capture of Boyd, Chief English continued: "We took Boyd prisoner and put him to death. We cut off his fingers and toes and plucked out his eyes, but Boyd neither asked for mercy nor uttered a complaint. Boyd was a brave man and as good a soldier as ever fought against the red men." After the recital of English the prisoners were securely bound and the warriors lay down to

sleep. At daylight a cold wind caused the Indians to loosen the prisoners, with orders to build a large fire. Six of the warriors again went to sleep, leaving one on guard. The prisoners determined to escape and watching their opportunity Hammond suddenly caught up a spear and thrust it through the body of the guard with such force that the breast bone closed on the spear head holding it firmly. The Indian fell forward on the fire with a yell and Hammond tugged at the spear to withdraw it. English sprang to his feet with a "Chee-whoo, chee-whoo." Bennett seized a tomahawk, buried it in the head of the chief and instantly followed up the blow by braining three others. Hammond now abandoned his spear and as the remaining two Indians had fled into the woods, he threw a tomahawk, severely wounding one in the shoulder. During the fight Bennett's son tried to shoot, but found the guns empty. The whites gathered up such things as they desired, including Boyd's sword, threw everything else into the fire and set out for their homes, where they arrived three days later.*

After the departure of English and his party from Tioga Point, Mohawk with nine warriors went down the Susquehanna to the vicinity of Shawnee Flats, where they killed Asa Upson, and captured a boy named Jonah Rogers. Advancing to Fishing Creek the Indians killed the uncle of Moses Van Campen, captured the young son of the latter and Peter Pence. Shortly after they surprised and captured Moses Van Campen and killed his father and young brother. Continuing up Fishing Creek to the head of Hemlock Creek they captured a man named Abraham Pike, with his wife and child. "These," says Hubbard, "they stripped of all their clothing except a thin garment. One of the savages took the little one by the heels and swung it around with the intention of dashing out its brains against a tree. The infant screamed and the mother with a frantic shriek

* Hubbard's "Life of Van Campen," Stone's "Life of Brant," "Annals of Binghamton" by J. B. Wilkinson, and statements to the writer by Asa P. Bovier of Elmira, a grandson of Hammond. While at a treaty at Elmira in 1790 Hammond saw the Indian whom he wounded with the tomahawk at Wyoming. Several years later Hammond gave the sword to Col. John Boyd, the former commander and fellow captive of Horatio Jones.

flew to its relief, catching hold of the warrior's arm. Chief Mohawk seeing the situation came up, took the child from the cruel wretch and gave it to the agonized mother. He then returned the clothing that had been torn from her and taking out his paint box painted his mark upon her face, pointed in the direction he wanted her to go, saying, 'Joggo, squaw.' She departed and arrived safely at Wyoming."

The Indians with Van Campen, Pence, Pike and the two boys continued their retreat to Meshoppen Creek, where they discovered the fate of English and his party. The faces of the warriors suddenly lighted up with passion and every move indicated their desire for revenge. Mohawk alone retained his composure; his utmost efforts were required to prevent the savages from immediately avenging their comrades by the torture of the prisoners. On reaching a point about fifteen miles from Tioga Point the party camped to wait the arrival of Brant.

Knowing they were doomed to torture and death Van Campen arranged with Pence and Pike to attempt escape. They planned to disarm the warriors while asleep. Pence was to take possession of the guns and fire, while Pike was to kill two on the left with a tomahawk and Van Campen the three on the right in a similar manner. That night the prisoners were bound as usual. "About midnight," says Van Campen, in his petition to Congress, "I got up and found them in a sound sleep. I slipped to Pence who arose; I cut him loose and he did the same by me; then I cut Pike loose; in a minute's time we disarmed the Indians. Pence took his station at the guns. Pike and myself with tomahawks took our stations. At that moment Pike's two awoke and were getting up. Here Pike proved a coward and lay down. It was a critical moment. I saw there was no time to lose; their heads turned up fair; I despatched them in a moment and turned to my lot as agreed. As I was about to dispatch the last one on my side of the fire, Pence shot and did good execution. There was only one at the off wing that his ball did not reach, a stout, daring fellow named Mohawk. At the alarm he jumped off about three rods from the fire; he saw it was the prisoners who made the attack;

giving the war-whoop he darted for the guns; I was quick to prevent him. The contest was then between him and myself. As I raised my tomahawk he turned quickly to jump from me; I followed and struck at him, but missing his head my tomahawk struck his shoulder, or rather the back of his neck. He pitched forward and fell; at the same time my foot slipped and I fell by his side. We clinched; his arm was naked; he caught me round my neck; I caught him with my left arm around the body and gave him a close hug, at the same time feeling for his knife, but could not reach it. In our scuffle my tomahawk dropped out. My head was under the wounded shoulder and I was almost suffocated with blood. I made a violent spring and broke from his hold; we both rose at the same time and he ran. It took me some time to clear the blood from my eyes. My tomahawk had got covered and I could not find it in time to overtake him. He was the only one of the party who escaped. Pike was powerless; he was trying to pray and Pence was swearing at him, charging him with cowardice, saying it was no time to pray, he ought to fight. We were masters of the ground. I then turned my attention to scalping them and recovered the scalps of my father and brother and others; I strung them on my belt for safekeeping. We kept our ground till morning, built a raft and set sail for Wyoming. . . . The following day I went to Sunbury. . . . I was received with joy, my scalps were exhibited, the cannons were fired, etc."

After the departure of English and Mohawk from Tioga Point the main expedition under Brant proceeded to the head waters of the Delaware, where Capt. Alexander Harper and thirteen militia on April 7th were surprised in a sugar camp. Harper told Brant there was a large force of troops at Schoharie and so impressed the war chief that the latter decided to change his course and at once began a retreat. Descending the Delaware to Cook House flats where Jasper Parrish had previously been located, the expedition crossed over to Oquago, constructed rafts and floated down the Susquehanna to the Chemung where they were to meet the detachment of seventeen men. "Mohawk," says Sims, "was

occupying a little hut near Tioga Point, where the Minne-sink party were to await Brant's arrival, trying to heal his wound." "As the party under Brant drew near the place the war-whoop was sounded and soon answered by a pitiful howl—the death yell of the lone Indian." "The party halted in mute astonishment when Mohawk, with nine pair of moccasins taken from the feet of his dead comrades, came forward and related the adventures of himself and friends and the terrible disaster that had overtaken them all." "The effect upon the warriors who gathered in a group to hear the recital," says Stone, "was inexpressibly fearful. Rage and desire for revenge seemed to kindle every bosom and light every eye as with burning coals. They gathered round the prisoners in a circle and began to make unequivocal preparations for hacking them to pieces. Harper and his men gave themselves up for lost . . . but at this moment deliverance came from an unexpected quarter, . . . the only survivor of the murdered party rushed into the circle and interposed in favor of the captives. With a wave of the hand as from one entitled to be heard, for he was a chief, silence was restored and the prisoners were surprised by the utterance of an earnest appeal in their behalf."

Capt. Harper knew enough of the Indian language to understand its import. In substance the chief appealed to his brother warriors in favor of the prisoners upon the ground that it was not they who murdered their brothers; to take the lives of the innocent would not be right in the eyes of the Great Spirit. His appeal was effectual; the passions of the incensed warriors were hushed; their eyes no longer shot forth burning glances of revenge and their gesticulations ceased to menace immediate and bloody revenge. "True . . . the chief who had thus thrown himself spontaneously between them and death knew all the prisoners, he having resided in the Schohara canton of the Mohawks before the war. He doubtless felt a deeper interest in their welfare on that account; still it was a noble action worthy of the proudest era of chivalry and in the palmy days of Greece and Rome would have insured him 'an apotheosis and rites divine'. . . . The prisoners were

so impressed with the manner of their deliverance that they justly attributed it to a direct interposition of the providence of God."

Brant conducted the prisoners to Fort Niagara and delivered them to Col. Butler. The feat of Van Campen and Pence was noised abroad and all the Indian nations in the service of the King condemned them as national enemies. Their names were repeated from lip to lip and lodge to lodge and with the view of discovering one or both of them every white prisoner taken by the Indians for many months was subjected to a rigid examination.

Besides the expedition headed by Brant, a second war-party composed entirely of Indians and including warriors from several nations, was organized on the Genesee in March, 1780. Leaving Little Beard's Town prior to the arrival of Brant's expedition and descending to the Susquehanna by a more westerly route, the party reached the lower Fishing Creek valley on the same day that Mohawk's band captured Moses Van Campen and his friends. Billimer and Welliner, who early realized their exposed situation, in good time retreated to one of the forts, but George Whitmoyer either continued to reside at his farm, or had returned to it, before the arrival of the war-party. It was Easter morning. The Whitmoyers awoke unconscious of the terrible danger that menaced them. Two girls, Catharine and Ann, aged fourteen and twelve, started out before daylight to secure the sap flowing in a sugar bush. Philip, the eldest son, partially dressed, was kneeling on the hearth of the great fireplace endeavoring to kindle the smoldering embers into flame. Suddenly the door was thrown open and a yell rent the air. The half-dazed boy turned his head to learn the cause and, as he glanced over his shoulder, the painted form of a half-naked savage with uplifted tomahawk, met his horrified gaze. Mr. Whitmoyer comprehending the situation, sprang out of bed and reached for his rifle to shoot the intruder, who stood for one moment undecided whether to strike the father or son; but a shot through the half open door stretched the brave pioneer lifeless on the floor; before Philip had time to move the keen tomahawk of the savage

was buried in his brain; his scalp was torn off and his mother tomahawked in her bed.

Meeting no resistance, the savages searched the house and secured Sarah, aged seventeen; Mary, ten; Peter, eight; George, six; John, four years, and an infant. Taking such plunder as they desired the Indians emptied the beds upon the fire and the humble homestead was speedily enveloped in flames. The smoke from the burning cabin and the whoop of the savages warned the children in the sugar bush of the loss of home and relatives. Realizing that their own safety was threatened, and that they were utterly unable to render assistance to the dear ones, they hastily concealed themselves.*

Knowing that an avenging force would speedily follow them, the savages gathered up their plunder, thrust each captive child upon a horse in front of a warrior and hurriedly retreated northward. The children, being mounted, were saved the fatigue of travel and the Indians were thus enabled to journey at a more rapid rate than was usually maintained in a retreat with prisoners. The eldest girl, Sarah, or Sally as she was familiarly called, had secured the babe at the death of the mother, and, clasping it closely in her arms, soothed it to rest. When placed on a horse Sally still held the child, which became frightened and began to cry, whereupon the Indian with whom they were riding struck it a heavy blow that only increased its cries.

Becoming enraged, the savage seized the child by one of its feet, swung it about his head and brained it on the nearest tree. Sally struggled to save the babe or to rescue its lifeless body hastily thrown upon the ground. She received brutal warning to desist if she wished to escape a similar fate. For the sake of the other children whom she considered her own charge, she stifled the agony in her heart and endeavored to obey. Being well mounted the Indians pushed forward, distancing any pursuers, and making only

* The following day a party of rangers visited the ruins and buried the dead; the graves on the old road from Jerseytown to Washingtonville being still pointed out by descendants of the early settlers. Three days later some friends searched the sugar bush and discovered the two girls safe in their place of concealment.

the briefest stops until they passed the borders of New York. Then they halted for a rest and assembled in council to settle the fate of their captives. It being the policy to increase their numbers by prisoners, especially by the adoption of children, Mary and Peter were assigned to their Mohawk captors and taken to Brant's town at Niagara; George and John were claimed by Senecas, who had established homes at Tonawanda, while Sarah was separated from the others and sent to a family living at Deonindagao, or Little Beard's Town.*

IX. PIGEONS AND PRISONERS—VAN CAMPEN AGAIN.

Soon after Horatio's return from Niagara his mother decided to visit her brother, Gy-ant-wa-chia, or Cornplanter, who had settled on the Allegheny River. In order to obtain supplies, the family first journeyed to Fort Niagara and thence to their old camping ground at Devil's Hole. After leaving this camp the hunter's family returned to Buffalo Creek, and continued on through Cattaraugus to Cornplanter's town, on the Allegheny. Soon after their arrival a runner came in shouting, "Yu-ak-oo-was, yu-ak-oo-was!" ("Pigeons, pigeons!") He said the birds had roosted in a wood on the Genesee River, about two days' journey above Caneadea village.

All was now bustle and confusion, and every person in the village who could bear the fatigue of travel at once set out for the Genesee. On their arrival at the place designated by the runner, Jones beheld a sight that he never forgot. The pigeons, in numbers too great to estimate, had made their temporary homes in a thick forest. Each tree and branch bore nests on every available spot. The birds had exhausted every species of nesting material in the vicinity, including the small twigs of the trees, and the ground was as bare as though swept with a broom. The eggs were hatching and thousands of squabs filled the nests. Every

* For an account of her captivity, see the narrative by Mrs. S. E. Gunn, a great-granddaughter of Sarah Whitmoyer and Horatio Jones, in this volume.

morning the parent birds rose from the roost, the noise of their wings sounding like continuous rolls of distant thunder, as flock after flock soared away to obtain food. A little before noon they began to return to feed their young; then arose a deafening chorus of shrill cries as the awkward younglings stood up in the nests with wide open mouths uttering their calls of hunger. Soon after noon the old birds departed again to return about sunset, when they came in such dense flocks as to darken the woods. All night long the sound of breaking branches caused by overloading the roosts, and the whir and flutter of falling birds trying to regain their foothold, disturbed the usual silence of the forest.

As the annual nesting of the pigeons was a matter of great importance to the Indians, who depended largely upon the supply of food thus obtained, runners carried the news to every part of the Seneca territory, and the inhabitants, singly and in bands, came from as far east as Seneca Lake and as far north as Lake Ontario. Within a few days several hundred men, women and children gathered in the locality of the pigeon woods. Among those who came were a dozen or more captive whites, with several of whom Jones had some acquaintances. One of these captives, a Dutchman named Smith Houser, was a simple-minded fellow whom Jones had befriended on various occasions, thus winning his friendship. For their temporary accommodation the people erected habitations of a primitive style, consisting mainly of huts constructed by setting up two crotched stakes on top of which a pole was laid. Other poles were placed against the ridge, three or four on each side, with the lower ends resting on the ground. One or two poles were then tied across the others parallel with the ridge-pole and to these were fastened long over-lapping sheets of bark forming tent-shaped huts with one open end that was closed at night by curtains of skins and blankets. This form of cabin was easily erected in a short time, and afforded a fair shelter to the occupants during the brief period of their stay.

The Indians cut down the roosting trees to secure the birds, and each day thousands of squabs were killed. Fires

were made in front of the cabins and bunches of the dressed birds were suspended on poles sustained by crotched sticks, to dry in the heat and the smoke. When properly cured they were packed in bags or baskets for transportation to the home towns. It was a festival season for the red men and even the meanest dog in camp had his fill of pigeon meat.

In addition to the families at the pigeon woods, forty warriors on their way from Fort Niagara southward, halted there for a few days to enjoy the sport and obtain a supply of cured birds for food on their journey.

Upon his return to Northumberland after the massacre of Mohawk's band, Moses Van Campen reentered the service as lieutenant in a company commanded by Capt. Thomas Robinson. On the 16th of April, 1782, while out on Bald Eagle Creek with twenty-five men, Van Campen was attacked by eighty-five Indians under Hudson and Shongo, assisted by Lieut. Nelles and a platoon of Butler's Rangers. Nine of Van Campen's men were killed, three escaped, and the rest, including Van Campen, surrendered to Nelles. The savages then began to murder the wounded prisoners, killed two and assaulted a third, when Van Campen interferred and struck a warrior a blow that knocked him senseless. Some of the Indians at once attacked the lieutenant, but others who admired his courageous act interposed to save him; a terrible struggle took place between the two factions; the admirers of Van Campen saved his life.

The surviving soldiers were stripped of all clothing but their pantaloons. Van Campen's commission containing his name and rank was in a silken case suspended from his neck by a ribbon. The Indians secured the case and tore off the ribbon but as none of them could read and neither Nelles nor his men happened to see it, it was left upon the ground, so none of the party was aware that their long-looked-for enemy was in custody. Placing heavy packs of plunder upon the prisoners, the savages crossed the Susquehanna at Big Island, made their way across the hills to Pine Creek above the first fork, which they followed up to the third fork, took the most northerly branch to its head, crossed the Genesee, and in two days' journey down that stream ar-

rived at the pigeon woods, where they camped a short distance from the huts of the Indians with whom was Horatio Jones. The prisoners were naked, except their pantaloons, but Van Campen had in addition an old blanket given him by one of the warriors. His name was still unknown to his captors, but the band had scarcely halted before he noticed that the attention of all the people was upon himself. He was soon taken to the camp of the outgoing war-party for examination.

"Upon coming up to the warriors," says Hubbard, "Van Campen was made to sit on one side of the fire between the rows of cabins where he could be seen by all who wished to gratify their pride or curiosity in beholding him as a trophy of their awful warfare. But he was no less curious than they in surveying the forms that met his eyes, for he was interested in knowing whether among those that were before him there could be the Indian with whom he had a severe encounter when making his escape in April, 1780; yet he nowhere saw anything of the warrior Mohawk and he began to feel a little more at ease."

Upon the arrival at the pigeon woods of Nelles and his party, with Van Campen and his men, Jones was at a distance and while coming leisurely to camp ran upon Houser, who was talking aloud to himself in an excited and unguarded manner: "Vot for dot Van Camp vot killed the Injuns comes among us! Now we'll all be burnt every tarn bugger of us. Yes, we will, dots vot,oney way!"

"Tut, tut," said Jones, in a low voice. "What's the matter, Houser?"

"Vy, Van Camp what killed the Injuns is here and we'll all be burnt to the stake, so sure as my gun was a firelock,oney vay!"

"Stop, stop," said Horatio, looking cautiously about to see if others were near. "How do you know that the man who killed the Indians is here?"

Houser answered that a party had just come in with prisoners, that he went to see the captives and recognized one as an old acquaintance named Elisha Hunt. That he spoke to "Lish," who said that he belonged to Van Campen's

company and that that officer was now among the prisoners. Jones was astonished at the information. He was familiar with the story of Van Campen's marvelous escape and by direction of the chiefs had occasionally asked questions of prisoners regarding the redoubtable frontiersman, but of late the topic had not been mentioned. As he stood a moment in deep thought, Houser said: "Dat's Lish Hunt vot stands by der dree yonder," at the same time pointing to one of the groups of prisoners, surrounded by men, women and children, all staring at the wretched militiamen.

"See here, Houser," said Horatio, with an earnestness that startled the Dutchman, "Don't you stir a foot nor speak a word till I come back." Then he walked over to the group and approached Hunt, who was a little apart from his comrades. There was nothing in the appearance of Jones to distinguish him from the Indians about him. He was clad in full Indian costume and his bronzed features were about as dark as the faces of many of his red associates. Without seeming to notice the soldier he spoke to the latter in a low voice.

"Elisha Hunt, if you men do not wish to be burned alive at once, do not tell any one of the name of your captain. Caution your comrades."

Before the militiaman could speak, Jones disappeared in the crowd, then returned to Houser. The latter was in great fear and Horatio purposely increased his distress. "I don't believe the man who killed the Indians is here, Houser," he said, "but if our people once get that idea in their heads they will surely kill us all. Now if anyone speaks to you about these men you must lie like the deuce, and stick to it too, or you will be tortured to death by fire; you keep close to me where I can see you every moment, and when the Indians ask you any questions answer 'Te-qua' ("I don't know")* and do not speak another word; and Houser," continued Jones, stepping close to the Dutchman and speaking in a stern tone that caused the unhappy fellow to start as though struck by a blow, "If you ever tell a person of this conversation *I will kill you.*" The desired effect was pro-

* Allen's narrative.

duced upon the simple-minded man, who promised strictly to obey Jones in every particular. This incident had occupied but a short time and without attracting the attention of others, and Horatio, closely followed by Houser, proceeded directly to the camp where "the man who killed the Indians" had previously been taken.

"During the time Van Campen was sitting by the fire," continues his biographer, "the warriors were standing in a group not far distant, engaged in earnest conversation, the subject of which he supposed to be himself. Presently the conversation ceased, the crowd opened and a person of noble proportions came slowly forth. In color and garb he was an Indian, but these were all that gave him claim to be a savage warrior. He came to Van Campen and commenced questioning him concerning that part of the frontier from which he had been taken, inquired about the number and condition of the inhabitants, the manner in which they were defended, the number and vigilance of their scouts, etc." "The captive officer gave correct answers to all of these questions except the one respecting the strength of the force guarding the settlements; this he represented as being much greater than it was, to discourage them, if possible, from visiting the frontier. He said the country about Northumberland was very strongly garrisoned with troops and that large numbers of scouts were sent in every direction to discover and waylay any Indians who might be sent against them. He was next directed to mark out with a coal, upon a piece of bark, the course of streams emptying into the Susquehanna, the situation of forts and the paths pursued by scouts. In marking down the courses of streams and the location of the forts Van Campen observed accuracy of statement for he knew that the Indians were as well acquainted as himself with these matters. He expected that his exactness in this would lead them to give more credit to that part of his story in which he desired to exaggerate. Executing his work promptly and correctly he showed them on his little bark map the situation of the forts and routes of the scouting parties, again giving them a very large idea of the number of soldiers and preparations of the

settlers to receive an attack." In the questions asked him Van Campen observed that the subject of his identity was not broached. This fact was not surprising as it was a custom of the Indians never to inquire the name of a person of himself. When the examination was ended a chief asked the interpreter if he knew of the officer. He threw a careless glance at Van Campen and replied in an indifferent manner, "I never saw the man before." Houser was standing near watching the proceedings. At that instant Jones caught the eye of the Dutchman and the latter blubbered out "Te-qua, te-qua." His distress was so evident and his weakness so well understood that the warriors laughed at his needless fears. Every other white captive was called forward to look at the prisoner. Fortunately all were strangers and unable to identify him. "Immediately after the examination," says Hubbard, "the Indian interpreter by whom Van Campen had been questioned, came up to him and said in a rather low voice, 'There is only one besides myself in this company that knows anything about you.' Van Campen replied rather sternly, 'And what do you know about me, sir?' 'Why, you are the man who killed the Indians!' Van Campen's thoughts were then turned to the fire and tomahawk, supposing that since he was known he would certainly fall a victim to savage barbarity. He enquired the name of the one who was standing by his side and was answered 'Horatio Jones.' The interpreter then spoke, 'Do not be discouraged, sir, for I too am a prisoner and a white man in blood and sympathy. You can be assured of my silence and friendship.' Van Campen quickly looked up; stern warrior that he was, the moisture came to his eyes as he exclaimed with heartfelt fervor, 'Those are the sweetest words I ever heard spoken.' As the interpreter gave renewed assurances of secrecy promising to use his influence in behalf of the other prisoners, Van Campen felt his courage revive. Jones told him that the Tories and Indians were well informed concerning the destruction of Mohawk's men and the slightest suspicion of his identity would certainly result in his torture. If he could pass through to Niagara undiscovered and be consigned to the British there was hope for him, otherwise

there was none. He must trust in Providence and be brave."

This language and the earnest manner of the interpreter inspired Van Campen with the belief that he was in the presence of a friend in whom he could repose perfect confidence. Yet he was not then aware of the extent of his obligations to Jones, nor of the decided action the latter had taken to suppress the report of his presence in camp; a fact that he soon after learned of Elisha Hunt.

The party remained at the pigeon woods only two days, their departure being hastened through some stratagem of Jones, known only to himself. During that time he was cautious in his communications with the prisoners lest his actions arouse suspicion; yet he managed to hold considerable conversation with Van Campen who parted from him with deep emotion. "Under Providence, Sir," he said, wringing Horatio's brown hand, "I owe my life to you, and so long as I live I shall bear your kindness in earnest remembrance."

Continuing down the Genesee to Caneadea Van Campen and all his men were then compelled to run the gauntlet to the same house where so many others had sought refuge in similar trials. Caneadea being the home village of the expedition the prisoners were divided there. Elisha Hunt and one or two others were taken by their captors to Little Beard's Town. The warriors claiming Van Campen under escort of Nelles and his rangers, took the trail to Niagara where the American officer was delivered to the British.

Jones remained at the pigeon woods with the company from Cornplanter's settlement and part of the war-party lingered engaged in the sport of catching pigeons. One day an Indian, travel-stained and exhausted arrived in camp. The warriors were hastily summoned to his presence and recognized the brave chieftain Mohawk. He informed them that while on an expedition near Bald Eagle Creek he had learned of the defeat of Van Campen's company and the capture of that officer and several of his men. Leaving his own band Mohawk started on the trail of Nelles and with the briefest possible stops for food and rest had followed the party to the pigeon woods.

Standing up before the astonished warriors Mohawk related the thrilling story of the massacre, described the struggle between Van Campen and himself, and striding back and forth like a caged tiger, his black eyes glowing with anger, he tore the blanket from his back, pointed to a deep scar in his left shoulder saying, "This was made by Van Campen with my own ax and this"—holding a tomahawk up to view—"is the weapon." The warriors were greatly enraged at Mohawk's recital and furious on learning that the man they so fervently hated had passed safely through their hands. Their first thought was that he could have escaped detection only by the assistance of some one among themselves. As communication with Van Campen had been held mainly through Jones, the latter was brought before the chiefs and sternly questioned regarding his knowledge of the prisoners. As he saw the glowering faces about him his heart grew heavy and he fully believed he was doomed to death. Knowing the general good feeling of the people towards himself and their confidence in his word he determined to face the matter boldly and not make a direct reply unless forced to a positive answer. "You were all present when the prisoner was examined and heard the talk," said he quietly. "I told you what the man said and you heard it." "But did you not know that the officer you examined was Van Campen who murdered our brothers?" they said. "How should I know?" retorted Jones with an air of surprise. "I never heard of Van Campen until after I came among you, now going on two summers; and I told you truly at the time the man was examined that I had never seen him before. How should I know any better than you who the prisoner might be? Did any of you think to ask the officer his name? If I had known Van Campen do you think I would now tell and have you kill me? Do you want me to lie?" Pausing a moment to observe the effect of his words Horatio proceeded to greater lengths. Straightening up and looking the chiefs full in the face with the manner and tone those who knew him feared he demanded, "Who says I knew the prisoner?" Captive though he was Jones'

reputation as one not only physically able to defend himself but also as one who never hesitated to swiftly avenge an insult, now aided him greatly. His calm manner and determined attitude silenced all open expression regarding his knowledge of the prisoner. If not entirely satisfied the Indians were prompt to announce their confidence in his integrity. "Hoc-sa-go-wah speaks like a man," said the head chief. "His tongue is not forked; his words are full of reason. How should he know Van Campen any better than we? Hah-ne-go-ate-geh * placed a spell before our eyes." Fleet runners were sent to Caneadea and others sent on the north-western trail with instructions to bring Van Campen back to the Genesee. The messengers reached Niagara only to learn that the object of their hatred was safe within the walls of the fortress and that Col. Butler had adopted him into his own family.

The news spread through all the Indian camps. They assembled in large numbers about the fort and offered to exchange fourteen other white captives, then held in the Genesee towns, for Van Campen. Col. Butler refused the offer and sent Van Campen to Montreal where he was exchanged.

Mohawk was too exhausted by his forced march from the Susquehanna to the Genesee to proceed farther than the pigeon woods. There he remained in camp several days awaiting news from the runners sent to Niagara. Jones talked with the chief regarding his struggle with Van Campen, obtained his version of the affair and ingratiated himself into Mohawk's good graces. The tomahawk that had borne so fearful a part in the massacre possessed a peculiar fascination for the interpreter and as the handle was broken he finally induced Mohawk to sell it. The weapon was of French manufacture, had been obtained by Mohawk in the old French war and carried through many a bloody fray. Unlike the usual form of Indian belt axes it was of the knife blade pattern. The top was hollow forming the bowl of a pipe and the handle bored to serve as a stem. Jones re-

* The evil-minded spirit.

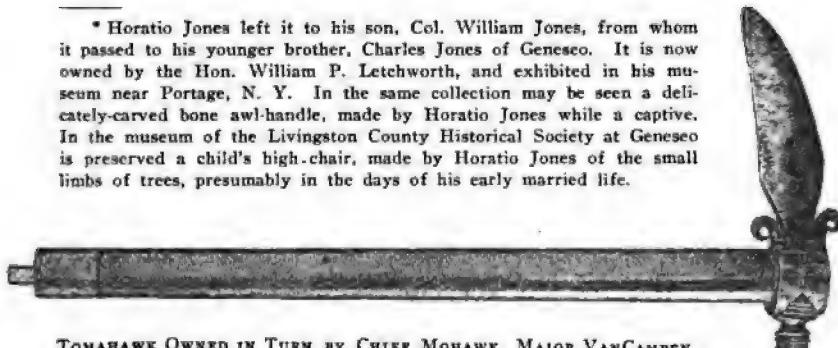
placed the handle with a new one and thereafter the noted war ax adorned his own belt.*

X. EXPEDITIONS—THE WITCH OF THE TONAWANDA.

No further reference was made to the part taken by Jones at the examination of Van Campen and the interpreter congratulated himself upon his success in evading the questions addressed to himself; but the Indians determined to test his sincerity in a manner wholly unexpected. To his astonishment they proposed that he accompany the outgoing expedition to the Susquehanna. Horatio fully understood the reason of the proposition and as he had decided to remain with the Indians he was pleased with the opportunity to demonstrate his loyalty to them, and what was of greater importance in his view, the probable opportunity to assist such of his countrymen as might fall into the hands of the savages. With the concurrence of his family he promptly accepted the proposal and joined the ranks of the war party.

The object of the expedition was to attack the forts in Northumberland, but the story told by Van Campen about large garrisons of soldiers, caused the leaders on the way down to change their plans and strike farther west into Bedford County. "Jones however," says Hon. Orlando Allen in

* Horatio Jones left it to his son, Col. William Jones, from whom it passed to his younger brother, Charles Jones of Geneseo. It is now owned by the Hon. William P. Letchworth, and exhibited in his museum near Portage, N. Y. In the same collection may be seen a delicately-carved bone awl-handle, made by Horatio Jones while a captive. In the museum of the Livingston County Historical Society at Geneseo is preserved a child's high-chair, made by Horatio Jones of the small limbs of trees, presumably in the days of his early married life.



TOMAHAWK OWNED IN TURN BY CHIEF MOHAWK, MAJOR VAN CAMPEN,
CAPT. HORATIO JONES AND HIS HEIRS. NOW OWNED BY
HON. WM. P. LETCHWORTH, PORTAGE, N. Y.

his excellent account received from the interpreter's own lips, "was not permitted to go into the settlement, but was left at a camp several hours' march back from the point of intended attack. In relating the circumstances in later years Jones said he had no idea nor desire to escape, for he had become so fascinated with Indian life that he wished to remain with them. He was fond of adventure and the hope of being of service to such prisoners as might be taken, overcame any scruples he might otherwise have had. It was ever after a source of gratification and a pleasing reflection to him that he accompanied the expedition as he was undoubtedly, under Providence, the means of saving the lives of some of his former neighbors and acquaintances who were made prisoners and from whom he obtained the first information regarding his own family that he had received during his captivity."

While the warriors informed Horatio that he would not be permitted to enter the settlements no other restraint was placed upon his actions. His conduct thoroughly satisfied the Indians of his honest intentions to remain with them, thereby advancing him greatly in public estimation. His duties as interpreter rendered him a conspicuous figure in the communications between the red and white man and his influence with the prisoners induced them to yield quietly to their fate and cause as little trouble to their captors as possible. Appreciating this fact the savages treated the whites with unusual leniency, permitting them considerable liberty of action. "One prisoner who was badly wounded failed to keep up with the party. . . . The Indians repeatedly threatened him and Jones as often begged them to spare him a little longer; perhaps he might revive and be able to proceed on the journey; but they became impatient and annoyed at the delay the man was beginning to occasion, and a warrior dispatched the wounded prisoner with a club, tore off his scalp and left him where he fell. By carefully using their strength the other prisoners accomplished the journey and reached the Indian town on the Genesee in safety."

Horatio had hardly recovered from the fatigues of the ex-

pedition when Hah-do-wes-go-wah's restless disposition incited him to visit relatives who had recently removed to the Grand River in Canada.

Placing the broom against the door as usual on leaving the habitation alone, the family set out on the journey, going by way of Little Beard's Town and the great spring in the present town of Caledonia, where they witnessed the torture of a prisoner at the stake. Years afterwards Jones pointed out the location of the torture stake and told how the superstitious natives thereafter avoided the spot believing that the spirit of the murdered victim still haunted the locality. Passing through Tonawanda* the family followed down the south bank of the creek to its mouth where a canoe was usually kept for the accommodation of travelers. The little craft lay on the opposite side of the stream in plain sight and Horatio offered to swim across and bring it over.

"Deh-wi-ya!" ("It is not good") his father replied, "for witches live in the stream near its mouth, and when people venture into its waters they are pulled under its surface and drowned. No wise person ever attempts to swim the Tonawanda Creek at this point. It is better to wait until some one comes this way and brings the canoe to us."

"That may be true of the red men," replied Horatio, "but I was born in a nation of people who can control witches in water. I have the secret and can swim the creek in safety and bring the canoe back, besides you know our friends at Fort Schlosser expect us to-night and we are all anxious to get there."

At this point the mother interposed. "Mind your father, my son," said she, "he is a man of years and sense and will not counsel you wrongly. It is better to remain here in safety than to tempt the evil spirits. Go help your brothers gather wood for the night while your sister and I prepare supper." Indian children are subject to their parents as long as they remain under the parental roof, even to middle age, and Horatio was usually obedient to the slightest command; but he especially disliked the idea of camping on the creek to satisfy a superstitious whim. He turned aside care-

* The old Indian village near the great bend of the Tonawanda.

lessly but the sight of the canoe lying so temptingly on the farther shore aroused his impatience. Hastily slipping off his frock and moccasins he plunged into the water and struck out for the opposite bank despite the warning cries and commands of his family, none of whom dare follow him. To their astonishment he reached the bank, jumped into the canoe and with a few vigorous strokes of the paddle brought it back to them. A person who had passed through the greatest danger could not have been received with greater demonstrations of pleasure than those that greeted the headstrong young man as he stepped ashore in his dripping leggings. His act of disobedience was utterly ignored and he was welcomed as one who had escaped only by a miracle. The preparations for camping were discontinued and the half built fire abandoned.

Crossing in the canoe the family reached Schlosser that evening. Hoc-sa-go-wah's wonderful feat in swimming the witch-troubled Tonawanda was narrated to friends, the strange story spread through the camp and the swimmer speedily found himself regarded with increased respect. From Schlosser the family went down the river to Fort Niagara where the witch incident was already well known, and operated to his advantage.

Notwithstanding the bitterness engendered by war and the frightful results of employing savages to devastate the homes of the Americans, there were many men in British service whose efforts to mitigate the sufferings of unfortunate prisoners have never been properly recognized. While Col. Butler by the surrender of Boyd and Parker dishonored his manhood he also, in numerous other cases, exhibited noteworthy forbearance and generosity towards persons with whom he might have dealt harshly. Capt. Powell, Robinson, Pye, Lieutenants Hillyard, Nelles and other officers at Niagara, frequently made strenuous efforts to obtain the release of captives in whose wretched condition they had no interest other than that sympathy excited by the distress of a fellow mortal. When persuasion failed to effect their benevolent purposes these officers did not hesitate to spend their money to ransom prisoners whose circumstance forbade the

possibility of any future recompense; they sometimes made long journeys through the wilderness on foot to relieve despairing captives.

Capt. Powell, an officer whose loyalty to the British crown was never questioned, had interested himself in the ransom of several prisoners and previous to the Tonawanda incident had purchased two captives whom Hah-do-wes-go-wah had brought in from the frontier. His attention was called to Jones, probably by Jasper Parrish through his father Capt. Hill, and while the family was at Niagara offered to buy the "handsome boy." Hah-do-wes-go-wah declined the offer. After urging the matter quite persistently, Capt. Powell displayed a handful of gold saying that his master the King had great store of the precious coin and could buy anything his servants wished; the warrior must state his price and the gold would be at once paid. Meeting a more decided refusal Capt. Powell demanded the reason. The warrior said Hoc-sa-go-wah had been of great service, not only to himself, but also to the entire Seneca nation. Though young, his wisdom was superior to that of many older men and his relatives in the clan had decided he should thereafter sit in council with the chiefs. He then told of the Tonawanda feat, adding that though the power exercised over witches by the handsome boy was a qualification no other person possessed there was a better reason why he could not be bought. "We believe," said he, "that Ha-we-ne-ya sent this boy to us as a special gift for the good of the Seneca nation, and he cannot be taken from our people until the Great Spirit so directs. We have adopted him according to our custom and he is considered by all our people one of my own children. Go, tell your master the King that he is not rich enough to buy Hoc-sa-go-wah. A Seneca will not sell his own blood!" To prevent further discussion Hah-do-wes-go-wah pulled his blanket over his head and strode hastily away, leaving the generous officer astonished at the vagaries of Indian nature.

XI. HORATIO A CHIEF—SARAH WHITMORE'S CAPTIVITY.

At the organization of the league of the Iroquois the Senecas were granted eight sachems, ranking as follows:

- | | | | |
|----|--|--------|------|
| 1. | Gä-ne-o-di-go, Handsome lake, | Turtle | clan |
| 2. | Sa-da-ga-o-yase, Level heavens, | Snipe | " |
| 3. | Ga-no-gi-e, | Turtle | " |
| 4. | Lä-geh-jo-wä, Great forehead, | Hawk | " |
| 5. | La-de-a-no-wus, Assistant, | Bear | " |
| 6. | Nis-hä-ne-a-nent, Falling day, | Snipe | " |
| 7. | Gä-no-go-e-dä-we, Hair burned off, | Snipe | " |
| 8. | Do-ne-ho-gä-weh, Open door, | Wolf | " |

These titular names were hereditary in five clans. When a sachem died a successor was elected from the same clan, his name was taken away, the name of the sachem conferred upon him, and he was raised up by a ceremony of the great council. The Seneca nation was termed Ho-nan-ne-ho-ont, Doorkeeper of the league, and the eighth sachem was the official doorkeeper and great military commander of the nation. The sachems as a council ruled the nation. They were termed officially Ho-yar-na-go-war.

Subsequent to the foundation of the league there came into prominence a class of men known as chiefs. The office of chief was a reward of merit and died with the individual. Each of the eight clans of the Senecas was entitled to ten chiefs, who were elected by the members of the individual clans. The national council raised the new chiefs to office, and the great council of the confederacy either confirmed the election or deposed the person.

Soon after the refusal of Hah-do-wes-go-wah to sell Horatio, the latter was summoned before a meeting of the members of the Hawk clan, then at Niagara, who informed him that his relatives had elected him a chief. He was accordingly raised to the office under the name of Tä-yä-da-owoh-koh.*

* This is a compound word and signifies "lying across." I think that this was the last Indian name borne by Capt. Jones; at any rate it is the only name I have heard given by Indians who knew him during his last years. I conclude it was regarded as an honored name for they conferred it upon the late Dr.

Jones was amazed at the announcement. Brought to the wilderness a helpless captive as he had been, adopted by force, he had received from those parents the same treatment they had bestowed upon their own children. Under their care he had passed from boyhood to manhood; though nominally a prisoner his liberty was unrestrained and all the Senecas looked upon him as one of themselves. This election to a seat among the councilors was very gratifying and confirmed his high standing among the proud Iroquois as expressed in the new name bestowed upon him. Again he admitted to himself that the trend of events was in accordance with his own wishes. Concealing his emotions, he quietly thanked his friends for their action and again assured them he would remain with them until it was clearly manifested to all that it was the will of Ha-we-ne-ya that he should leave them.

Of the captive life of Sally Whitmoyer—or Whitmore—we have little knowledge. Upon her arrival at the Genesee in April, 1780, she was adopted by a Seneca family whose home was at Little Beard's Town; but like other Indian households the members were frequently moving about from place to place. In after days Sally mentioned their wanderings up and down the Genesee valley and spoke especially of their camping at the late town-site of Williamsburg and Squakie Hill. While she endured the hardships incident to nomadic life in common with her forest associates she was treated not only kindly, but affectionately, by her Indian relatives, who provided for her as for one of themselves. Her sex precluded the possibility of distinction and her existence was circumscribed by the simple duties incident to an Indian girl's home life. At the age of twenty she was a light-complexioned girl of medium height. Her

Lewis H. Morgan at his adoption at Tonawanda. General Ely S. Parker in a letter to the writer Aug. 19, 1891, gave the name "Do-ne-ho-ga-wa," Door-keeper of the Seneca nation. Horatio Jones was called "To-yah-daoh-wok-go," which means "lying across." Lewis Bennett, a contemporary of Horatio Jones, gave it as "Dah-yah-daoh-woh-koh," or "lying across." Chester C. Lay, president of the Seneca Nation in 1888, gave it as "Da-ha-ya-dah-woh-goh," "A body lying across," as a parent holds a child in its arms, so the bearer of the name connected the Senecas and the whites, or constituted the bond between them.—G. H. H.

hair was gathered in a heavy braid, its glossy smoothness confined by a simple band in native fashion; her whole attire was marked by a neatness so characteristic of the pioneer woman of her time. She had become well versed in the Seneca tongue and her gentle manners had won the affection of those within her limited circle of acquaintances.

It was a rule of native etiquette that any female who appeared alone in public, thus invited attention, but no girl or woman having an attendant, even if it were but a little child, was ever noticed or molested. Sarah Whitmoyer preferred the modest retirement of her humble home and to avoid publicity never left the house with uncovered head or without a companion—generally one of her Indian relatives. While her own brothers and sisters were becoming thoroughly Indianized in their Iroquois homes, and the younger ones were forgetting their parentage and the English language, Sarah longed for the scenes and faces familiar to her youth. The rude life of the wilderness shared with savages was distasteful. She knew that peace would soon be declared and she prayed that the glad day of deliverance from captivity might be hastened.*

[Sought in marriage by a native, Sarah turned for counsel to her fellow-captive, Horatio Jones. Some time before this, it would appear, he had taken to wife an Indian woman; she had either died, or left him, before he met Sarah Whitmore. Jones had a son by the Seneca woman, who, in accordance with custom, remained with his mother's clan. One may believe that it was a stronger feeling than pity which prompted Horatio to point out to the white girl that her only escape from an Indian alliance was to wed him. She assenting they were duly joined in Indian fashion, by her acceptance of his gift, which he made larger and more valuable than the offering of the Indian rival. When opportunity offered, they were married by a Christian ceremony, performed by the Rev. Samuel Kirkland.]

* To avoid repetition of facts presented in Mrs. Gunn's account of Sarah's captivity, Indian wooing and marriage with Horatio Jones, Mr. Harris's narrative has been considerably condensed, the bracketed sentences being supplied by the editor to preserve continuity.

A preliminary treaty of peace was signed at Paris November 30, 1782, but incursions upon the borders of New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia continued until the spring of 1783, when an agreement for the cessation of hostilities ended the war, and the Indians, sheathing their scalping knives, resumed their ordinary occupations. By the treaty finally signed Sept. 3d, Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the United States and agreed that the boundaries of the United States, roughly stated, extended northward to the Great Lakes and westward to the Mississippi; all territory west of that river being recognized as the property of Spain.

Notwithstanding the faithful service the Iroquois had rendered Great Britain during the war, that power made no provision for her red allies, leaving them to the mercies of the conquerors. The agreement of Sir Guy Carleton at the opening of the war, to reinstate those Indians who entered the service of the King to their former condition, was ratified by General Haldimand in 1779. With the exception of the Oneidas, Tuscaroras and a few scattering members of other nations, the Iroquois had espoused the British cause and the eastern nations were exiled from their former homes; but the Senecas, located in the wilderness, far from the borders of civilization, still retained possession of their own territory.

When the terms of peace were announced and the Iroquois learned that the British Government had made no provision for them, the Senecas offered their exiled brethren a tract of land in the Genesee valley; the offer was declined and Joseph Brant visited Quebec to claim from Haldimand the fulfillment of his promise. The General agreed to give the Mohawks a tract at the Bay of Quinté on Lake Ontario, but the Senecas were greatly displeased at the idea of their friends being located so far away. At Brant's renewed solicitation Gen. Haldimand purchased for the British Indians a new tract six miles wide on each side of the Grand River, in Canada, extending from its mouth on Lake Erie to its source, about 100 miles away. The Senecas continued

quietly in occupation of their own territory, awaiting with grave concern the action of the American Government.

By the treaty of 1783 England relinquished her claim to all Indian lands within the limits of the United States. New York asserted her right, as the natural successor of the British crown, to control the sale of all such territory within her boundaries, and March 25, 1784, her legislature authorized the appointment of commissioners to take charge of all affairs pertaining to the Indians within the borders of the State. On Sept. 10th, the New York Commissioners met representatives of the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix. Upon receiving assurances that the State acknowledged their ownership of the soil of their territory, the Iroquois agreed to terms of peace and promised not to sell any land in New York without consent of the State Commissioners.

Some time in the fall of 1784 a council was called at Little Beard's Town to consider the affairs of the Six Nations. According to the tradition of the Jones and Whitmore families this council met but a short time before the captives on the middle Genesee were released, probably in October.

Horatio Jones was by this time recognized by the Iroquois as a counselor of great influence in their interests; his moral and physical courage so often tested, good sense and perfect command of the Seneca language put him on an equal footing with the ablest men of the council, while his good humor made him popular with the people.

Once assured of his right to claim his wife Horatio learned of the fears entertained by her family that she would be taken from them; he and Sally earnestly assured them that if released from captivity they would in time return to the Genesee and live among their Indian friends. The pledge was accepted in good faith and Sally continued in her home awaiting the claim of her promised husband.

On October 22, 1784, the United States Commissioners met the representatives of the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix, now Rome. New York had recognized the title of the red men to their ancient possessions within the state, and profffered the olive branch of peace; the Commissioners treated the Iroquois as a conquered people and secured peace on

terms of their dictation. The Oneidas and Tuscaroras as late allies of the Americans, were confirmed in the possession of their respective territories. The Senecas, Mohawks, Onondagas and Cayugas were granted peace upon condition that the Six Nations should yield to the United States all claims to lands west of a line four miles east of the Niagara River drawn from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie at Buffalo Creek, thence south to Pennsylvania and west and south along the border of that state to the Ohio River. All prisoners of war held by these natives were to be surrendered to the United States; and six principal chiefs were retained in custody as hostages for the delivering of the captives. It was estimated that the Six Nations then held in captivity no less than ninety-three persons, of whom a list was made; and Hill, Jasper Parrish's Indian father, and five other principal men, were surrendered to the Commissioners as a guarantee of the fulfillment of the terms of the treaty. Some captives who had come to Fort Stanwix with their red masters were immediately set at liberty, but a greater number still remained at the towns of the Iroquois. The Indians agreed to collect and forward them to Fort Stanwix as speedily as possible.

When the runner reached the Genesee with particulars of the treaty, and Horatio and Sarah understood that according to its conditions they must soon be freed, they were much affected by the information. From the date when Jones lay alone in the depths of the forest and wore out the dismal night in mental argument regarding his proper line of duty he had given himself up to the belief that he was under the special care of a Higher Power that directed the principal events of his existence and impelled him to continue in captivity for the benefit of his fellow-prisoners. He had looked forward to the close of the war as a period when he could conscientiously be released from his moral duty, but now that the time had actually come he found the ties binding him to his associates greatly strengthened by his predilection for forest life; once again he balanced in mind his inclination for freedom and the pleasures of the wilderness against what he considered a call of duty to return to civilization.

It was not, however, a matter of personal choice ; the United States demanded the surrender of all persons taken by the Iroquois, and the latter in good faith honestly endeavored to perform their part of the contract. There were a number of captives who had married with the Indians, and others who preferred to remain with their captors, but all the prisoners were informed that the demands of the thirteen Great Fires must be complied with.

"We know that Ha-wen-ne-ya sent you to us to be a bond between the red men and the white men," said the chief of the council to Horatio, "and your mission is not yet fulfilled ; but for some purpose He now directs that you again go to the home of your palefaced friends, and you must go. We believe the separation will be brief and that you will again be sent to us. Remember you are one of our children entitled to share with us in all things and whenever you return a seat shall be given you where your old age may be passed in peace."

In December (1784) a large delegation of Senecas escorted the Genesee captives to Fort Stanwix and there formally surrendered them to the United States authorities ; but it was not till the following May that the last formal surrender of prisoners was made at Albany and the hostages released. Even then some twenty or thirty captives either remained with the Indians or returned to them after being released. Among this number were Black Joe, John Simminton, Mary Jemison, James Pemberton, Poudry, Deamhout, Frances Slocum and others whose names have since passed into history.

It cannot be learned what was the immediate procedure of Jones and his wife upon their release at Fort Stanwix. It is said that the Whitmore children were collected at Schenectady. We know that Jones and Sarah were married at that place by Rev. Samuel Kirkland, the missionary, in 1784, and that they decided to establish a home in the wilderness, where Jones could build up a trade in furs. Their subsequent life has been carefully traced.

XII. THE HOME IN THE WILDERNESS.

Early in 1785 farewells were spoken to friends in Schenectady, and shouldering his rifle, Jones went away into the forest, closely followed by his trusty horse bearing his wife and all their possessions. The course was westward over the great trail leading from Albany through the Iroquois towns to Lake Erie. It was the intention of Horatio to locate near the boundary of Seneca territory on the route between the western towns and settlements of the whites, where he could secure traffic between the Indians and the whites. The easternmost town of the Senecas on the great trail had been located at Kanadesaga, a mile and a half west of Seneca Lake, and Old Smoke, the so-called King of the Senecas, had lived there prior to the destruction of the place by Gen. Sullivan in 1779. After Sullivan's invasion Old Smoke, or at any rate some Seneca families, appear to have lived at the end of the lake; the site of the former stronghold was called the Old Castle, while the name Kanadesaga was applied to all the section between the Old Castle and the lake, though there seems to have been no town or settlement of any consequence at the lake when Jones was seeking a home there in 1785. The western town of the Cayugas on the great trail was at Skoi-yase, four miles east of Seneca Lake, and a few houses stood there when Jones reached the place early in the spring of 1785.

The young couple decided to settle there and Horatio built a bark house similar to those used by the Indians. It was located on the south side of the Seneca River near the spot now occupied by the lock at the falls. In this humble habitation they set up housekeeping and began trade with the Indians. At that date no other white man had established a home in the territory now comprising Seneca County, and the late captive interpreter thus became the pioneer settler of a section that soon proved the doorway through which civilization made its advance into the ancient domain of his recent savage masters. There was a shorter trail between Cayuga Lake and the West that struck the Seneca River above Skoi-yase, and as many of the Indians

took that route our young trader lost chances to barter; accordingly he soon moved to the end of Seneca Lake and built a second habitation on the east side of the outlet on the high ground near the present road. Jones soon discovered that he had not been wise in this location as many Indians turned south on the trail along the western side of Seneca Lake. How long he remained at the outlet is not known, but probably till early spring of the following year, when he went farther west and settled near the intersection of the east and south trails; thus becoming the first white settler upon the present site of Geneva.

De Bartycn and Poudry, two French traders, were located at the Old Castle and at Cashong, a small Seneca village south of Horatio's new home; and the latter determined to open barter at the camps of the native hunters. Accordingly he made long excursions into the Seneca country, leaving his young wife in their bark house with no neighbors other than parties of Indians who occasionally camped in the vicinity. The native friends who came from time to time to visit Horatio and his wife met with a warm welcome. The generous bounty bestowed upon all was appreciated by some who often laid the fruits of the chase at the cabin door; thus their larder was seldom free from evidences of the good will of Indian friends. In this humble home, with none other than the women of the forest to attend her, Sarah's first child was born, December 18, 1786. He was named William, in honor of his parental grandfather, and Whitmoyer, after his mother's family. He is said to have been the first child of white parentage born on the great trail west of Utica. Horatio remembered to have seen the wreck of an old batteau in the outlet near his former home and he secured enough of the pitch pine boards to make a rude cradle wherein the children of the Indians loved to rock the little stranger as they crooned their lullabys and peered wonderingly at the dimpled pale-face.*

* William Whitmoyer Jones, the first born of Horatio, preserved with religious care this cradle which, at the time it was made, was considered a great improvement upon the bark or hollow log cradle of that day. For many years it was in the possession of John H. Jones of Leicester. Its present owner is not known to the editor of this volume.

Sitting in the firelight of their humble home one chill evening Horatio and his wife were startled by a loud knock at the door. The natives exercised no such formality upon entering a dwelling and the sound suggested to the young pioneers the presence of some person from civilization. "Come in," Jones called out instinctively, certain that some young person stood without. The rude door at once swung open, admitting a man bearing upon his shoulders a pack of furs. Pausing a moment to give a keen glance at the occupants of the room, whose faces were lighted by the flames in the fireplace, the stranger coolly unslung his pack and addressing Jones in a pleasant voice, the accent revealing a German origin, briefly explained that he had become lost in the wilderness and seeing a light and a house had hastened to it in hopes of obtaining food and shelter. Jones gave the new-comer hearty welcome and Sarah set before him a venison steak, smoking from the embers, with corn bread and coffee. The guest was about Horatio's age. His face was smooth and there was an expression in the clear eyes and firmly-set mouth, indicating shrewdness and strength of character, that caught the fancy of the young host. In the conversation that followed the stranger said his name was John Jacob Astor;* he resided in New York, was engaged in the fur trade and had come to the Indian country alone and on foot to establish a trade with the Indians. Mr. Astor was equally impressed with the manly appearance and intelligence of his host, soon learned the history of the young

* Mr. Harris's authority for this account of Astor's visit to Jones is not known to the present editor. Most likely it is a tradition of the Jones family, and the probabilities favor its truth. John Jacob Astor came to America in 1783, and in a few years his fur trade had so developed that he was on the highway to wealth. From 1785 or thereabouts for several years he was often on the Niagara, at the fort, negotiating with traders and Indians throughout the region, and directing his own agents. In a biographical sketch of him his great-grandson, William Waldorf Astor, has written: "Upon reaching New York he at once bussed himself in the fur trade, to whose vast developments his thoughtful attention had been directed by a fellow countryman and wherein immense profits were being realized. He entered upon this occupation with unremitting vigor and in a dozen years had diverted some of the most profitable markets from his competitors and was at the head of a business branching to Albany, Buffalo, Plattsburg and Detroit. . . During the first years of his life in America, the development of the commercial establishment Mr. Astor was building up called for his frequent presence among the Indian tribes with which the fur

couple and shrewdly concluded that their knowledge of the Genesee country and acquaintance with the natives would prove a great advantage in matters of trade. Jones then had quite a quantity of furs. Astor looked over the stock, gave the young trader several valuable suggestions and bought the lot; an agreement followed that thereafter Jones should collect for Astor alone and deliver his stock at the Astor warehouse in New York. Jones purchased for Astor for many years.

The following season Joseph Smith, the former Seneca captive whom Horatio met at Little Beard's Town, and who had been a friend to Sarah during her captivity, came to Seneca Lake and built a log house near that of Jones. For awhile he assisted Horatio, but finally began trade upon his own account; Mrs. Jones and Mrs. Smith were often alone together for days, while their husbands were far away in the wilderness.

XIII. THE BUFFALO CREEK COUNCIL OF JULY, 1788.

We will now review events that soon made the place that Jones had selected for a residence the most noted spot in Western New York. When the Commissioners of New York State and the representatives of the Six Nations met at Fort Stanwix, September 10, 1784, the latter agreed not

trade was carried on. He was obliged to be his own agent at the frontier trading stations, making agreements for the delivery of large quantities of furs; and as his dealings multiplied, it was no less necessary to regulate the affairs of his agencies. In later life he often spoke with enthusiasm of the incidents and adventures of this period of his career. It is easy to place before one's imagination the grandeur of the scenes he then beheld in their primeval beauty. Through the forests of Lower Canada, of New York and Michigan, he walked, guided by *courreurs de bois*, sometimes the first European explorer of their recesses. He traversed the Great Lakes with a band of Ontario voyageurs, and shot the Sault Ste. Marie in a birch canoe with a couple of Indians. He visited encampments on the St. Lawrence and at Saginaw Bay, and beheld along the Mohawk Valley the last Iroquois wigwams—those final vestiges of the intrepid Six Nations. Wherever he went he dealt with the chiefs, bargaining with them in a spirit of fairness and humanity, and forbidding his agents ever to sell liquor to the savages. These journeys were continued through the summers of several years and extended from the Hudson to the copper rocks of Lake Superior."—(*Pall Mall Magazine*, June, 1899.)

to sell their lands in New York without the consent of the State. In 1785 Massachusetts, by virtue of the grant of 1620, set up a claim to the Iroquois territory in New York; but at a convention of delegates from the two states, held at Hartford in December, 1786, Massachusetts relinquished all claims of sovereignty and jurisprudence within the borders of New York upon condition that the latter state should concede to her the right of preëmption, or sole privilege of purchasing from the native owners all lands in the State west of a due north and south line drawn from the 82d milestone on the Pennsylvania line to Lake Ontario. The new boundary between the white and the red men was to supersede the line of property and be known as "The Preëmptive line." As the purchase of Iroquois lands by individuals was illegal and the fever of land speculation possessed many people, two companies, known as the New York Genesee Land Company and the Niagara Genesee Land Company, were organized in 1787 for the purpose of leasing of the Six Nations for a period of ninety-nine years all their country west of the old line of property. In November, 1787, the New York company called a council of the Six Nations at Kanadesaga and the Indians assembled on the lake shore near Jones' house.

In their pursuit of traffic in the depths of the wilderness Jones and Smith had little knowledge of the acts of legislatures or of the motives underlying the schemes of men eager to obtain a first title to Iroquois territory, hence when the Hon. John Livingston, one of the most prominent men of the day, offered to engage the two traders as interpreters, they deemed themselves fortunate. For their services at this treaty each received liberal compensation and Jones a gratuity of half a share of stock in the lessee company.*

January 8, 1788, a lease was obtained of the Oneidas for their lands. Thereafter the companies were termed lessees. These companies included some of the most prominent men of New York and among the British at Niagara. In Feb-

* In that month, November, a daughter was born to Joseph Smith and wife whom they named Mary. She married Justice Dutton, who died in Moscow in 1815. Her daughter married Dr. D. P. Bissell of Utica.—G. H. H.

ruary, Livingston, who was then in the Assembly, with others, memorialized the Legislature to recognize the leases; but the petition was summarily rejected and the Governor was empowered to use the force of the State to prevent intrusion or settlement upon Iroquois lands. On April 1st Massachusetts sold to a company represented by Nathaniel Gorham and Oliver Phelps, the sole right to preempt Indian lands in New York, on condition that the company should extinguish the native title. Phelps was appointed general agent, and to prevent complications opened negotiations with the lessees, promising Livingston and others several townships if the lessees would surrender their leases and procure from the Senecas a deed of cession to Phelps and Gorham. This proposition was accepted and the lessees contracted to hold a treaty at Kanadesaga for that purpose. On May 2^d Livingston tried to compromise with New York, but his proposition was rejected.

On June 1st, Mr. Phelps, the Rev. Samuel Kirkland as Commissioner of Massachusetts, and other gentlemen arrived at Seneca Lake, where Horatio Jones and Smith were the only white residents. Mr. Phelps was so pleased with the location that he decided to found a town there if the place fell within his purchase. The Indians refused to go to Kanadesaga to meet Livingston, and Phelps decided to hold a treaty on his own responsibility. Jones was sent to the Senecas and on June 21st Red Jacket, Little Billy, Heap-of-Dogs and three others brought to Mr. Phelps an invitation to meet the Indians at Buffalo Creek.

The council convened at Buffalo Creek July 4, 1788, James Dean, Joseph Smith, Horatio Jones, Wm. Johnson and other interpreters being present. Phelps bought of the Indians for \$5,000 and an annuity "forever" of \$500, a tract of 2,600,000 acres lying mainly between Seneca Lake and Genesee River, since known as the Phelps and Gorham Purchase, giving his bond therefor to the Seneca chiefs. When the bargain was concluded Phelps asked for a present of a lot west of the Genesee upon which he could place a mill to grind corn for the Indians. They objected, but finally agreed to give him land sufficient for a mill lot. Phelps

selected a section extending from Lake Ontario twenty-five miles southward and twelve miles west, comprising some 200,000 acres. When the Indians learned that an acre would have been sufficient for mill purposes their amazement was indescribable.

The council closed July 8th, and the following day Dr. Benton and Elias Gilbert of the lessees obtained the signatures of the Indian chiefs to a writing abrogating their lease to the lands of the Phelps and Gorham Purchase; but affirming their lease to the lands of the Six Nations east of the preëmption line yet to be established on consideration that the State of New York ratify the contract.

These transactions were effected through the influence and with the sanction of the accredited agents of New York and Massachusetts, and by prominent men of the day, in whom the Indian interpreters had unlimited confidence; hence was it strange that Horatio Jones and Joseph Smith deemed their own actions as interpreters as perfectly consistent with their character as good citizens and their connection with the lessee company as a fortunate occurrence, destined to bring them into close relations with leading men of the times?

The travel of traders, settlers and white men over the great trail was increasing and on their return from Buffalo Creek in July, Clark Jennings, a former Iroquois captive, built a log house on the shore of Seneca Lake, south of Jones', and opened a tavern. Horatio also erected a bark-covered house of logs, and soon after Capt. Peter Bartle and Leonard Widener settled near him. Joseph Smith lived near Jones. In honor of the Seneca Castle, which was well known in all the country, the former Indian captives, now pioneers, called their little settlement Kanadesaga. William Walker, chief of surveyors for Phelps and Gorham, arrived at Kanadesaga with his men in August, and Col. Maxwell began the survey of the preëmption line from Pennsylvania. It was expected that the line would run east of Kanadesaga, in which case the new town would be established there.

In March the State had called a council of the Six Nations at Fort Schuyler (old Fort Stanwix) to negotiate the

purchase of Iroquois lands east of the preēmption line, and as the last lease procured by the lessees covered those lands the companies opposed the prospective treaty and endeavored to induce the Indians not to attend. When the council convened in September, Gov. Clinton peremptorily ordered Livingston and Schuyler to retire forty miles from the treaty grounds. The State then purchased the Onondaga and Oneida lands of the Indians and Rev. Samuel Kirkland, Dean, Schuyler, Olcott, Ryckman and others who had acted with the lessees up to that date, withdrew from the companies and entered the service of the State. Kirkland was immediately sent to the Cayugas and Senecas to call a council of those two nations at Albany to extinguish their claims to lands east of the preēmption line.

In October a number of men, afterwards noted pioneers of the Genesee country, arrived at Kanadesaga, or, as it was later called, Geneva. Among the number were William Markham, Ransom Smith, Enos and Jared Boughton, John H. and George Jones, the last two being brothers of Horatio. The boys had made their way on foot from Pennsylvania over Sullivan's old route. All the men mentioned entered the service of Phelps and Gorham. It had been the general expectation that the preēmption line would run east of Seneca Lake, but Maxwell's surveyors made a mistake and ran the line through the Old Castle, one and one-half miles west of the lake, apparently leaving the new village within the borders of the last lease of the lessees. Walker, therefore, decided to build a new town and in November removed his men and stores sixteen miles westward, and established the village of Canandaigua, on the outlet of Canandaigua Lake. Jones and Smith had been on friendly terms with Walker and John H. Jones was in his employ. In December, Walker placed all his property in Canandaigua in the care of Joseph Smith, and with his surveyors went East for the winter.

The Senecas were constantly importuning Jones to return to the Genesee, and some time during the winter of 1788-'9, a delegation, of which Farmer's Brother was a member, visited him with a formal request that he would

share their dish, in other words, would settle among them. Captain Jones, as he was then called, gave the matter serious consideration. His trade was already affected by the influx of white people, and the continual excitement under which the Indians were laboring. It was evident that the settlement of the Phelps and Gorham tract would destroy his business.

By removing to the Genesee he would again be on the border of civilization and in the path of Indian trade. He decided to accept the offer of his red friends and informed them he would dip his spoon in their dish as soon as he could make proper arrangements. The delegation replied that when he was prepared to look they would stand a broom at his door; in other words whenever he selected a piece of land for a home they would confirm his title.

The lessees had not given up the hope of profiting in some manner from the lease they held of Indian lands east of the preëmption line. The Rev. Mr. Kirkland discovered that considerable opposition to the proposed treaty existed among the white people and the Indians appeared indifferent. Col. Seth Reed and Peter Ryckman, traders at Kanadesaga, wrote to Gov. Clinton, offering to carry the Seneca and Cayuga Indians to Albany and his offer was accepted; but the two men greatly overestimated their influence. To excuse their failure they wrote to Gov. Clinton in January that "Indian interpreters Wemp, Smith and Jones, together with what lessees were on the ground, prevented the Indians from going to the treaty and kept them so intoxicated that it was almost impossible to do business with them."* In the same letter Reed said he was too ill to attend to the matter which was left to Ryckman, and begged for some land for his services.

Ryckman reached Albany in February with thirty Indians and squaws, including one Seneca chief. The State Commissioners, in accordance with the custom of the times, furnished liquor to the Indians, and one died in beastly intoxication. The Indians then ceded all the Cayuga lands to the State, and Ryckman was granted a large tract of land

* Hough's "Indian Affairs."

on condition that he should share it with Reed. In accordance with his agreement with the lessees Phelps had instructed Walker to survey a line of townships on the Genesee for them the previous fall, and following the February treaty the three leases held by the lessees were surrendered to the State authorities.

As soon as he could get through the snow in the spring of 1789 Joseph Smith moved to Canandaigua and commenced keeping tavern in a log house near the outlet. Walker's surveyors returned from the East and a steady tide of travel flowed through Geneva and Canandaigua. Horatio Jones had afforded the surveyors considerable information the previous fall and he now found his services in demand to guide new settlers to their purchases.

The 1st of June, 1789, Horatio and John H. Jones proceeded to the present town of Phelps and planted five acres of corn. The 10th of June they guided Enos Boughton to the present town of Victor, which he had purchased for twenty cents an acre. Boughton had several hired men and they began building a cabin on Boughton Hill, while the Jones brothers plowed and sowed to buckwheat three acres of Indian clearing on the east side of the present road a mile or two south of Boughton Hill. The corn in Phelps and the buckwheat in Victor are said to have been the first crops raised in those townships by white settlers. Horatio and John H. then assisted Boughton's brother-in-law to survey the township.

In June, 1789, Joseph Brant, in behalf of the Six Nations, wrote to Gov. Clinton that the so-called treaty held in February, was the work, so far as the Indians were concerned, of unauthorized persons, contrary to Indian usage, and repudiated by the Six Nations. He asked that the lands should not be surveyed or settled until the matter was adjusted. The State surveyors had begun work in June and Gov. Clinton wrote that they must not be disturbed as the treaty was considered valid. On July 5th Capt. Hardenbergh,* in charge of the survey, wrote the Governor that Indians from Buffalo had notified Reed and Ryckman to leave

* Captain, later Major, Abraham Hardenbergh.

Kanadesaga, and requested the surveyors to stop work. Hardenbergh said: "These carryings on, I have no doubt, are fostered by the preëmption people looking forward to the establishment of a new state. . . . The following are heads of the active lessees, viz.: Dr. Caleb Benton, most influence; Joseph Smith; John McKinstry, very active; Benj. Allen, violent in words; Horatio Jones, an interpreter; Peter Bartle; Clark Jennings, subtle fellow; Robt. Mitchell, interpreter. I think it would be well if they were immediately apprehended. It would discourage the rest and bring them to serious reflection."*

July 14, 1789, Gov. Clinton commissioned Hardenbergh, Seth Reed and George Fleming as justices of the peace; he authorized Hardenbergh to organize a battalion of militia and in his letter to the Major said: "Although repeated information has been received charging them (Benton, McKinstry and others) with treasonable practices, yet for want of magistrates authorized to take affidavits we are not possessed of any legal proofs of the facts. This difficulty is now obviated and you will be able to authenticate the charges."

About the 1st of July a runner reached Capt. Jones with a speech from the Seneca chiefs who were then assembling on the Genesee. In substance the message stated that the voices of birds (rumors) were very strong and confusing, that the Senecas believed it was a proper time for Horatio to renew his relations with the nation as a chief, and they desired him to come to the Genesee where the council would grant him a seat upon Seneca territory. Capt. Jones, in company with his brothers, John H. and George, immediately set out on horseback for Little Beard's Town, where he found the council assembled. He informed the chiefs that he had not yet decided upon a permanent seat, but would like a place to build a hut and plant some seeds for next year's harvest, when he expected to come to the Genesee. With the approval of the Indians he set his brothers to work mowing a quantity of hay upon the flat, and promis-

* Hough's "Indian Affairs."

ing the chiefs to meet them later at Canandaigua, he returned to Geneva.

On August 1, 1789, the chiefs of the Six Nations assembled at Canandaigua to receive the first payment from Phelps and Gorham. When Mr. Phelps was ready, they appointed Horatio Jones, Jack Berry, Joseph Smith, Nicholas Rosen-crantz and James Mathews a special committee to count the money and appraise the goods offered by Phelps, which duty was performed to the satisfaction of all. The Senecas then returned Phelps' bond and on August 4th, the chiefs of the other Iroquois nations signed a quit claim to the territory purchased by Phelps and Gorham.

Upon receiving authority to investigate charges, Major Hardenbergh called a meeting of the inhabitants of Geneva, to whom he explained the State laws and the illegal proceedings of the lessees. On September 1st he arrested Benjamin Allen, who escaped the following day. McKinstry could not be found and there appears to have been no mention of Jones, Smith, Wemp and others whom Hardenbergh and Ryckman had previously denounced. Hardenbergh wrote to Gov. Clinton: "The Senecas we begin to learn on further information wholly decline taking any part in the business," i. e., obstructing the surveyors. It is a fact that the Senecas distinctly stated that they had long before resigned all claims to lands east of the preëmption, and had no interest in, nor right to sell, such lands.

As Jones' influence with the Senecas was well understood, and Reed and Ryckman had secretly charged him with detaining the Senecas from State treaties, Maj. Hardenbergh's statement to the Governor may be considered an official refutation of the charges.

In the papers and traditions of the Jones family there is not the slightest hint that Jones or Smith ever heard of the charges. It is undoubtedly a fact, that the alarming reports of expected resistance to State authority emanated mainly from persons who wished to magnify their own importance in order to procure cessions of land from the State.

Reed and Ryckman quarreled in September, and in Oc-

tober Gov. Clinton suggested that the authority of the Legislature be invoked to compel Ryckman to disgorge Reed's share of lands granted for the benefit of both. The legal contest that followed between Reed and Ryckman developed such a disgraceful state of affairs as to render the secret accusations against Jones and Smith utterly valueless.

XIV. A NEW HOME—WITH PROCTOR IN 1791.

The location selected by Horatio Jones for a temporary home covered in part the site of the old Seneca Castle destroyed by Gen. Sullivan in 1779.* Believing the spot unlucky for themselves and having strong faith in Ta-yah-da-o-noh-ka's power over evil spirits, the Senecas were pleased to see him occupy the ground. No definite bounds to the space he was to use were mentioned. When left to themselves in July, John H. and George found a temporary residence in a vacant Indian hut. Whetting their scythes, the young men mowed nine acres of grass upon the flat a little east and south of the present bridge over Little Beard's Creek, and but a short distance from the spot where Boyd and Parker were tortured. The hay was turned and cocked with forks made of crotched branches of trees, carried on brush drags to high ground, where it was stacked and secured. The haymakers then went to Geneva and later, probably in September, returned to the Genesee with grain, tools and provisions. Having brought plow irons, they constructed a rude plow and with the horses they had ridden turned over the soil of the nine acres, cut the hay, and sowed them to wheat. The crop of grain cut from this ground the following season is supposed to have been the first crop of wheat raised by white settlers in the town of Leicester. The clevis used on the plow in breaking the nine

* Arthur Cummings owns the north side of the road, James F. Colt the south side where Boyd's tree stands.—G. H. H.

acres was carefully preserved, and is now in the possession of James W. Jones of Moscow.*

Mary Jemison's Indian mother was a blood sister of Big Tree, or Ga-non-do-wa-nah. When she moved from Gen-i-sha to the west side of the river, she built her cabin at the east door of the Genesee Castle on the spot which Jones afterwards selected for his dwelling. It was there that the "white woman" entertained the British officers in their journeys to and fro, prior to Sullivan's invasion in 1779. There she planted seed for an orchard and to those seeds a sturdy apple tree, now in Mr. Perkins' orchard owes its existence. By his selection of this spot Jones was again located upon the border of the coming civilization in the doorway of the Indian country. After sowing the wheat, John H. and George constructed a pole and bark shanty as a stable for the horses, or other stock that might winter there; they built a house, also of poles and bark, for Horatio.

Although we have temporarily lost sight of Mrs. Jones in recording the events with which her husband was so closely connected, the brave little woman had nobly sustained her character as a pioneer wife and mother. Three sons, William W., George and Hiram, had been born at Geneva; their log house was one of the most comfortable and cheery homes in the place. Horatio had made his selection on the Genesee through Sarah's advice and they planned for the future with the Genesee Castle location as the center of their anticipated home life. About the 16th of

* Grandson of Horatio through William W. Jones. The exact spot fixed upon by Capt. Jones for his dwelling is now covered by the farmhouse of John Perkins, at the angle in, and north of the road between Cuylerville and Genesee nearly a mile east of the crossing of Beard's Creek, and from sixty to eighty rods west of the bridge over the Genesee. For some distance east of Beard's Creek the land is occasionally submerged by high water, but in the vicinity of Mr. Perkins's house the ground is more elevated and has never been under water. In 1789, in fact as late as 1825, the river ran within eight or ten rods of the site of Mr. Perkins's house and the center of the channel was the divisional line between the Phelps and Gorham tract and the lands of the Senecas. The location is historic. In Indian days several trails crossed the river, in the vicinity, especially those paths connecting old Genisha, Fall Brook and the later Big Tree's village east of the Genesee, with the Genesee Castle and later Little Beard's Town on the west side.—G. H. H.

† A lantern used by them then is now in the possession of Lucien M. Jones of Leicester, a grandson of John H. Jones.

May, 1790, Horatio turned his back on Geneva and again set out towards the Seneca country. First came Mrs. Jones, then Sally Griffith, a servant, each mounted upon a horse bearing a load of bedding.

Mrs. Jones had little Hiram tied in a shawl upon her back in Indian style, with baby George on the cushion before her, with several articles of domestic utility dangling at either side of the saddle horn. Sally Griffith bore William in her arms and was also encumbered with sundry small articles. Following them came a two-wheeled cart, driven by Jones, containing the balance of their household possessions. The little cavalcade journeyed over the rough road in safety until it reached the crossing of Flint Creek. Mrs. Jones passed the ford and halted on the bank to watch Sally, who attempted to follow; but her horse caught his foot in the bottom and in the struggle to release it the child was thrown into the swift-flowing stream. In an instant the young mother dismounted, dropped her two children, ran down the bank near the child, plunged into the water and brought him to shore little worse for the ducking.

Proceeding on to Canandaigua the family received a warm welcome from the family of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Smith, with whom they remained over night. The next day's journey took them to the present location of Lima. At the present location of Avon, Horatio abandoned the rough road over which Berry, Markham, Smith, Ganson and other pioneers had previously passed to the Genesee, and turning southeast picked his way along the high grounds and open spaces of the woods very nearly over the present line of the Avon, Geneseo & Mt. Morris Railroad. Camping one night on the journey, the family continued along the foot hills of Geneseo, through Big Tree Indian village, crossed the Genesee and on the 20th of May, 1790, reached the bark house on the ground of the Old Castle.

A number of Indians, including Sarah's relatives, welcomed them, and the young wife realized that she was again on or near the ground where she had passed the greater part of her captivity. Hospitality is the prime virtue of an Indian home, and understanding this, Sarah quickly arranged

her kitchen utensils and prepared some tea and food for her native visitors, who came in such numbers, that, upon their final departure, there was hardly enough food left in the house for the first family meal.

In the northern and western boundaries of the territory conceded to the United States by England in 1783, roughly stated, were the centers of the Great Lakes from the River St. Lawrence to the head waters of the Mississippi, thence south by the latter river to Florida. Great Britain made no provision for her Indian allies resident within the ceded territory, and Congress was firmly impressed with the belief that the cession of the British crown absolutely vested the United States with the fee of all Indian lands within the borders of the new republic, and that the United States Government possessed the right to retain or dispose of such lands at will. The Senecas now became greatly concerned regarding their own condition and in November, 1790, decided to send a delegation to Philadelphia to learn from President Washington himself the intentions of the Government respecting the Six Nations. Cornplanter, Halftown, Big Tree, New Arrow, Black Snake, Red Jacket and a son of Cornplanter reached the capital on the 29th and on December 1st and subsequent dates, addressed the President, saying in substance that the Senecas had given up their lands at the treaty of 1784 through compulsion, expecting a lasting peace with the United States, but they had been deceived and cheated by Livingston, Street and Phelps; that the latter had failed to pay what he agreed and that year, 1790, had paid nothing; that some of their people had been murdered by lawless whites; they asked justice at the hands of the Government, requested that mechanics and school-teachers be sent to them and that an official interpreter be appointed for the Seneca nation. The President replied in conciliatory speeches, explained the various treaties and the position assumed by the Government, declaimed his intention to do the Indians justice, promised to redress their wrongs and send them instructors; he left the appointment of an interpreter to the Governor of the western territory. He warned the Six Nations not to engage in the border war

and obtained a promise from Cornplanter and other chiefs to assist the United States in securing peace with the hostile tribes. The Seneca delegation lingered at Philadelphia until February 9, 1791, and reached Pittsburg, March 17th, when Big Tree went to the Wabash tribes and Cornplanter departed for the Allegheny. The Senecas were divided in their opinion and desires regarding the situation.

Phelps had failed to pay the promised annuity for 1790; Farmer's Brother, Red Jacket and other chiefs, under the direct influence of the British officers at Niagara and Erie, were inclined to thwart the efforts of the United States to obtain peace with the western tribes and title to their lands, while a majority of the inferior chiefs desired to remain in friendly terms with the United States authorities.

That Capt. Jones was known to Gen. Washington as early as 1790 is well established, but through what means or when Washington first learned of him we have not been able to ascertain. Following his removal to the Genesee Jones was occasionally engaged in secret business for the Government; in the summer of 1790 he was directed to carry a quantity of specie to Buffalo Creek. The travel of drivers, traders and settlers from the Hudson and Susquehanna rivers to the Niagara frontier was increasing fast and a number of desperadoes infested these routes, plundering and murdering those known to possess money. Jones packed the treasure upon the back of his favorite mare Bess and indicating his intended route and camping places, said: "If I am killed on the journey, hunt up the robbers; but if I am murdered in camp, look for the money twenty rods northwest of where I sleep."

Arming himself with a tomahawk and stout knife he set out upon his mission. He passed the Genesee safely and one night camped on a bank west of a branch of Tonawanda Creek. After securing his treasure he built a fire, ate his supper, turned Bess loose to feed, and lay down with his saddle for a pillow. He slept soundly for several hours and towards morning dreamed that a little Indian came to him, saying if he remained where he was his bones would lie in a pile. The dream was so real Jones awoke. Bess

was standing near by and seemed to be frightened ; Jones got up and searched the surrounding bushes, but finding nothing suspicious again lay down to slumber, when the Indian came in a second dream with the same message. Rousing up he observed the same uneasiness on the part of his horse, Bess cowering before him in terror. He had often ridiculed belief in dreams as expressed by the superstitious natives, but now his mind was in unrest and the responsibility of his mission bore heavily upon him. The horse was as thoroughly trained as a dog and he knew she had seen some object of a startling nature ; probably some person prowling in the bushes to reconnoiter his position. Quietly saddling the mare he turned through the bushes closely followed by Bess, to the spot where he had buried the money. In a moment the treasure was secured in its usual place and Jones mounted just as daylight began to appear. He had gone about a quarter of a mile when he heard a rustling in the bushes close by the path. He gave Bess a touch and as the obedient creature suddenly bounded forward a man with a club in his hand stepped into the trail close behind her.

"You stir early," said the stranger.

"Yes," Jones answered curtly, without checking the brisk gait of his horse. A little farther on he saw a brisk fire burning under a large kettle and a man not far off. Jones could not divest himself of the idea that that kettle was intended to cook his body to destroy his identity. He reached his destination in safety.

A few days later John Street, who kept a trading house at Fort Niagara, was robbed and murdered at a spring near the Ridge Road, a mile west of Warren's. His body was cut into fragments and scattered about. Gale, from Goshen, and Hammond, from the Delaware, were arrested for the crime ; Hammond turned State's evidence, but escaped, and Gale was discharged. The spring has since been termed "Murderers' Spring."*

On March 10, 1791, Col. Thomas Proctor was ordered to visit the Wabash and Miami Indians and invite them to a

* Turner's Holland Purchase.

treaty of peace at Fort Washington on May 5th. Leaving Philadelphia on horseback, accompanied by Capt. M. G. Houdin, who was to assume the mission in case the Colonel was killed or disabled, Proctor crossed the Blue Mountains and reached Wilksburg on the 19th.

On the 20th he reached the residence of Capt. Waterman Baldwin, who had been a captive at Cornplanter's town and who was to reside there and instruct the Senecas in study and agriculture. At Tioga Point Proctor hired an Indian named Peter Cayantha to guide him to the Genesee River. At Painted Post the party was joined by George Slocum, who expected to redeem from captivity his sister Frances, who had been a prisoner at Cornplanter's town for twelve years. Crossing over the divide to the Canaseraga, Proctor arrived at the house of Ebenezer Allan, in the present village of Mt. Morris at ten P. M., on the 30th. The following morning Col. Proctor found himself surrounded by the Senecas of Squakie Hill and without an interpreter.

As Allan was not at home Col. Proctor says in his official journal: "I wrote a letter directed to Capt. Allan or Horatio Jones and sent it by a runner by way of Connewago, or at such a place where I could meet with either of them, requesting that whoever received it should repair to Squakie Hill to meet me; and should they meet any Indian chiefs or warriors to invite them to meet me also, having business of importance from Gen. Washington, the President of the United States, to lay before their nation. I at the same time dispatched two runners, one to the several sugar camps adjacent to give them like information and the other to Capt. Big Tree and Little Beard, who reside about seven miles hence. By evening several warriors and chiefs had arrived at Mr. Allan's residence, among the latter Stumpfoot, the chief of Squakie Hill; Little Beard and Black Chief." "April 1st. Mr. Horatio Jones, Indian interpreter, arrived this morning and shortly afterwards I convened the thirty odd chiefs present into council and introduced my message by some prefatory sentiments, touching the candor and justice of the United States . . . and read my message to them from the Secretary of War (asking the Senecas

to accompany and assist Col. Proctor in his efforts to secure peace with the western tribes). They signified their full probation in their accustomed manner." On learning that Cornplanter had called a great council at Buffalo, Proctor decided to go there, and several chiefs agreed to accompany him. "I made inquiry whether it was easy to obtain a good interpreter at Buffalo or otherwise," continued Col. Proctor, "and being informed there were no interpreters there except those under British pay, I conceived it a duty incumbent on me to engage Mr. Jones, as being a proper person for my business from the reputation he bore from inquiries I had made and I accordingly agreed with him in behalf of the United States, to pay him the customary wages so long as I should find occasion for his services." Ebenezer Allan arrived home and refused to receive any compensation for the trouble and expense for provisions Col. Proctor's party had caused him. The Colonel made him presents of an amount equalling eleven dollars.

As Proctor was starting for Buffalo, a second runner came with news that the council fire at that place had been covered for one moon and the Colonel decided to go to Oil Spring, where he expected to find Cornplanter. Proceeding by way of Nunda, Caneadea and Oil Creek the party reached a place called Dun-e-wan-gua, at the great bend of the Allegheny River where, on April 6th, runners informed Col. Proctor that a number of Virginians had killed several Delaware Indians near Fort Pitt. In revenge the Indians attacked a settlement above Pittsburg and killed seventeen whites. Cornplanter, New Arrow and other chiefs, with the commander of Venango, were coming up the river in the garrison boat and canoes, when a company of militia overtook them and forced the party to return, under threats of death. Proctor engaged one of the runners as a guide and proceeding to Cornplanter's town found the place deserted by chiefs and warriors, who had gone to Venango to rescue Cornplanter.

Procuring a canoe and two young Indians to work it, Col. Proctor, Baldwin and Jones set out for French Creek, 130 miles distant, and paddling continuously for thirty

hours, reached Fort Franklin, where Cornplanter and other chiefs informed them that the militia had taken New Arrow to Pittsburg and carried off all the Indian property, leaving the Senecas utterly destitute.

Proctor used every possible argument to appease the fears of the Indians, promised to report their situation to the Secretary of War and have New Arrow released, called them together in council, represented the horrors of warfare and entreated their aid in his mission to the Miamis. The Indians, notwithstanding the murder of their people, imprisonment of their sachem and the robbery of their property, promised the desired aid, but insisted upon going to Buffalo Creek to hold a council. Proceeding up the Allegheny to New Arrow's settlement, where they arrived on the 15th, Proctor left Capt. Baldwin and Cayantha, the Indian guide, in company with Dominick De Barge, formerly of Canadesaga, and James Culbertson of Genesee, who were there trading with the Indians. There Slocum found his long-lost sister Frances married and with an Indian family. No persuasion could induce her to return to her white relatives. News also came that New Arrow had been released and the stolen goods, given to Cornplanter at Philadelphia safely returned. Passing onward by way of Cattaraugus, Proctor and the Senecas reached Buffalo Creek on the 27th, where Farmer's Brother, Red Jacket and other Indian chiefs invited them to the council house of the Senecas.

Horatio Jones then informed the council that Col. Proctor came with messages from President Washington to the Six Nations, but Red Jacket intimated that Proctor might be an impostor, and it was agreed that his commission and papers should be submitted to the commanding officer at Fort Erie. The following morning Capt. Powell came as the representative of the commandant of Fort Erie, and through him Colonel Proctor learned that the Indians were entirely under the control of the British officers of Niagara and Erie and that Brant had been sent with forty warriors to Detroit and thence to the great encampment of the hostile Indians on a mission. Proctor explained to the Indians, through Jones,

the nature of his mission and the messages sent by the United States officials to the Six Nations and the hostiles. Red Jacket replied that the council must be adjourned to Fort Niagara and held in the presence of the British officers. Col. Proctor peremptorily refused to move the fire or submit his business to the British. So the Indians sent for Col. John Butler. Finding that the influence of the British officials rendered futile all his own efforts to secure an escort of the Six Nations' chiefs to the hostiles, Col. Proctor sent a letter by Capt. Jones to Col. Gordon, commandant at Niagara, requesting permission to use one of the vessels on Lake Erie to transport him and party to the Miamis at the upper end of the lake.

Capt. Jones assumed his Indian costume and proceeded to Fort Niagara, where he sent Col. Proctor's letter to Col. Gordon. Wishing to look over the fort where he had spent several weeks while in captivity, Jones passed hither and thither in a leisurely manner until he was suddenly confronted by a corporal and file of men who restricted his movements to the parade ground. Receiving his package he retraced his steps to Buffalo Creek, when Col. Proctor learned that the British commandant chose to consider him a private individual and refused him the use of a vessel. The Senecas, therefore, refused to attend Proctor to the hostiles and the mission thus unhappily ended. Proctor left Buffalo, May 21st, and Jones returned to the Genesee, having served as interpreter and assistant in all the controversies and incidents of the mission.*

[*End of the narrative as written by Mr. Harris; the following chapters by the editor of this volume.*]

* We omit from Mr. Harris's narrative a long account of treaty negotiations with Western Indians, the organization of the Indian department, and the operations of Harmar and St. Clair, the principal facts being elsewhere accessible.

XV. TREATIES AND COUNCILS—THE JONES AND PARRISH TRACTS IN BUFFALO.

During the years that followed, down almost to the time of his death, Horatio Jones was often in Government or other employ, as interpreter, his salary from the Government being \$400 per year. His services on many of these occasions gave him an important part in negotiations of the greatest import, between the United States Government, or representatives of land companies, and the Indians. Without undertaking to rewrite the history of these treaties and councils, all long since fully recorded, it is essential to our narrative that some account of them be given.

Horatio Jones had served as interpreter at the treaty of Buffalo Creek, July 8, 1788, at which the Five Nations sold to Nathaniel Gorham and Oliver Phelps, for £2,100 and an annuity of \$500, all their lands east of the Genesee and a small tract west of it, more than two and a half million acres, containing what are now the counties of Ontario, Steuben and Yates, and portions of Monroe, Livingston, Wayne, Allegany and Schuyler. The earlier and later history of this tract is matter of familiar record, and need not be entered upon here. It was an important step towards the final extinction of Indian title in the Empire State, save for the narrow bounds of a few reservations.

Two incidents of the year 1791 should be recorded at this point. In 1791 the Senecas deeded four square miles on the Genesee River, now the site of Mt. Morris, to Ebenezer Allan in trust for his two daughters, Mary and Chloe. Horatio Jones and Jasper Parrish, with others, signed the deed as witnesses, July 16th.* This tract, whether by oversight or otherwise, was not reserved in the sale to Morris. In 1823 the Senecas made an ineffectual appeal to the Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun, in behalf of Allan's heirs, and referred to Jones and Parrish, who had served as in-

* Their signatures, with the marks of Farmer's Brother, Little Beard and some sixteen other chiefs and sachems, including Red Jacket, may be seen in the Ontario County Clerk's records at Canandaigua.

terpreters at the Pickering treaty, when the original grant was made, for substantiation of their claims.

Jones and Parrish were both with a large party of Senecas, who in the summer of 1791, on their way to meet Col. Pickering at Newtown, encamped at Norris' Landing, about a mile south of Dresden on Seneca Lake, and there met the famous Jemima Wilkinson, "the Universal Friend." It is recorded that on this occasion she preached to the Indian multitude, through the medium of an interpreter, presumably either Jones or Parrish; and that the Indians were much pleased with her discourse. David Hudson, in his history of the "preacheress,"* adds the following: "Jemima having seated herself beside the interpreter, who accompanied the Indians, desired him to explain to her the language of the speaker [an Indian]. When the Indian had ended his discourse, he enquired of the interpreter what the conversation had been between him and his white sister, and on being informed that she had requested an interpretation of his words, he fixed his eye sternly upon her, and pointing his finger, said in broken English, 'Me think you are no Jesus Christ if you don't know what poor Indian say—he know what Indian say as well as anything,' and immediately turned contemptuously away from her, and neither he nor any of his party took any further notice of her." Jones met Jemima Wilkinson at Canandaigua in 1794, but it is not recorded that he served again as interpreter between that singularly deluded woman and the shrewd, keen-witted Indians.

Horatio Jones bore his accustomed useful part in the treaty held in 1793 with the Indian tribes northwest of the Ohio, by commissioners of the United States. On February 19, 1793, President Washington, in a message to the House of Representatives, set forth that "it has been agreed on the part of the United States, that a treaty or conference shall be held the ensuing season with the hostile Indians northwest of the Ohio, in order to remove, if possible, all causes of difference, and to establish a solid peace with them." The President reminded Congress of their duties consequent

* "History of Jemima Wilkinson, a Preacheress of the Eighteenth Century," etc., Geneva, N. Y., 1821.

thereon. An act was passed appropriating a sum not to exceed \$100,000 for the purposes of the treaty. The commission was finally constituted of Gen. Benjamin Lincoln, Beverly Randolph and Timothy Pickering, and Sandusky was fixed upon as the place of meeting.

The best narrative of this episode is the journal of the tour kept by Gen. Lincoln.* The commissioners set out from Philadelphia, April 27, 1793, and journeyed by way of New York, Albany, the Mohawk River and south shore of Lake Ontario, to the Niagara. Gen. Lincoln's narrative is graphic and picturesque, and forms a valuable addition to the chronicles of our region. The party reached Fort Niagara May 25th, and sojourned there, and with Gov. Simcoe across the river, for some days. On June 4th, the King's birthday, the commissioners attended a levee at the Governor's house. Later Gen. Lincoln was the guest of Robert Hamilton at the Landing (Queenston), visited Niagara Falls, and on June 11th came up Buffalo Creek to the Seneca villages. It was at this time, apparently, that he engaged Horatio Jones to accompany the expedition to the West. There was speechmaking at the council house on Buffalo Creek,† presents, and mutual expressions of good will. For some days following, the commissioners were at various points in the Niagara region, their sight-seeing and visiting being very pleasantly recorded by Gen. Lincoln. On July 5th, while waiting for a favorable wind at Fort

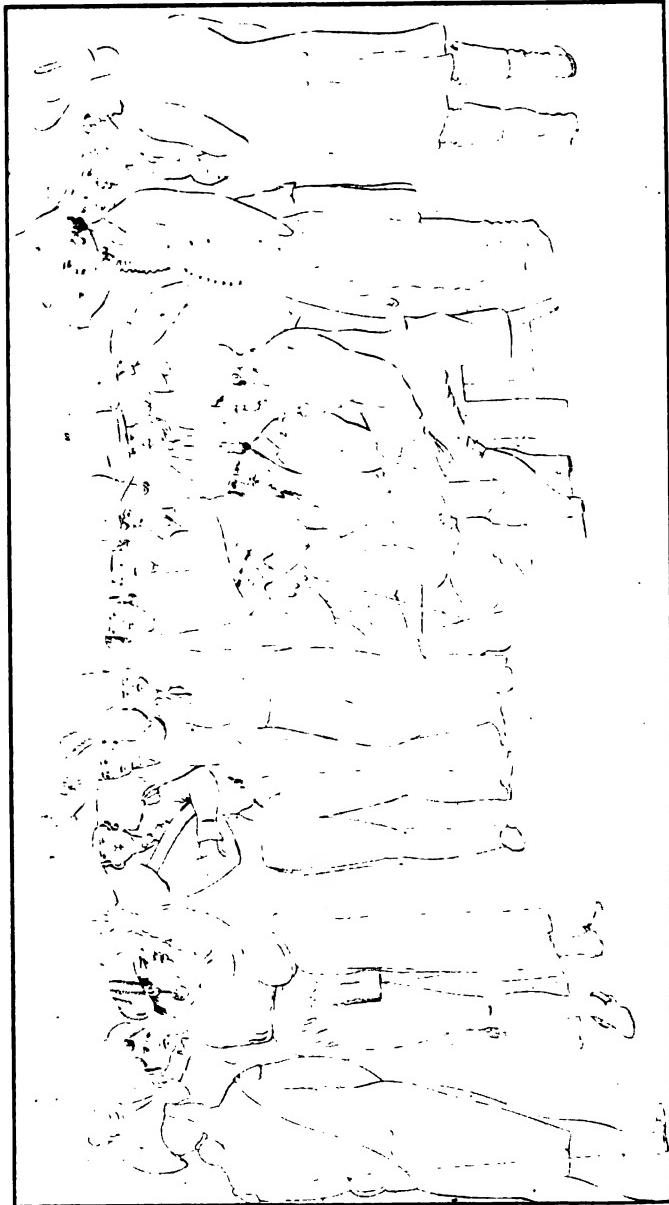
* The Massachusetts Historical Society owns the original manuscript. It was published in the "Collections" of that Society, 3d ser. vol. v., Boston, 1836.

† At this council on Buffalo Creek, June 11, 1793, there was present a young British officer, Col. C. A. Pilkington, who made a sketch of the scene at the conference. Many years later, in 1819, while stationed at Gibraltar, he presented it to a friend, a Mr. Henry. In 1836 it came into the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, which has preserved it, with Gen. Lincoln's journal. So far as known it is the first picture made at what is now Buffalo. Our reproduction, greatly reduced, shows the principal part of the drawing. The three seated figures, left to right, are Mr. Randolph, Gen. Lincoln, and Mr. Pickering. Behind Pickering, standing with hand in breeches pocket, is Gen. Israel Chapin. To the right of Randolph is the interpreter, presumably Horatio Jones; he accompanied Lincoln for the rest of the mission and probably served him on this occasion. No other portrait of Jones is known to the present editor. At the interpreter's right are officers of the 24th British Grenadiers, and an Indian orator; behind the commissioners, the Quaker delegation, a negro servant and other spectators.

Erie, the commissioners were met by an Indian deputation from "the rapids of Miami," asking questions as to the intentions of the Government. The speeches on this occasion are preserved in Gen. Lincoln's journal, undoubtedly in the phraseology of interpreter Jones. Another council, shared in by Joseph Brant, followed at Navy Hall, Niagara. Letters were dispatched from Niagara to President Washington and to the Secretary of War, showing the unfavorable outlook for the western undertaking. The commissioners and Horatio Jones sailed from Fort Erie July 14th, and did not reach the upper end of the lake until July 21st. They were not permitted to visit the British garrison of Detroit, but were entertained at the mouth of the river, eighteen miles below. In some of the councils which followed, Simon Girty acted as interpreter. On July 31st the commissioners made their principal speech to the assembled tribes, and Gen. Lincoln wrote in his journal: "This speech was read by paragraphs, and interpreted by Mr. Jones into the Seneca tongue, and then delivered to the oldest chief with a white belt and with thirteen stripes of black wampum." The occasion illustrates the difficulty of communication between the Government and the tribes. The message was first translated into Seneca by Jones, whose knowledge of the Western dialects was apparently too slight for use. Then a second transmutation followed through the medium of the dubious Simon Girty, who knew the Wyandot, or of some Western chief who could understand, more or less adequately, the Seneca as spoken by Jones.* Such double interpretation was by no means unusual. When one reflects upon the change of sentiment, if not utter perversion of meaning, likely in such twice-told messages, the marvel is, not that treaties were sometimes inconclusive, but that they came to any business-like conclusions at all.†

* "A lengthy reply in writing was made by the commissioners on the 31st [July], the gist of which was that they were not authorized to fix the Ohio River as the boundary. This was interpreted by Girty and a Mr. Jones in the Seneca tongue, which was well understood by the Wyandot chief and by others of the deputation."—*Butlerfield's "History of the Girty's,"* p. 277.

† There were other interpreters at this abortive council; William Wilson and Sylvester Ash, from Fort Pitt, as interpreters for the Delawares and



THE EARLIEST KNOWN BUFFALO PICTURE: TALK WITH THE INDIANS AT BUFFALO CREEK, 1793.
1. COL. TIMOTHY PIONEER; 2. GEN. BENJAMIN LINCOLN; 3. BEVERLY RANDOLPH; 4. GEN. ISRAEL CHAPIN; 5. THE INTERPRETER; PRESUMABLY
6. INDIAN ORATOR; 7. G. C. BRITISH OFFICER; 8. QUAKERS. SEE NOTE, p. 497.

In the present instance, the result was far from satisfactory. The Shawanees, Wyandots, Miamis and Delawares were loth to commit themselves to peace pledges. On August 11th Gen. Lincoln wrote in his journal: "The King's vessel, called the Chippewa, arrived from Detroit, bound to Fort Erie. Twelve Senecas, including women and children, and most of them sick, from the Indian council at the rapids of the Miami, came in her. These Senecas are well known to General Chapin; and Jones the interpreter, one of them, an intelligent man, gave us the like information about the proceedings of the council upon our last speech, with that received from Hendrick's men and the Munsees and Chipeways; only that the four nations who inclined to continue the war, remained obstinate when he departed from the council." Farmer's Brother, Brant, perhaps Jones himself, spoke eloquently for peace, but the four nations named continued to stand out. Gen. Lincoln waited for many days. Finally, the chiefs and warriors sent word consenting to make peace if the United States would make the Ohio the boundary between its lands and the Indians' possessions. This the commissioners could not do, and the negotiations ended. Gen. Lincoln's party set sail from the mouth of the Detroit, August 17th, and were at Fort Erie on the 21st, whence the commissioners returned to Philadelphia, and Horatio Jones to his home. He had shared in an occasion which later years showed to be the last great stand of the red man for a part of that territory which had once been his, east of the Mississippi.

In February, 1794, a council was convened at Buffalo Creek, its purpose being, on the part of the Federal Government, to strengthen the Senecas in their allegiance. British influence was still strong upon them; the British still held

Shawanese; and Mr. Dean, from the Mohawk, for the Oneidas. Jasper Parrish "had gone express to Philadelphia," but may have been present for a part of the time. Besides the commissioners and interpreters, there were present Charles Storer, secretary; Gen. Chapin, Indian agent at Buffalo Creek; Dr. McCookry from Carlisle, as physician; William Scott, commissary; six Quakers, Wm. Savery, John Parrish, John Elliot, Jacob Lindley, Joseph Moore and Wm. Hartshorne; the Moravian missionary, John Heckewelder; two British officers, sent by Gov. Simcoe, Capt. Bombarry of the Regulars and Lieut. Gibbins of the Queen's Rangers; a cook, and several servants.

Fort Niagara, and exercised no little sway over the Indians of Western New York. The region of the Niagara and Buffalo Creek was debatable territory; so far as the Indians could foresee, it might yet be given over into British hands. It is not strange, therefore, that they invited British officers to their councils. On the occasion named Brant was the principal speaker. Red Jacket shared in the talks, Horatio Jones acting as his interpreter. The United States Government distributed presents, and deferred further efforts until the great council of Canandaigua, in the autumn of that same year.

For the Canandaigua council, over 1600 Indians of the various tribes assembled, the Senecas from the Allegheny arriving at the rendezvous October 14th, under the leadership of Cornplanter, accompanied by Horatio Jones as interpreter. Two days later came Farmer's Brother and his Senecas from Buffalo Creek, and with them Jasper Parrish. Colonel Pickering was again the United States commissioner. Several graphic accounts exist of this last great council in Western New York; subsequent assemblages surpassed it in historic importance, but none—except perhaps that of '97—equalled it in the number of Indian attendants, nor in picturesque wildness of incident. At this, the last general council between the Six Nations and the United States Government, both Jones and Parrish served as interpreters. By the terms finally agreed upon, November 11th, the Oneidas, Onondagas and Cayugas were confirmed in their reservations; the boundaries of the Senecas were established, and the four-mile strip along the Niagara from Fort Schlosser to the mouth of Buffalo Creek was granted to the Government, that a road might be made. Other minor stipulations were agreed upon. Several notable speeches were made during the long confabs by Red Jacket and Farmer's Brother, which as preserved to us are undoubtedly in the language of Horatio Jones. At one point Col. Pickering spoke with great heat because of the presence of Johnson from Buffalo Creek, whom the United States commissioner regarded as a British spy. After he was sent away and feelings had cooled, Col. Pickering and about fifteen of the

chiefs dined together "by candle-light." "Many repartees of the Indians, which Jones interpreted, manifested a high turn for wit and humor.* A few days later," wrote Savery, one of the Quaker delegates, "Red Jacket visited us with his wife and five children, whom he had brought to see us. . . . Jones came to interpret. Red Jacket informed us of the views which the Indians had in inviting us to the treaty, which Jones confirmed, being present at the council at Buffalo Creek, *viz.*, believing that the Quakers were an honest people and friends to them, they wished them to be present, that they might see the Indians were not deceived or imposed upon."

Horatio Jones and Jasper Parrish were the interpreters at the treaty concluded September 15, 1797, at Geneseo, at which a contract was entered into, under the sanction of the United States Government, between Robert Morris and the Seneca Nation, for the sale to Morris of all the Indian lands in New York State west of the Genesee, excepting ten reservations aggregating 337 square miles.† This is known as the treaty of Big Tree. It is said that 3,000 Indians gathered for the occasion, the negotiations lasting three weeks. Here, even more strikingly than on any previous occasion, Horatio Jones was the medium of communication through whom the Six Nations signified their relinquishment of their rich domain. The principal arrangements at this treaty are said to have been made in the unfinished house of Col. Wadsworth, the Indians accepting \$100,000, to be deposited in the United States Bank, and paid in instalments.

Horatio Jones moved from his home at Fall Brook to the village of Williamsburg, but in 1797 he left it for Sweet Briar, as he named his farm, near Geneseo. The place was afterwards known as the Jones ford, and when the road was

* "Journal of William Savery," p. 73. Stone, in his "Life and Times of Red Jacket," follows Savery's account closely, but omits the references to Horatio Jones.

† For a full, accurate narrative of this transaction, the reader is referred to the address by Mr. W. H. Samson of Rochester, delivered before the Livingston Co. Historical Society in 1894, and published with other matter under the title "A History of the Treaty of Big Tree" (8vo, pp. 103), by the Livingston Co. Historical Society in 1897.

surveyed across the river at that point it was called the Jones road, and the bridge the Jones bridge. This was to be the home of his last years; and here, after his forty years of useful service to the United States Government, he gave his final years to the labors and pleasures of farm life, continuing active to the last.*

In this same year Horatio Jones officiated in the execution of a contract whereby the Seneca Nation confirmed to Mary Jemison her title in the tract on the Genesee, where, for many years, she made her home.

The Senecas wished to give to Horatio Jones and Jasper Parrish a substantial proof of their friendship and good will. This motive brought them together at Geneseo in the year of 1798. The occasion proved to be of lasting importance in the history of Buffalo. The principal speech at this council was made by Farmer's Brother. As interpreted, signed by the chiefs present and submitted to the Legislature for approval, it ran as follows:

"BROTHERS: As you are once more assembled in council for the purpose of doing honor to yourselves and justice to your country, we, your brothers, the sachems, chiefs and warriors of the Seneca Nation, request you to open your ears and give attention to our voice and wishes.

"You will recollect the late contest between you and your father, the great King of England. This contest threw the inhabitants of this whole island† into a great tumult and commotion, like a raging whirlwind which tears up the trees, and tosses to and fro the leaves, so that no one knows from whence they come, or when they will fall. This whirlwind was so directed by the Great Spirit above, as to throw into

* Williamsburg, projected as a village south of Geneseo, no longer exists. The Sweet Briar farm where Capt. Jones ended his days is about three miles south of Geneseo, on the east side of the river, and is now (1903) owned by Mr. George Austin. Horatio Jones's old house is still standing and in good repair; a well-built two-story frame farmhouse, with a fine portico on the west or river side, and another on the south, the latter apparently a later construction. Some of the outbuildings date from Capt. Jones's time, and several of the fine old trees under which the Captain used to greet his Seneca friends, are still standing.

† The Indians universally considered this country an island.

our arms two of your infant children, Jasper Parrish and Horatio Jones. We adopted them into our families, and made them our children. We loved them and nourished them. They lived with us many years. At length the Great Spirit spoke to the whirlwind and it was still. A clear and uninterrupted sky appeared. The path of peace was opened, and the chain of friendship was once more made bright. Then these, our adopted children, left us to seek their relations; we wished them to remain among us, and promised, if they would return and live in our country, to give each of them a seat of land for them and their children to sit down upon. They have returned and have, for several years past, been serviceable to us as interpreters. We still feel our hearts beat with affection for them, and now wish to fulfil the promise we made them, and reward them for their services.

"We have, therefore, made up our minds to give them a seat of two square miles of land, lying on the outlet of Lake Erie, about three miles below Black Rock, beginning at the mouth of a creek known by the name of Scoy-gu-quoy-des Creek, running one mile from the River Niagara up said creek, thence northerly as the river runs two miles, thence westerly one mile to the river, thence up the river as the river runs, two miles, to the place of beginning, so as to contain two square miles.

"Brothers: We have now made known to you our minds. We expect and earnestly request that you will permit our friends to receive this our gift, and will make the same good to them, according to the laws and customs of our nation.

"Why should you hesitate to make our minds easy with regard to this our request? To you it is but a little thing; and have you not complied with the request and confirmed the gifts of our brothers the Oneidas, the Onondagas and Cayugas to their interpreters? And shall we ask and not be heard? We send you this our speech, to which we expect your answer before breaking up our great council fire."

This speech has been much admired, and deserves to be, for its strength of metaphor. But more than that, it adds

to the annals of Buffalo as signal an instance as may be found in all history, of the high-mindedness and rectitude of the red man. The Senecas, at any rate, were glad to reward faithful service, and their spokesman on this occasion was one of the noblest specimens of his race.

The tract, or rather tracts, of land which the Legislature confirmed to the interpreters in accordance with the wish of the Senecas, have borne the names of Jones and Parrish from that day to this. They were laid out by the Surveyor General of the State in 1803, and form the irregular north-western corner of the city. Both tracts are part of the Mile Strip, the Parrish tract being the southerly one, its south line following the Scajaquada, and its north line running from the Niagara, just above the mouth of Cornelius Creek, to near the west end of Race Street. Uniformly, on modern maps, and usually in land descriptions and title searches, the name is printed "Parish," but wrongly so, as numerous auto-graph signatures of Jasper Parrish prove. In 1824 Parrish sold a strip across the northerly side of his grant, 172.46 acres, to William A. Bird, and this has since been known as the Bird farm.

The Jones tract extends from the northerly line of the Parrish tract, running back one mile from the river, to what is now the southeast side of Riverside Park, along Esser Avenue, and intersecting lands between Doyle and Wiley avenues. The irregular extension of the city limits, north-westerly from the Jones tract, is bounded by a continuation of the northwest line of Riverside Park to an intersection with the easterly line of the Mile Strip. This old State reserve—the Mile Strip—is responsible for many peculiarities in the map of Buffalo.

In this year of 1798 Horatio Jones was witness of an incident that illustrates the summary character of frontier justice. It is told in the words of Judge Augustus Porter:

"A Mr. Jenkins who went out for the proprietors, John Swift and others, to survey township 12, 2d range (Palmyra), commenced his labors early in the season, and erected for the accommodation of his party a small hut of poles. One night when the party were asleep two Indians attacked

them, first firing their rifles through the open cracks of the hut, and then rushing in. One of Jenkins's men was killed by the first fire, but Jenkins and his party after a brief struggle succeeded in driving the savages off, without further loss. He went the next morning to Geneva where he learned that the Indian party to which they probably belonged had gone south. He accordingly, in company with others, followed in pursuit as far as Newtown (now Elmira) on the Chemung River, near which place the murderers were captured. Newtown was then the principal, indeed the only, settlement in that region of country. The Indians were examined before an informal assembly, and the proof being in their opinion sufficient to establish their guilt, the question arose as to how they should be disposed of. The gaol of the county (then Montgomery) was at Johnstown, and it was not deemed practicable to transport them so great a distance through an Indian wilderness. It was therefore determined summarily to execute them, and this determination was carried into immediate effect, an account of which I received from Jasper Parrish and Horatio Jones (afterward Indian agents), who were eye-witnesses of the execution."* It is not unlikely that Jones and Parrish were included in the party of pursuit for the sake of their services as interpreters.

In 1802 Horatio Jones, with Oliver Phelps and Isaac Bronson bought from the Senecas for \$1200 the tract containing two square miles, or 1280 acres, known as Little Beard's reservation, "bounded," in the terms of the treaty, "on the east by the Genesee River and Little Beard's Creek, on the south and west by other lands of said parties of the second part, and on the north by Big Tree reservation." At this treaty, held at Buffalo Creek, and signed June 30, 1802, Jasper Parrish was the sole interpreter, Jones, as one of the parties to the contract, naturally not acting in his accustomed capacity. At the same gathering, however, and on the same date, he did serve as interpreter in a treaty between the Seneca Nation and Joseph Ellicott, representing Wilhelm

* Unpublished MS. narrative by Augustus Porter, in the possession of the Buffalo Historical Society.

Willink and his company of Dutch land speculators at Amsterdam, by which a tract a mile wide along the south shore of Lake Erie, from the mouth of Eighteen Mile Creek to the Cattaraugus, and another tract on the south side of Cattaraugus Creek, were exchanged for lands lying to the north of the Cattaraugus, and now embraced in the Cattaraugus reservation.

Strange to say, Horatio Jones was not prominent on the frontier in the War of 1812, and his name rarely occurs in the history of that period. True, his home was not on the border in those troublous times, and he was no longer a young man. But he gave two sons to the cause; their story adds still another tragic episode to our chronicle. James and George Jones, serving under Major Bennett were captured with others, by the British and their Mohawk allies, near Lewiston, on December 19, 1813. The invaders, under Col. Murray, had landed at Five Mile Meadows, 500 strong, and at once entered upon that memorable march of destruction which laid waste the American frontier and culminated in the burning of Buffalo. On attempting a division of spoil at Lewiston, the Indian warriors quarreled, worked themselves into a frenzy, and soon, beyond all restraint by the British, fell upon their prisoners. Here, within sight of the spot where Horatio Jones had come out upon the crest of the mountain ridge on his memorable journey to Niagara, his two manly sons met the fate their father had so often narrowly escaped. They were put to death by the tomahawk, their bodies scalped and maltreated by the infuriated Mohawks.*

XVI. ANECDOTES—DEATH OF HORATIO JONES.

From the restoration of peace in Western New York until the end of his life Horatio Jones lived in comfort, though frequently called from home to serve as interpreter. He was welcomed wherever he went. At his own home he was

* Some account of this massacre is contained in Turner's "Holland Purchase," p. 590.

ever a cordial host, to his Indian friends as well as to his white neighbors. There are many family traditions of these visits. Old Judy, and her husband, Tom Cayuga, a relative of the Jemisons, were warm friends of Horatio Jones, and often camped at Sweet Briar. But no friend had a warmer welcome than Moses Van Campen. Once a year the veteran came to visit Capt. Jones, and once a year the Captain journeyed to Dansville to see Van Campen. It is told that "the two old friends would sit down on the steps of the old Eagle tavern, drink grog and recall reminiscences of their early forest life, while crowds of friends gathered round to listen."*

Capt. Jones was intimately acquainted with James Wadsworth, and on occasion was of great service to him. It was at James Wadsworth's, at Geneseo, in 1815, that Jones once more met his old adversary Sharp Shins. The occasion was a visit to the Wadsworth brothers of Col. Wadsworth of Durham. In his honor a dinner was given by James Wadsworth, several chiefs being invited. Apparently the old animosities between Jones and Sharp Shins were outgrown, for together at the Wadsworth board they discussed old times and smoked the pipe of peace. Some time in the '20's Horatio Jones fell on the stone steps of the Wadsworth office, displacing both kneecaps. He walked with a cane ever after.

Horatio Jones numbered among his friends William H. C. Hosmer, the distinguished poet of the Genesee valley, whose "Yonnondio" and other poems dealing with the life and legends of the Senecas are of enduring worth. For some of his material, as Dr. Hosmer acknowledges in the notes to his collected "Poetical Works" (New York, 1854), he was indebted to Capt. Jones. "I was informed by Captain Jones," he writes, "that the wild glen at Fall Brook, near Geneseo, has been the scene of a tragic story, and that the place is haunted, after night-fall, by a frightful headless spectre. The Indians believe that it is a spot accursed; but

* MS. memorandum among Mr. Harris's papers. H. C. Sedgwick of Dansville, N. Y., has described his emotions as a boy on seeing Captain Horatio Jones and Major Moses Van Campen riding together in a carriage heading a Fourth of July parade.

the tourist looks with delight upon a scene where beauty contends for mastery with the sublime." Again he says, in his notes to the "Legends of the Senecas": "I have adopted, as the ground-work of my poem, the narrative of Captain Jones, late Indian interpreter, and a man who towered in intellectual stature above common men, as the pines (to use an Indian metaphor) rise above the smaller trees of the forest." Other acknowledgments are made in Dr. Hosmer's volume which show how deeply he was indebted to Horatio Jones for his material; for the narratives of Indian legend, and for guidance in the precise use of Seneca words. Indeed one may say that although not a man of the pen, Horatio Jones was truly—and indispensably—a joint author with Hosmer. Without his knowledge and painstaking communication of it to the poet the literature of Western New York, in its record of aboriginal life and beliefs, would be much the poorer.

The Hon. Charles Augustus Murray traveled in America in 1834-36, was the guest of Gen. Wadsworth, and met Horatio Jones, apparently in May, 1836. Of this visit he writes as follows: "During my stay in this neighborhood I went once or twice to see a western veteran, named Captain Jones. He was at the time of my visit, aged probably a little more than seventy years, and was taken prisoner when a boy by a band of the Seneca tribe in their attack upon Wyoming, [!] where he and his parents then lived. He was adopted by the tribe, and lived with them upwards of twenty years; since which time he has been in constant intercourse with them, and has acted in the capacity of interpreter in many treaties and 'talks.' Of course he speaks their language, and knows all their habits as well as a native Seneca, and he can also speak and understand a good deal of the Mohawk, Oneida, and other Six Nation languages. I had several long conversations with him upon aboriginal character, customs, etc., and I found that the old man was at heart more than half Indian. He spoke of many of the red men with an affection quite fraternal, and his general impression of their qualities was much more favorable than that which I received during my residence among them;

but two things must be remembered, first, his own judgment was liable to be prejudiced by his being so long identified with the Senecas, that even now the pride of the tribe is strongly to be remarked in his expressions; and, secondly, I have every reason to believe, from all my later inquiries and observations, that, of all the great tribes uncontaminated by civilization (alias whiskey), the most mischievous, treacherous, and savage are my old friends the Pawnees. Captain Jones told me that they had that character among all the Indians whom he had known."* Murray is said to have received from Horatio Jones the information regarding Indian customs, etc., which he utilized in his tale "The Prairie Bird."

That Horatio Jones personally met George Washington can hardly be doubted, though no documentary evidence is known. He is said to have dined with the President on one occasion, in company with Tall Chief and a considerable deputation. In due course Tall Chief kindled the peace pipe and passed it to Washington, who tried unsuccessfully to draw smoke through the long stem. It was then handed to Horatio Jones, who succeeded better, and who then returned it to Washington, this time for a successful whiff. It may have been for this same occasion, apparently in the year 1792, that Capt. Jones and Joseph Smith had conducted to Philadelphia a party of Seneca, Oneida and Onondaga chiefs, for conference with the Government. It was at this convocation that the Chief Big Tree died from excessive eating.

Some years afterward Jones was in Washington with Pollard, Thomas Jemison and other natives. Jones said to Pollard, "I outran you, I think, some years ago," referring to the famous race of his youth. "Oh, yes," replied Pollard, "but I have often wanted to try it over again and you were never quite ready," a reply which greatly amused Jones.

* "Travels in North America . . . including a Summer Residence with the Pawnee tribe of Indians," etc., 2 vols. London, 1839; vol. ii., pp. 358-9. It was characteristic of the British tourist, good observer though he was, to compare the scraps of information picked up by himself in a summer excursion on the plains, with Horatio Jones's fifty years of experience, and to describe the veteran's views as "prejudiced"!

Both men were then long past their fleet-footed years. Pollard died in 1838.

Many are the anecdotes told of Horatio Jones in his relations to various celebrities, both red and white. For many years, as intermediary between the two races, he was constantly in demand, not only in affairs of national consequence, but smaller matters as well. No white man knew Red Jacket better than did Horatio Jones. It is related that on one occasion in Buffalo, Red Jacket was wanted, on business with the Government agent, but could not be found. "Horatio Jones, who was to act as interpreter, after a long search, found him in a low tavern quite drunk. The porter, who was about shutting up the house for the night, was preparing to put him out of doors when Jones interposed."* Jones cared for the tottering orator on many an occasion. Although knowing him in his weakness, Jones appreciated to the full the eloquence of Red Jacket. Indeed, from his familiarity with the Seneca tongue Horatio Jones could appreciate it, probably better than any other white man who ever heard him speak. Jones bore frequent testimony to this effect. On one occasion at Canandaigua Red Jacket was acting as counsel for an Indian who had killed a white man. In his appeal to the jury—through the interpretation of Horatio Jones—Red Jacket proved so eloquent that he won the sympathy of all auditors, including jury and judge, and gained his case. Captain Jones, although fluent in English, declared that it was utterly impossible for him to preserve the full force and beauty of the great Seneca orator's utterances.

Red Jacket, it is said, adopted Jones as his son. Stone in his life of Red Jacket relates the following: "On a certain occasion, owing to the slanderous imputation of some mischief makers of his nation, Red Jacket entertained a suspicion that Jones was actuated by motives of self-interest and did not regard the welfare of the Indians. Shortly after he met Capt. Jones at the hotel of Timothy Hosmer at Avon. Jones advanced to greet the chief with his accustomed cordiality of manner, but was received with haughty distrust

* Doty, "History of Livingston County," p. 105.

and coldness. After a lapse of a few moments, during which time the questions of Jones were answered in monosyllables, the Captain asked an explanation of Red Jacket for his conduct. Fixing his searching glance upon him as if reading the secrets of his soul, Red Jacket told him of the rumor circulated in reference to his fidelity to the Indians, and concluded by saying with a saddened expression, ‘And have you at last deserted us?’ The look, the tone, the attitude of the orator were so touching, so despairing, that Jones, though made of stern material, wept like a child, at the same time refuting the calumny in the most energetic terms. Convinced that Jones was still true, the chief, forgetful of the stoicism of his race, mingled his tears with his, and embracing him with the cordiality of old, the parties renewed old friendship with a social glass.” It is a pretty tale, but somewhat of a tax on credulity.

“Red Jacket did not relish being trifled with. At one of his visits to the house of Captain Jones, on taking his seat at the breakfast table with the rest of the family, Mrs. Jones, knowing his extreme fondness for sugar, mischievously prepared his coffee without it. On discovering the cheat the chief looked at the Captain with an offended expression, and thus rebuked him: ‘My son,’ stirring his cup with energy, ‘do you allow your squaw thus to trifle with your father?’ Perceiving at the same time by the giggling of the children that they had entered into the joke, he continued, ‘And do you allow your children to make sport of their chief?’ Jones and his wife apologized and the latter handed him the sugar bowl, which he took, and with half angry sarcasm filled his cup to the brim with sugar.”

In September, 1822, we find Captain Jones at the Indian council at Buffalo; and the following year, again sharing with Jasper Parrish the duties of interpreter, Horatio Jones was present at Moscow, Livingston County, when the Senecas sold the Gardeau reservation to John Greig and Henry B. Gibson, 17,928 acres, for \$4286.

The influence which Horatio Jones exerted among the Senecas was never more strikingly illustrated than in the fall of 1794, when, with Complanter, Red Jacket, Tall Chief

and a large following, he was on his way to the Canandaigua council. On the trail at the foot of Honeoye Lake stood the large log house, where lived Capt. Peter Pitts, his wife and ten children. A party of warriors surrounded this house and demanded liquor. Being refused by the women, the Indians were beginning an attack which would probably have ended in the dire old way had not Capt. Pitts, his sons and hired men appeared on the scene, and seizing shovels, clubs, and anything they could lay hands on, set up a sturdy defense. The melee was general, and the whites would have been overpowered by superior numbers had not Horatio Jones with some of the chief men of the Senecas come over the western slope of the valley and on hearing the cries devined the trouble and hastened to the spot. It is related that on seeing Jones Capt. Pitts begged him for assistance; and that in a few moments Jones gained the attention of the crazy leaders, who desisted from their attack and left the pioneer's family unharmed. Before leaving the place Jones shamed and joked the warriors into good humor, and what had bid fair to be a tragedy was turned by the interpreter into a friendly parting.

There is a story of one encounter in which Jones was vanquished, though by a white man. In the spring of 1793 two guides, Bennett and Patterson, brought through to Williamsburg a party of colonists. The guides came upon a Seneca encampment, the Indians being gathered about a fire, engaged in a fierce discussion. As the day was cold, the guides drew near, were welcomed, and allowed to warm themselves, while the Indians continued their excited talk among themselves, directing their remarks to one of their number, whom they presently seized and threw into the fire. The fellow scrambled out, whereupon the Indians caught him and threw him back in again. Patterson had no idea what the trouble was about, but exclaimed, "Don't burn the man alive!" and springing forward helped the victim out of the fire. The angry warriors attacked Patterson, but at this moment Horatio Jones, who appears to have been of their party, came upon the scene and was told of the stranger's interference. Thereupon Jones and Patterson fell to fight-

ing; and tradition has it that for the first time in his life Jones met more than his match, and came off much the worse for the engagement; "but afterwards learning the cause of Patterson's action he banished all ill-will and regret, ever after expressing his admiration of the sturdy hunter."*

Jacob G. Roberts of Tecumseh, Mich., has related that his father Peter and uncle John Roberts came to the Genesee flats and settled near Horatio Jones, in June, 1798. Jones helped them to locate and build their house. "About this time the Indians in the vicinity held a pow-wow and dance. In the tribe was one squaw who had committed some misdeed contrary to Indian rules, consequently she was not permitted to join in their sport. They had whiskey and a high time, and the squaw not being permitted to join in their festivities became so enraged that she shortly afterwards set fire to the flats; the weather during the fall having been very dry the fire spread rapidly and did serious damage, destroying all the hay in that vicinity. Mr. Jones in trying to save his ponies and other stock, became surrounded by fire and in order to save himself selected the greenest spot convenient, dropped on his face, and the wave of fire passed over doing him but little injury. Mr. Jones having the handling of moneys and paying off the Indians, kept back \$91, and paid the same to the new-comers in silver for the loss of their hay. This so enraged the Indians at this squaw that they drove a stake in the ground, tied her to it, piled wood around her, set it on fire and burned her to death. They invited our people to go and see her burn, but they did not go."†

In his later years Horatio Jones was often called on to interpret in court in cases involving Indian prisoners or witnesses. One such famous case occurred in 1831, when one Quaw-wa, known in English as James Brewer, was wanted on a charge of murder. It was Capt. Jones and Jellis Clute

* McMaster gives the story in his "History of Steuben County," adding that many years later Jones and Patterson happened to be in Bath on the same day, when Jones told the story of the fight and sent his compliments to the old hunter.

† Doty's "History of Livingston County."

who made the formal complaint; Jones became bail for him after the offender had been found on the Buffalo reservation, and acted as sworn interpreter at the trial, at Geneseo.*

Jasper Parrish died one month before Jones. When his death was reported, Capt. Jones said mournfully that the last link which had bound him to his old-time Indian associations was broken, and that he would not long outlast his old friend. From that time he sank rapidly until his death.

Horatio Jones died at Sweet Briar farm, near Geneseo, September 18, 1836, aged 72 years and 9 months. Five days later the *Livingston Republican* contained a sketch of his career, in which occurs the following just tribute:

"Possessed of uncommon mental vigor and quick perception, he was enabled to form a just estimate of character and determine with readiness the springs of human action and thus made himself useful to the early settlers of the valley as well as to the Indians. His bravery, physical energy and decision gave him great control over the Indians, and the perfect confidence they reposed in him afforded him the opportunity of rendering invaluable aid to the General Government in our subsequent treaties with the northern and western tribes. This confidence was never betrayed. . . . In the full possession of his mental faculties until the last moment of his life, he has gone down to his grave full of years and with a character above reproach." He is buried in Temple Hill Cemetery, Geneseo, where a monument bears a simple inscription to his memory, and also to Elizabeth, his last wife, who died March 4, 1844, aged 66 years.†

Horatio Jones is described as a fine figure of a man; not

* Doty gives the history of this case at some length in his "History of Livingston County," pp. 125-127.

† His grave stone at Geneseo, New York, bears the following inscriptions: "HORATIO JONES, Died August 18, 1836, aged 72 years and 9 months" On another side: "H. J. Esq. Honored in life, lamented in death."

"The patriot whose dust endears this spot,
In boyhood for a bleeding country fought,
Thus early in the cause of truth embarked,
By kind ennobling deeds his life was marked.
Age could not dim the sunshine of his breast—
Beloved the most by those who knew him best.
Such men have hearts for tablets when the bust,
Triumphal arch and obelisk are dust."

tall, but exceptionally sturdy and athletic. In his later years, although weighing some 220 pounds, he continued of a fine commanding presence, with a manner of dignified cordiality. In a letter to Mr. Harris, Mrs. Charles C. Fitzhugh, a daughter of Horatio Jones, has written: "My father's face and his manner, in conversation, are as vivid in my memory as though yesterday we were together. He related his adventures, both in Indian and our own language, with the greatest ease. He must have had a wonderful flow of language for a person in those early days and one also who had lived the life that he had. As a child I recollect trotting after him as he was showing an Indian (and a very respectable looking one, too,) about his house. I said, 'Why, father, do you like him better than other Indians?' His answer was: 'My dear, he is my father; it was his family in which I was adopted when a prisoner.' 'Well, where is your mother?' 'She is dead.' This made a great impression upon me. I do not know where he came from; it must have been from a distance. It was the only time I ever saw him and his visit was short. He and Red Jacket were the only Indians my father ever received at his table."

The Hon. B. F. Angel, in conversation with Mr. Harris at Geneseo, September 20, 1889, related the following:

"The first time I saw Horatio Jones was about 1831, at the trial of an Indian named Quaw-wa, who had killed a reputed witch. I was a boy then, attending school, with little interest in such matters, but I recall that Capt. Jones acted as interpreter, and that his remarks kept the court and audience in good humor. When the trial was ended Quaw-wa asked of Jones in broken English, 'Who beat—who beat?' I subsequently became intimately acquainted with him and married his daughter. The Indians gave him 3000 acres in the Genesee valley, extending nearly to Moscow. He has told me that the house he built at Hermitage was the first substantial house in the Genesee valley, and he removed it, or some portions of it, to Sweet Briar, his last home-stead.

"Horatio Jones died intestate, and left property valued at

\$100,000. I was appointed administrator, and the estate was settled amicably by his children."*

[*Genealogical data will be found on subsequent pages.*]

NOTE. Some use has been made in the foregoing narrative of documents preserved with the Pickering papers, in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Much more might be gleaned from them, did space allow, regarding Horatio Jones and some of the transactions in which he shared. In a letter dated "Genesee River, Oct. 24, 1790," from William Ewing to Col. Wilson, Commissioner for Pennsylvania, in relation to the Senecas, the writer refers to Horatio Jones as "the only interpreter who can do the business write in this country," and adds that Jones "thinks he has not been well used by not being called on to do the business at Tyoga as he has had all the trouble in getting the Indians to start and I am fearful he will not prevent the Indians of doing damage to us at this place." There is a letter of the same date, written to Col. Pickering from Geneseo, in which Capt. Jones makes claim for payment for his trouble in notifying the Senecas of the treaty at Tioga. It is signed "Horatio Jones," but it is pretty certain that at that date Jones could neither read nor write. Numerous letters from him to Col. Pickering were presumably written for him by William Ewing. Late in life Jones learned at least to write his name, his signature, however, suggesting the school-boy's scrawl.

The Pickering papers show that Col. Pickering lacked confidence in Jones, in his treaty transactions. He calls the interpreter "an unprincipled fellow," and charges that Jones and Smith conspired to detain the Indians at Geneseo, and keep them from attending Pickering's treaty; "one great object with them," wrote Pickering, "was to supply the Indians with provisions at their own prices as long as they should choose to obtain them at the expense of the United States. For this purpose they wrote to me that the Indians desired such supplies, but as this contradicted the verbal message of the chiefs sent to me by the runners, I paid no regard to the letters of Jones and Ewing." The present editor has found no evidence that Jones ever thus profited by his great influence among the Senecas.

Among the Pickering papers are also numerous letters from Jasper Parrish, some of them of considerable historical value. These, and other unused material relating to the life and times of this interesting history-maker of Western New York, may be presented to our readers in a subsequent volume of these *Publications*.

* Much of Mr. Hartis's account of Horatio Jones's captivity and events of his early life is based on information communicated by Mr. Angel.

SARAH WHITMORE'S CAPTIVITY

IN 1782, HER LIFE AMONG THE MOHAWKS AND
SENECAS, MARRIAGE TO HORATIO JONES,
AND SUBSEQUENT HISTORY.

By MRS. SARAH E. GUNN,
Of Leavenworth, Kas., great-granddaughter* of Sarah
Whitmore and Horatio Jones.

The story of the life of Sarah Whitmore Jones is a romantic one, while lacking many essential details of fact.

She was born in or about the year 1768, in Lancaster Co., Pennsylvania. Her descent may be traced to those Palatine emigrants who came to America from Germany and adjacent provinces in large numbers, during the early part of the eighteenth century. The "Witmers," as the name is given in Rupp's "List of 30,000 Names," came from Switzerland, canton of Zurich. There were three brothers who came in 1733, to Philadelphia, and were of the Dutch Reformed faith. Peter Witmer was the ancestor of Sarah Whitmoyer, or in more modern form, Whitmore. The name became anglicized in the printed tax lists; from which source we learn that they became a numerous and prosperous family which extended over three counties of Pennsylvania --Lebanon, Lancaster and Chester.

* In the note on page 44: Mrs. Gunn is erroneously referred to as Sarah Whitmore Jones's granddaughter. It should read "great-granddaughter."

Early spring days in Eastern Pennsylvania are often accompanied by a sudden, light fall of snow, called a "sugar snow," because this is the perfect condition for making maple sugar. The "sugar bush," as the whole group of maple trees set apart to be tapped, is called, is usually some distance from the house. On this account, during the period of sugar-making, a camp is formed at the bush for greater convenience. The process of sugar-making requires both the men and women of the family; the former attend to collecting the sap from the trees which is then conveyed to the large kettles over the fires, where the women watch the boiling mass until it is ready for "sugaring off."

One of these spring mornings of 1782,* the older members of the Whitmore family, consisting of the parents and three eldest children, started for the sugar bush, leaving Sally, a girl of about fifteen years, to mind the younger brothers and the baby, and to cook dinner. We can imagine the picture: the bright sunlight streaming into the room, the light-hearted girl singing at her work, the noisy little boys at play, while the baby slumbered in its cradle.

But the reverse of the picture is in sharp contrast. The children's merriment was cut short by the Indian war-whoop. Hideous in war-paint the savages rushed in and seized the two boys, while Sally caught up the baby, as if she could protect it from harm. The buildings were plundered and set on fire while the captive children were placed on horses in front of an Indian as guard. The smoke of the fire was the signal of the disaster to the other members of the family at the sugar bush, who hid themselves until the marauders had passed by. In all such cases, rescue was impossible, resulting only in greater loss of life.

The band of Indians which destroyed the Whitmore home, were only a fragment of a large party who were ravaging the country under Brant. An avenging party of whites were close in pursuit of them, so that they were in haste to rejoin the larger force and make their escape into

* The reader will notice discrepancies with Mr. Harris's account, preceding; in data relating to the Whitmores, Mrs. Gunn is probably correct, following the records of her family.

New York. To this fact, no doubt, the rest of the Whitmore family owed their escape.

As the party hurried along the baby in Sally's arms began to cry from fright. The Indian who had them in charge struck it harshly, which only increased its cries. Becoming enraged, he seized the child, and swinging the helpless little body around his head, brained it on a tree. Sally tried to save the baby, but was given to understand that a similar fate awaited the others if they did not submit quietly. The Indians made rapid progress and soon reached the boundary of New York.

A council was held and the fates of the white captives decided upon. The two young Whitmore boys were purchased by members of the British army. They were adopted into the family of a British officer and reared in Canada. After they were men with families, they revisited Pennsylvania to meet their relatives, but always returned to Canada. They have left many descendants, who are loyal subjects of the King.

Sally Whitmore remained with the Mohawks, the tribe which had taken her captive. The council decided to save her for adoption and marriage among themselves, a custom frequently occurring with a favorite captive.

This seemed a hard fate to the young girl, torn from home and friends, and separated, probably forever, from the little brothers who had been her companions in suffering. The outlook seemed hopeless, for already a stalwart chief of the tribe sought her for a mate. She was permitted to temporize, but knew that if she finally refused their terms, it meant death.

About this time occurred the assembly of all the tribes at what was known as the "Pigeon Roost." Near the shores of Seneca Lake was the rendezvous of thousands upon thousands of pigeons at mating and nesting time. For this reason, annually, the Indians assembled here for days and weeks together. The young birds were fat and juicy, and were devoured in large numbers; while the squaws smoked and cured great quantities of them for future use. Conse-

quently, with the Indians, the "Pigeon Roost" was synonymous of a feast and dance, and especially of a council.

The tribe having Sally Whitmore a captive, came with the others. Here she heard of the white captive of the Senecas, who by adoption and long captivity among them had become a chief, and admitted to their councils. We do not know that she knew that he was Horatio Jones, for while his capture had been made near her own home, it is not certain that the families were acquainted; besides, his own people had long mourned him as dead. Anyway, she resolved to appeal to him as a white man, sure to sympathize with one of his own race, and get his advice on what course to pursue. Sally was able to see him very soon and lay her case before him. She told him how averse she was to marriage with an Indian, and besought him to aid her evade it.

Horatio Jones knew how difficult was the task set him, but he did not dishearten her, but told her he would think it over and tell her the result on the next day. Doubtless his heart already suggested the plan his tongue had not uttered. Sally Whitmore, with her girlish figure and the clear olive skin, dark eyes and gentle voice of her people, must have been very pleasing in his sight. At their next meeting Sally was told that there was but one way to save her from the Indian marriage, and at the same time conform to their customs. Horatio had himself been forced to submit to such conditions and had done so to save his life, and tried to make the best of it, had gained their confidence and now had some influence. During the preceding year his Indian wife had died, and his lodge was empty. He would soon be expected to make a second choice; so if the plan suited her, he would ask her adopted parents for her in the usual manner among the Indians and he believed on account of his acquired standing with the Senecas his proposals would be accepted. In this way the girl would be under his protection, absolutely, and if they succeeded in gaining their release at some future time, the tie would be in no way binding upon them.

Sally was, of course, glad to accede to this plan and it was carried out. The Mohawk lover was vanquished by the favorite chief of the Senecas.

Their captivity did not last long afterward, as the treaty of Fort Stanwix released all prisoners; but the temporary arrangement agreed upon by them as captives, seems to have resulted favorably, for Horatio Jones and Sarah Whitmore were married by the celebrated missionary minister, Rev. Samuel Kirkland at Schenectady, in December [1784].

After a short visit to the old home in Pennsylvania, we learn of Mrs. Jones returning to New York, where her husband had established a trading post. Her first home was at Seneca Falls; from this point they moved to Geneva, where the first baby—"little Billy"—was born in December, 1786.

Mrs. Jones enjoyed the distinction of being the only white woman in that whole region and her baby with the sandy hair and blue eyes, the first white child born in the State west of Utica. Another boy, George, was born at Geneva in June, 1788.

In 1789, at the earnest request of the Senecas, the family came overland, through the unbroken forest, to the Genesee country, where they were to make a new home. Here, close to the Genesee River, on a portion of a large tract of land given to her husband by the Seneca Indians, Mrs. Jones went to housekeeping again. She had brought with her Sally Griffith, a servant girl, and the two women soon succeeded in making a home, with the bedding and whatever else could be brought from Geneva, over the trail, on horseback. Social needs were not great at that time, as the only guests were likely to be the Indian women from Little Beard's Town, nearby—if we except the trappers and friends of her husband.

In December, 1789, Hiram Jones, her third child, was born in the new house; and now, indeed, the mother's time was occupied. Much of the time her husband was away on business, as he had been appointed interpreter for the Senecas by the Government. At such times Mrs. Jones and her family were the only white people for miles. But she was never afraid, because the Indians held them as relatives, according to their rite of adoption, and no harm would come from that source.

James Jones, the fourth boy, was born in March of 1791.

He was the only one of the children who resembled his mother, inheriting from her his dark hair and eyes and a dark complexion.

Sally Griffiths seems to have returned to Pennsylvania about this time; and but a few weeks later, the life of the brave little mother came to a close, surrounded only by the Indian women. Even her husband was absent from home, on some urgent business, to which she had insisted he should attend. The news of his loss was conveyed to him, as he sprang from his horse beside the lonely little home in the forest.

The funeral which followed was as impressive as it was sad. Hiram Jones was but three years old at his mother's death, but the memory of the event remained clear upon his mind when an old man. The body was borne ahead on the shoulders of stalwart Indians; the little boy wrapped in a blanket by the squaw who held him before her on the horse, cried dismally, he scarcely knew why. The father and two other children followed on foot. The rain came down steadily and the tall gloomy trees surrounded them. Along the narrow trail through the silent forest the little procession made its way to the banks of the Genesee, which was crossed, then on again a little farther, where the grave was made in the side of a grassy knoll—facing her former home, left desolate. Here, laid to rest by the hands of her red brothers, Sarah Whitmore Jones has slept for more than a century.*

When the demands of official and social life required of Horatio Jones a more pretentious residence than the little home on the Flats, he selected a site on the summit of the hill, overlooking the grave of his wife, and named the place "Sweet Briar," where he spent the rest of his life.

Even after the lapse of so many years, we may still find traces of the tender reverence borne for the memory of Sarah Whitmore. A daughter of her husband's second marriage bore her name, and the only daughter of each of her two surviving sons was named for their mother.

NOTE. The name of the daughter of William Jones was afterward changed to Julia, for reasons which she herself explained to the writer.

* Mrs. Jones died in June, 1792. Charles Jones stated to Mr. Harris that she was buried in the Indian burying-ground, "where the railroad gravel-pit now is, on the south side of the creek." No trace of it now can be found.

NOTES ON THE
ANCESTRY AND DESCENDANTS OF
HORATIO JONES.*

I. ANCESTRY.

Rev. Malachi Jones, founder of the Abington and Downington branches of the Jones family of Pennsylvania, was born in Wales about 1651. He entered the ministry at an early age, and is reported to have been at one time established in London, though there is little proof of this. He married Mary _____ about 1681-2. Benjamin, their first child, was born in March, 1683; Ann, in 1686; Mary, in 1688; Elizabeth, Martha, Malachi and Joshua doubtless prior to 1700, but the exact dates of their births have not been found.

During the first decade of the 18th century large numbers of Welsh left their native land for America and settled mainly in Pennsylvania. Among the new colonists were several families named Jones. Doubtless some were relatives of the Rev. Malachi and possibly through their influence and other outgoing friends, he was persuaded, about 1714, to emigrate to Pennsylvania, settling at Abington, fourteen miles north of Philadelphia. In September, 1714, Mr. Jones was received into fellowship by the Presbytery of Philadelphia, which had then been organized eight years and numbered eleven ministers. During that year a church organization was perfected at Abington with Rev. Malachi Jones as pastor. The First Presbyterian Church, or Great Valley Church, was organized in 1714, and the Rev. Malachi Jones officiated as pastor till 1720. This church is about twenty miles, in an air line, from Abington, and Mr. Jones no doubt officiated in both congregations.

August 25, 1719. Rev. Mr. Jones deeded to certain trustees for ten shillings in silver, one half acre of land to "build a house of worship thereon and bury the dead." On this ground the congre-

* Compiled from MSS. left by George H. Harris, and from data supplied by Mrs. Sarah J. E. Gunn of Leavenworth, Kas., Mrs. Frederick Law Olmsted, Brookline, Mass., and Mrs. Anna Jones Prettyman Howland of Chicago.

gation erected a log building, said to have been the first place of public worship possessed by the Presbyterian denomination within the limits of Montgomery County.

The Rev. Malachi Jones was buried in the graveyard of the church he founded and his tombstone, a large flat slab supported upon four pieces of brick, is still to be seen there bearing the following inscription:

Here lyes the Body of
The Rev'd Mr. Malachi Jones
Who departed this life March ye
26 In the year 1729.
Aetatis Suae 28.
He was the first minister of this place
Dum Nisi Vita Fuit, Tibi
Christi Fidills ut is Sum.

At the foot of the stone is the grave of the Rev. Mr. Jones's granddaughter Mary; also that of her husband, the Rev. Richard Treat, the second pastor of Abington Church, who died November 29, 1779, after a ministry of nearly fifty years.

Of the children of the Rev. Malachi Jones, Benjamin married Katharine Crusan, October 12, 1717. They had ten children, as follows: Malachi, 1718; Elizabeth, 1721; Samuel, 1722; Benjamin, 1725; Mary, 1727; Joshua, 1732; Henry, 1734; Katherine, 1736; John, 1739; Ann, 1741.

Benjamin Jones died at Abington November 10, 1748. Ann married the Rev. David Evans and died January 7, 1754. Mary married Abenego Thomas and had six children. (Her eldest daughter, Mary, was the wife of Rev. Richard Treat, and had five children.) Joshua married Hannah Givin, September 6, 1735; Elizabeth married David Parry, January 6, 1727; Martha married John Parry, November 5, 1729; Malachi, 2nd, married Mary Parry, November 27, 1729.

Malachi Jones, son of the Rev. Malachi and Mary Jones, was born probably about 1695, in Wales, and emigrated with his parents to America prior to September, 1714. He married, November 27, 1729, Mary Parry, daughter of James and Ann Parry, the marriage of whose children brought the Jones and Parry families into close relationship, three of their children having married three children of the Rev. Malachi and Mary Jones. James and Ann Parry came from Wales probably as early as 1712, as a deed of 100 acres of land in Fredyffrin, Stony Valley Township, Pennsylvania, their home, was dated January 20, 1713.

Malachi, 2nd, succeeded his father in possession of the homestead in Abington, where his aged mother continued to reside. In

June, 1747, he purchased a lot on Fourth Street, Philadelphia. He removed about 1753 to Whiteland Township, Chester County, and died the next year. His will, dated August 12, 1753, appoints his wife Mary, executrix and directs her to "dispose of all my estate to the use that therefrom she may cheerfully maintain my weak and feeble children . . . eldest son Horatio to be joint executor . . . all my children, Horasho, Esther, Martha, Malachi, Ruth, Stephen, William, Lynand and Abenego."

William, the seventh child of Malachi (2nd) and Mary Parry Jones, was born about 1741-2, while his parents resided at the old homestead in Abington. He married in 1762 Elizabeth Hunter, daughter of John and Ann Hunter of Downington, Pa., and they became residents of Downington about that time. They had seven children, viz.: HORATIO JONES, the eldest, born November 19, 1763; George; Esther; Ann; Mary; John Hunter; William.

About 1769 William Jones moved to Baltimore Co., Maryland, where John H. was born. He returned to Pennsylvania about 1771-2 and settled in Bedford County.

John Hunter, Sen., was born in County York, England, in 1667. He was a trooper with his friend Anthony Wayne at the battle of the Boyne, and settled at Rathween, County of Wicklow, Ireland. He married Margrarete _____, about 1693. In 1722, Mr. Hunter and Anthony Wayne emigrated to the Pennsylvania Colony and settled in what is now Newtown Township, Bucks Co., Pennsylvania, where Mr. Hunter purchased 1,000 acres of land. He died in 1734, being buried at St. David's Church, Radnor, Pennsylvania.

John and Margrarete Hunter had nine children, viz.: George Hunter, who settled in Whiteland Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania, and became proprietor of a large estate; John Hunter (2d); Peter, a soldier in the French War; William, married Hannah Woodward in 1740; James; Mary, married William Hill, an emigrant from Wales; Ann; Elizabeth; Margrarete (2d).

John Hunter, Jr., son of John and Margrarete Hunter; settled at Downington in Whiteland Township, Pennsylvania, thirty miles from Philadelphia, and accumulated a large amount of real and personal property. He married Ann _____, and had eight children, namely: James, died in 1781; Margrarete, married William Buell; Ann, married Col. Thomas Buell; Mary, married Eli

Bently; John, died young; Martha, married John Ratlen; Hannah, married Malachi Jones (3rd), in 1759; Elizabeth, married William Jones, in 1762.

II. DESCENDANTS OF HORATIO JONES AND SARAH WHITMORE.

Captain HORATIO JONES married (1st) in 1784, SARAH WHITMORE (name also spelled Whittemore, Whitmoyer), who died June, 1792. They had four children:

(1) William W., born December 18, 1786, at Seneca Lake outlet, near the present site of Geneva, died, 1870, at Leicester. He was twice married; first to Eliza (or Elizabeth) Lemen; after her death, to Nancy Harrington.

(2) George W., born 1788; unmarried, killed by Indians at Lewiston, December, 1813.

(3) Hiram W., born 1789; married Verona Shepherd.

(4) James W., born 1791; unmarried, killed by Indians at Lewiston, December, 1813.

I. Descendants of William W. Jones.

Children of Horatio's oldest son William W., by his first wife, Eliza Lemen: 1, Julia, married John H. Jones, Jr.; 2, George W., unmarried; 3, James W., married, died young, leaving one daughter.

Children of Julia and John H. Jones, Jr.: 1, Elizabeth, married James W. Jones (son of Hiram), no issue; 2, Edward, died an infant; 3, Delia, died an infant; 4, Edward, died an infant; 5, Delia, died unmarried, 1901; 6, Jane, died young; 7, Alma, died young.

Children of Horatio's oldest son William W., by his second wife, Nancy Harrington:

William, married Caroline Camp, no issue; Elizabeth, married Edward Camp, one son, one daughter; Flora; Nancy, married Jellis Clute, their children Fayette and George; Homer, married Fannie Wicker; later married Josephine De Rochemont, no issue; Mary, married Albert Phillips, one daughter.

II. Descendants of Hiram W. Jones and Verona Shepherd.

George W., married Emma Hutton; Sarah E., married Alexander Clute (grandson of John H. Jones, Sr.); James W., married Elizabeth L. Jones (daughter of John H. Jones, Jr.), no issue; Hiram, died young.

Children of George W. and Emma Hutton: Edward, unmarried; Grace, married George Hudson; Mary, unmarried.

Children of Sarah E. Jones and Alexander Clute: James H., married Almira Glines; Charles O. S., married Marion Brown; Sarah J. E., married Chester B. Gunn, no issue.

Children of James H. and Almira Clute: William; Charles; Ella, married, one son; Elizabeth.

Children of Charles O. S. and Marion (Brown) Clute: Charles Benjamin; Frederick; Grace; Myrtle; James.

William W. Jones (1) died in the winter of 1870 at Leicester, N. Y.

III. DESCENDANTS OF HORATIO JONES AND ELIZABETH STARR.

Captain HORATIO JONES married (2) in the summer of 1795 at Groveland, near Geneseo, N. Y., ELIZABETH STARR. She was a daughter of Elijah and Rebecca (Hewitt) Starr, and was born in 1779, probably at Genoa, Cayuga Co., N. Y. She died March 4, 1844, at Geneseo, N. Y. She bore to Horatio Jones twelve children, as follows:

Horatio, born 1796, married Julia Wilmerding; Mary Ann, born 1798, married Richard Fitzhugh; John, born 1799, married Lucy Tromley; Ann, born 1802, married William Lyman; Rebecca, born 1804, married Elijah Hewitt (also spelled "Hughett"); Elizabeth, born 1805, married William Finley; Sarah, born 1807, married Dr. Henry Perkins; Hester, born 1809, married Robert Flint; Julia, born 1811, married Benjamin F. Angel; Seneca, born 1813, died in California after 1854; Charles, born 1815; Jane, born 1820, married Charles Carroll Fitzhugh.

Horatio, and Mary Ann Lyman lived at Moscow, N. Y.; Rebecca Hewitt at Geneseo; Betsy Finley at Ann Arbor, Mich.; Hester Flint, wife of Judge Robert Flint, at Fond du Lac, Wis.; Julia Angell at Geneseo, N. Y.; Charles, at Leicester and Geneseo; Jane Fitzhugh, at Saginaw, Mich.

Charles Jones, youngest but one of Horatio Jones's sixteen children, was born August 27, 1815, at Sweet Briar farm, near Geneseo. He went to Temple Hill Seminary, 1826, Canandaigua Academy, 1830-32, and engaged in farming at Leicester, 1840. October 22, 1845, he married Eliza Richmond of Aurora, Cayuga Co. She died December, 1849, leaving one daughter who died January 1, 1869, aged 13 years. On June 3, 1856, Charles married Sarah E. Cummings of New Bedford, Mass. Charles died February 26, 1899.

A grandson of Capt. Horatio Jones, named Horatio Jones Hewitt, died in New York City, date not ascertained, but since 1889. He was born November 25, 1828, in Greece, N. Y.; learned the printer's trade, went to Chicago, where he became one of the founders of the Chicago *Tribune* and a stockholder in the company. He married Margaret Lovett of Rochester; left Chicago in 1857, went to New York and engaged in printing. He invented a rotary press and other devices valuable in the printer's art. Up to 1889 he was in business at No. 27 Rose Street, residing at No. 247 W. Twenty-fifth Street. He was a personal friend of Horace Greeley. He left a widow and six adult children, two sons and four daughters.

A granddaughter of Horatio and Elizabeth (Starr) Jones, and daughter of Sarah and Henry Perkins, is Mrs. Frederick Law Olmsted of Brookline, Mass., wife of the eminent landscape architect and park maker, lately deceased.

IV. DESCENDANTS OF JUDGE JOHN H. JONES.

John H. Jones was a younger brother of Captain Horatio Jones. He came from Pennsylvania—one account says in 1792, another says 1794—and settled on a part of the Jones and Smith tract, on the west side of the Genesee. He was for many years the first judge of Genesee County when that county extended from the Genesee River to Lake Erie and the Niagara; a man of distinguished ability. He married Kate Ewing; their children were: William, George H., Harriet (Mrs. Clute), Marietta (Mrs. Jones), Horatio, Thomas J., Napoleon B., John H., James M., Lucien B., Hiram, Elizabeth Hunter (Mrs. Jones), and Fayette.

THE STORY OF
CAPTAIN JASPER PARRISH,

CAPTIVE, INTERPRETER AND UNITED STATES SUB-
AGENT TO THE SIX NATIONS INDIANS.*

Jasper Parrish with his father was captured on the 5th day of July, 1778, by a small party of Monsie^t Indians, and conducted by them up the Delaware River to a place called Cook House, where they arrived six days afterwards. Ten^t

* This narrative is here published from the original manuscript by kind permission of the owner, Mrs. William Gorham of Canandaigua, whose late husband was a grandson of Jasper Parrish. Regarding certain peculiarities of the narrative Mrs. Gorham writes: "We do not know who wrote it. . . . We know that Jasper Parrish dictated it; I have heard his daughter, my mother-in-law, say so many times." The manuscript is not dated, but alludes to "the present time, 1822," which fixes the year of its composition.

There is in the possession of the Buffalo Historical Society a copy of an unpublished paper written by the Hon. Orlando Allen, about 1869. This paper includes a sketch of Parrish's captivity, which, wrote Mr. Allen, "I copied from a paper lent me by his grand-daughter, Mrs. Carrie Draper, *née* Cobb, of Canandaigua." The biography thus incorporated bears the following heading: "A Sketch of the Captivity of the late Captain Jasper Parrish, Se-ne-at'-do-wā, Big Throat, as he was named by the Indians, prepared by his son Stephen Parrish, from short notes written by his father a few years before his death which occurred at Canandaigua, his place of residence, July 12, 1836, aged 69 years and 4 months."

The two narratives, that which we here print, and that written by Stephen Parrish, in the main relate the same incidents, but in different phraseology; both drawn from Jasper Parrish's own notes, but written out either by different persons or by Stephen Parrish at different times. We print the fuller document, with occasional reference to the Stephen Parrish narrative among the Orlando Allen papers. The latter begins with the following statement, not contained in the Gorham MS.: "My father was born in the year 1767, at Windham, Conn., and removed with his father's family, at a very early day, to some point across the head waters of the Delaware River, in the State of New York."

† Munseys, a branch of the Delawares.

‡ "Two days," Stephen Parrish narrative.

days from their arrival at Cook House, the father was taken to the British at Fort Niagara, where he was surrendered to them, and two years thereafter was exchanged as a prisoner of war and returned to his family.

When captured, Jasper Parrish and his father were about six miles from home and had five horses with them. Cook House, where they were first conducted, was a small place where eight families of the Monsie tribe of Indians resided. While in this situation Jasper Parrish belonged to a captain or war chief of this tribe by the name of Captain Mounsh. In a few days after reaching Cook House Captain Mounsh left his prisoner in the charge of an Indian family and went off to the West. During this time the Indians offered no violence to young Parrish, who was then a boy only eleven years old. He was permitted to ride one of their horses, and in other respects was treated with much kindness.

While with this family he was very ill with dysentery, owing to a change of diet and habits. The Indians tried to relieve him by administering some of their remedies, but he was so afraid that they would poison him that he refused. At length, however, he consented, and the medicine gave him immediate relief, so that in a few days he entirely recovered. The medicine was a black syrup made from roots and herbs.

The Indians generally appeared to be friendly and took good care of him; at the same time they said that by and by they would take the Yankee boy's scalp, accompanied with motions and gestures of scalping. This conduct of the Indians kept him in continual apprehension, until his master, Capt. Mounsh, returned.

On the 1st of October, Capt. Mounsh set out with his prisoner for Chemung. The first settlement of Indians they came to was on the Big Bend on the Susquehanna River. They continued without delay until they reached Chemung, where they remained the following winter. On their arrival at that place and before they entered the village, young Parrish's master gave the Indian scalp halloo very loud, which is a long drawn sound, the accent on the

last *a* and pronounced like "quaqa." At this the Indian men and boys came running from every part of the village to the center. This was a very noted place to make prisoners run the gauntlet. As soon as they came to the center of the village, the Indians set up a horrid yell, and came running to Capt. Mounsh and his prisoner as they were riding, and getting hold of young Parrish bore him with great violence from his horse to the ground, and like so many tigers began to beat him with clubs, whips and handles of tomahawks. At length after he received a terrible beating, his master interfered, and spoke very loud to them in the Monsie language, and said, "It is enough." At this they stopped beating him, and after a short time he was able to get up and was conducted to an Indian hut or cabin, where he remained until the next day, being completely covered with bruises.

In a few days he was sold to a Delaware Indian family who lived on the south side of the Tioga River. They paid the sum of twenty dollars for him. Immediately his former master left the place and went west to Fort Niagara, where, in a drunken frolic with another Indian, he was stabbed and killed.

Young Parrish remained with the Delaware family on the Tioga River* during the winter and spring of 1779. During the winter he was very scantily clad, and his suffering from both cold and hunger was great, the winter being long and severe. His food was the same as that of the Indians and consisted of venison, wolf, dog, fox and muskrat, and some wild fowls. Very little corn was to be found at this time among the Indians, and salt was not to be had as there were no white people short of Niagara to whom they could apply for relief. During the winter he was compelled with two Indian boys (the snow was very deep) to go down to the river, a distance of thirty rods, and then throw off their blankets and jump in the river through a hole cut in the ice, then put on their blankets and return to the cabin. This he was obliged to go through repeatedly in the coldest

* "An Indian family of the Delaware tribe who resided near the village on the south side of the Tioga River."—S. P.

weather, which was done, the Indians told him, to make him tough so he might stand the cold weather.

When the Spring opened and the warm weather came on, he with the Indians was accustomed to go hunting, fishing and digging ground-nuts to procure something to support themselves. They continued this manner of living until the middle of the summer, when he and three Indians went up the Tioga to a place called Chemung Narrows on a hunting trip for a few days. While encamped here near the river the Indians killed several deer. In three or four days after they arrived, the Indians got out of lead, and one evening as they were sitting by the fire, one of them remarked that he would get some tomorrow. Parrish thought it very strange that he should be able to obtain lead in one day when there were no white people of whom they could procure it nearer than Niagara. However, the next morning the three Indians took their guns and went off as usual, as he supposed hunting. In the afternoon the Indian who spoke of getting lead returned with about a peck of lead ore tied up in his blanket; dropped it before the fire, and directed Parrish to make up a large fire with dry wood, which he did. The Indian placed the ore on the top of the fire and scraped away the ashes under the fire so as to give a place for the lead to run into as it melted. Then with an iron ladle he dipped up the lead and poured it into pieces of bark as it melted, until the whole was separated from the dross. Parrish thought that he must have obtained from eight to ten pounds of pure lead. Three days after the Indians returned with him to Chemung.

By this time Parrish had been a captive with the Indians for about one year, during which time he had seldom heard the English language spoken. He had acquired enough of the Indian language to understand their conversation very well and could speak so as to be understood by them. He remained at this place with the Indian family that had bought him until the last of August, 1779, at which time Gen. Sullivan was marching with his army into the Indian country to chastise them for their many enormities. The Indians were collecting a large force at Newtown, near El-

mira, to attack Gen. Sullivan, and selected a point about four miles below Newtown, where they intended to make the contemplated stand and surprise him, if possible while he was advancing. They had placed the baggage, squaws and provisions about one mile back from where they were lying in wait for Sullivan; had gathered together a large war party, among whom were some few whites, and they were very confident of success. Soon after the battle began the Indians found that they could not hold their position, as Sullivan was making an attempt to surround them, and they immediately dispatched a runner to the place where the squaws, baggage and provisions were left with directions for them to pack up and retreat up the river to Painted Post, which they immediately did. Parrish and a number of young Indians were among the party. The Indians being hard pressed soon retreated from the battleground and next day overtook them at Painted Post.

The party of Indians who had charge of Parrish immediately took up their march westward by way of Bath, Geneseo, Tonawanda and so on to Fort Niagara, then a British post. Here they remained till late in the Fall, furnished with salt provision by the British, which the Indians being unaccustomed to, occasioned a great deal of disease and death.

A short time after the whole of the Six Nations of Indians were encamped on the plain around the Fort. While thus encamped they had a general drunken frolic, which resulted in the death of one Indian. Upon this the Indian law of retaliation was resorted to by the friends of the dead Indian, and in less than an hour five Indians were lying dead, before the chiefs could restrain their warriors.

While at Fort Niagara with the Delaware family, Parrish learned that the British were offering a guinea bounty for every Yankee scalp that was taken and brought in by the Indians. He was afterwards told that they offered this bounty for the purpose of getting the Indians to disperse in small war parties on the frontier of the State as they were becoming very troublesome at Fort Niagara.

Parrish was with them in camp at this place about six

weeks. At a certain time a number of the Indians belonging to the same family as his master got drunk in the evening. Two of the Indians were left alone with Parrish at the camp, and were sitting on the side of the fire opposite to him. They soon fell into conversation how they could procure some more rum. After a short time one of them observed to the other, they would kill the young Yankee and take his scalp to the Fort, and sell it and then they would be able to buy some more rum. The young Yankee understood all the conversation and put himself on his guard in case they should make an attempt against him. In a few minutes one of the Indians drew a long half-burned brand from the fire and hurled it at Parrish's head, but he being on the alert dodged the brand, sprang up and ran out into the bushes which surrounded the encampment. The Indians attempted to follow him, but being drunk and the night very dark Parrish escaped them, keeping away until the next morning and the Indians became sober, when he returned again to the camp. While he was with the Indians near Niagara, five died out of his master's family, including his wife.

One day Parrish's Indian master took him into Fort Niagara, where he offered to sell him to the white people, none of whom appeared willing to purchase him. At length his master met with a large, fine, portly-looking Mohawk Indian by the name of Capt. David Hill, who bought him from his Delaware master for the sum of \$20, without any hesitation. Capt. Hill was then living on the plain immediately below and adjoining the Fort. He led Parrish away and conducted him to his home or cabin, where having arrived Capt. Hill said to him in English, "This is your home; you must stay here."

His reflections were not very pleasant on his change of masters, after becoming well acquainted with the Delaware language to be under the necessity of acquiring a new one; the Mohawk differing entirely from the Delaware. Then, to make new acquaintances and friends after becoming attached as he did to his Delaware master.* The change of masters, however, proved to be very fortunate and happy.

* "He had been very well treated by his Delaware protector."—S. P.

Parrish resided in Capt. Hill's family five years and upwards, during all of which time they furnished him with the necessary Indian clothing and an abundance of comfortable food. He passed all that time in traveling with the Indians and in hunting, fishing and working, but they never compelled him to do any hard work, or anything beyond his ability or endurance.

In the month of November, 1780,* the chiefs of the Six Nations held a general council with the British at Fort Niagara. Capt. Hill took his prisoner into the midst of this council, and into the midst of the assembled chiefs, and in the most formal manner had him adopted into his family as a son. He placed a large belt of wampum around his neck, then an old chief took him by the hand and made a long speech such as is customary among the Indians on similar occasions. He spoke with much dignity and solemnity, often interrupted by the other chiefs with exclamations of "Ma-ho-e," which is a mark of attention and approbation. After the speech was concluded the chiefs arose and came forward and shook hands with the adopted prisoner and the ceremony closed. His Indian father then came to him and asked him to return home. He remained here at Fort Niagara with him during the following winter.

In May [1781] Capt. Hill and the Mohawk Indians removed to and made a settlement at a point higher up on the Niagara River at a place now known as Lewiston. Here Parrish lived among the Mohawks in the family of his Indian father and mother until the close of the Revolutionary War. During this time he was frequently with Capt. Hill traveling among other tribes and nations of Indians, invariably receiving from his adopted father's family and other Indians among whom he sojourned, the greatest kindness; his wants were attended to, and many acts of kindness were shown him, as well as many favors during his captivity.

In September, 1784, a treaty of peace between the United States and the six nations of Indians was held at Fort Stanwix, now Rome, Oneida Co., at which the Indians promised

* S. Parrish's narrative says "November, 1779;" 1780 is right.

to give up all prisoners captured and detained among them, belonging to or captured in the United States. There were at this time among the Six Nations ninety-three white prisoners, Parrish among the number. On November 29, 1784, he left Lewiston accompanied by the Indians to be surrendered at Fort Stanwix. Immediately afterwards he set out on his return to his own family and friends, whom he had not heard from, or of, during his long captivity, but whom he at length found at Goshen, Orange Co., N. Y. He had heard the English language so rarely, and had been so totally unaccustomed to speak it himself that he could with difficulty make himself understood. He was destitute of education and was able to devote but very little time to school on his return home, receiving only nine months' schooling.* With this exception he was wholly self-taught and educated from his after-reading and intercourse with the world.

In November, 1790, he was requested by Timothy Pickering, commissioner on the part of Congress to act as interpreter between the Seneca Indians and the Government at a treaty held at that time at Tioga Point. He was called upon again by the same commissioner to act as interpreter at another treaty at Newtown Point (near Elmira), in July, 1791. This treaty was held with the Six Nations of Indians. Here he gained a good deal of commendation and applause from the commissioner and the Indians for the very accurate and faithful manner in which he rendered the Indian language. In April, 1792, he was appointed by President Washington as a standing interpreter for the Six Nations of Indians, and was instructed to reside at Canandaigua under the direction and instruction of Gen. Israel Chapin, then agent to the Six Nations.†

In November, 1794, another treaty was held with the Six Nations at Canandaigua, the Hon. Timothy Pickering presiding as commissioner on the part of the United States, where again he was the principal interpreter. This treaty

* "About a year."—S. P.

† His salary was \$200 per year. (Letter, Pickering to Parrish.)

now remains as the governing treaty between the Six Nations and the United States to the present time, 1822.

After serving as interpreter thirteen years, he was appointed sub-agent and interpreter by the President of the United States, on the 15th of February, 1803.* These two appointments he held through all the successive administrations down to the second term of Gen. Jackson, transacting all kinds of business between the United States and the Six Nations, and also between the State of New York and the Indians. He also officiated as interpreter and was present at very many other treaties during his term of office. He was very anxious to civilize the Indians by inculcating among them habits of industry and instructing them how to cultivate their lands and endeavoring to impress them with the use of property and the value of time. In his endeavors to effect this object, he has found a friendly disposition among the Oneidas and Tuscarora tribes, and among the Senecas residing at the Buffalo Reservation, except Red Jacket, to welcome missionaries and schoolmasters, and all instruction calculated to ameliorate their condition. Teachers and missionaries meet with considerable encouragement among them, and the children of the above-named tribes are receiving from schools very great benefit. Much good has already been accomplished and greater advancement been made in six years in husbandry than have been made in forty years before. They are tilling their land much better, making good fences and building more comfortable dwellings for themselves.

The means that are placed in the hands of the agents by the Government enable them to furnish each tribe annually with all necessary farming utensils, and all implements of

* The following is copied from the War Department records:
To Jasper Parrish Esquire.

Sir: You are hereby with the approbation of the President of the United States, appointed a Sub-Agent, to the Six Nations of Indians, residing within the territories of the said United States, now under the general superintendence of Callender Irvine Esquire. For your government in discharging the various duties of this appointment, you will from time to time, be furnished with general instructions, and particular directions, as circumstances may call for, or render necessary. Your compensation will be a salary of Four hundred & fifty dollars, per annum, payable quarter Yearly.

Given under my hand at the War Office of the United States this 15th day of February 1803.
(L. S.)

H. DEARBORN.

husbandry to enable them properly to till the land, and they are instructed how to use them. They are thus able to raise a considerable surplus of grain beyond what is needed for their own consumption, instead of being dependent upon the precarious results of the chase.

During the time I* was prisoner among them for six years and eight months, and for many years subsequent to the Revolutionary War, the use of the plough was entirely unknown to them, but they are now familiar with almost every essential farming implement. Notwithstanding this great advance toward improvement, and all the efforts made by the Government and citizens to Christianize the Six Nations, the noted Red Jacket has been and still is violently opposed to all innovations upon their old customs, and all changes in their condition. He says they were created Indians, and Indians they should remain, and that he will never relinquish their ancient pagan customs and habits.

FURTHER DATA ON JASPER PARRISH. The foregoing narrative, written fourteen years before the death of Jasper Parrish, is of course without allusion to his later years. His services as interpreter merit a fuller record than the present editor can here make. It has been shown in preceding pages of this volume how often he was associated with Horatio Jones, at treaties and councils; and he shared with his fellow-interpreter the favor of the Senecas, marked by their gift to him of the mile square on the Niagara now known as the Parrish tract. Jasper Parrish bore a prominent part in the negotiations which culminated in the treaty held at Albany, August 20, 1802, at which the Senecas sold to the State the tract a mile wide, extending from Buffalo Creek along the Niagara River to "Stedman's farm," at Fort Schlosser. They received for this land \$200 down, \$5300 to be paid later, and \$500 worth of calico for their women; also the right to go upon the Mile Strip to fish in the river, to cross the Niagara ferry free of charge, and to be exempt from tolls on roads and bridges. Embodied in this treaty were the grants to Jasper Parrish and Horatio Jones of a mile square, heretofore described. Jones does not appear to have attended this treaty at Albany. Parrish was the interpreter, and the next day (August 21st) appeared before Justice James Kent to certify to the genuine-

* The original MS. here changes from the third person to the first; evidently the writer concluded the narrative in Jasper Parrish's own words.

ness of the Indian consents. March 14, 1803, Parrish, Farmer's Brother, Young King and Benjamin DeWitt certified that the Senecas had received the full amount stipulated in the treaty.

Prior to this time Parrish had interpreted an address made by Saccarella, chief of the Tuscaroras, to the acting Secretary of War; in which, speaking for the remnant of his people, the Tuscarora statesman (such he truly was) begged that the Tuscarora claim to lands on the Roanoke in North Carolina might be recognized, that they might be sold and the proceeds applied to the purchase of a tract in the neighborhood of their present residence near Lewiston.* A less important but characteristic service rendered to his Indian friends by Jasper Parrish is indicated by the following, copied verbatim from the original:[†]

CANANDAIGUA, June 16th, 1803.

SIR,
The Bearer one of the cattaraugus Chiefs, is wishing to receive a map of their reservation, agreeable to a promis from Joseph Ellicott Esqr, as he says, thay was to have a map of their reservation given to them.

I am sir, your friend and humble servant

JASPER PARRISH.

BENJAMIN ELLICOTT ESQR.

The letter is worth noting chiefly because it illustrates the attitude of helpfulness and friendliness which Jasper Parrish maintained towards the Indians throughout his life.

By a treaty entered into at Buffalo, September 12, 1815, the Senecas sold to the State all the islands in the Niagara River, within the jurisdiction of the United States, reserving to themselves hunting and fishing privileges. For these islands the treaty stipulated that the Senecas should receive \$1000 down, and an annuity of \$500 in perpetuity. The name of Red Jacket is the first appended to this agreement. Among others in the long list of Senecas and whites are those of Pollard, Little Billy and Young King, Captain Shongo, Horatio Jones's old friend Sharp Shins, Governor Daniel D. Tompkins, Gen. Peter B. Porter, Horatio Jones and Jasper Parrish. For fourteen years the Indians went to Canandaigua every June for their money; this proving expensive and troublesome an agreement was entered into by which they received their money annually in a draft payable at Buffalo. This agreement is called the Albany treaty of March 6, 1830.

Jasper Parrish attended a council of the Six Nations chiefs at Buffalo, in December, 1823, regarding their purchase of lands from the Menomonees at Green Bay, Wis. The Indians decided to send a delegation the next spring to examine the country. Jasper Parrish

* War Dept. Records, February 11, 1801.

[†] Among the Holland Land Co.'s papers, in the possession of the Buffalo Historical Society.

conducted their correspondence in the matter; his letters to the Hon. John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, are preserved in that department.

Jasper Parrish married in early life a daughter of General Edward Paine of Aurora, N. Y., who in the early period of the settlement of Ohio, located and gave name to the village of Painesville. He died at Canandaigua, July 12, 1836, aged 69 years and 4 months. He left a family of six children, three sons and three daughters. The eldest of the daughters married Ebenezer S. Cobb, who was lost on the steamboat Erie, which burned near Dunkirk in 1841. The second daughter married William W. Gorham of Canandaigua, son of Nathaniel Gorham.*

* Stephen Parrish narrative in Orlando Allen's MS.

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF
CAPTAINS JONES AND PARRISH,
AND OF THE PAYMENT OF INDIAN ANNUITIES
IN BUFFALO.

By HON. ORLANDO ALLEN.*

I design to give a short account of the manner of paying annuities to the Iroquois or Six Nations Indians residing in New York, as I saw it nearly fifty years ago and for the twelve or fourteen succeeding years. . . .

These annuities were in money, dry goods, agricultural implements, such as plows, chairs, axes, hoes, etc., a certain amount of blacksmithing and gunsmith work, together with sustenance, to a limited amount, usually consisting of pork and flour dealt out to them while assembled for the transaction of their annual business with the United States.

The money annuity to the Seneca Nation was interest on certain trust funds held for them by the United States arising from the sale of lands; also from the State of New York for the cession to it of the islands in Niagara River, known as the "Grand Island annuity"; and to the Cayugas, Onondagas, and Oneidas for the cession to the State of certain lands by those nations respectively.

The annuities in dry goods, implements, smithwork and provisions, were from the United States to the Six Nations

* Extract from a paper read before the Buffalo Historical Society about 1868, Hon. Millard Fillmore presiding. Now first published.

in accordance with certain treaty stipulation made with them in April, 1792, and in September, 1794. The dry goods consisted of broadcloths of different colors, what was known in those days as Mackinaw Indian blankets, calicoes, and green worsted yarn for making belts, white beads, thread, needles, ribbons, etc.

Blacksmiths and gunsmiths residing near the bands of Indians were to be served by them when designated by the agent. Their accounts properly verified by the chief of their bands, were rendered and paid by the agents at the time of paying the general annuities to the Indians, and these were due on the first day of June in each year. . . .

At that period Captain Jasper Parrish of Canandaigua was the Government agent, title sub-agent of the New York Indians, and Captain Horatio Jones of Leicester, Livingston County, was the interpreter. A part of the duties of these Government agents was to pay the annuities to the Indians, see they were properly distributed among the several bands, settle with the mechanics employed to repair their implements of husbandry, guns, etc., be the mediums of communication with the General and State governments, together with a general supervision of their business and interests particularly as between them as nations and the surrounding whites.

The United States also paid to some of the prominent chiefs, such as Cornplanter, Young King, Little Billy, Destroy Town, Pollard, Strong, Governor Blacksnake and several others, considerable sums of money in the form of annuities. The State of New York also paid one individual annuity, and but one so far as I know, and that was an annuity of fifty dollars to the celebrated Cayuga chief, Fish Carrier, running to him and his heirs forever.* These an-

NOTE BY MR. ALLEN.—Soon after the sale of their lands Fish Carrier, with a considerable number of his people, the Cayugas, emigrated to Canada and settled on Grand River, near the Mohawks. The annuity was regularly paid to him during his life and afterwards to his son, who assumed the name, until about 1840, when the latter, becoming alarmed at the report of war between the United States and Great Britain, applied to me, I having been his agent for several years, to procure the payment of the principal of his annuity which the State was ready to do. This I obtained; he came to Buffalo, received his money, returned to Canada, and died a few years later.

nuities were paid by the agents at the time of paying the national annuities.

Parrish and Jones had been captains among the Indians for several years during the Revolution. The former among the Mohawks, the latter among the Senecas, and of course were familiar with the language of their respective captors, and in this respect as in all others in fact, were eminently qualified to act in their several official capacities.

It is said that Captain Parrish spoke five of the Iroquois languages fluently. I have no personal knowledge as to the truth of this claim; whenever I heard him address the Indians it was always in the Mohawk tongue. Captain Jones was considered an excellent interpreter of the Seneca language. He spoke it like a native, and for an uneducated man had a remarkable command of the English language. His selection of words to express his ideas was happy and his descriptions of scenes graphic.

Parrish and Jones were both large, portly men, with gray hair and florid complexions, and as they moved about our streets would attract notice by their dignified carriage and gentlemanly bearing.

When here in Buffalo they usually stopped at the Phoenix Coffee House, kept by Ralph Pomeroy, on the northeast corner of Main and Seneca streets, now the site of Brown's buildings. Sometimes Parrish stopped at the Mansion House, kept by Joseph Landon, on the south side of Crow, now Exchange Street, midway between Main and Washington streets.

At the appointed time in the early part of June Parrish and Jones would arrive in the stage from the East, and the Indians would gather from all quarters. Those living at Oneida and Onondaga were usually represented by a delegation of their chiefs and head men; and those living nearer often coming in great numbers, chiefs, warriors, women and children, so that in the course of a day or two there would be a large assemblage besides those belonging to the Buffalo Creek Reservation.

The councils on these occasions were held at a council house belonging to the Senecas, situated a few rods east of

the bend in the road a little north of the red bridge across Buffalo Creek, on the now so-called Aurora plank road, then little more than an Indian trail; and here the money was divided per capita, and the dry goods and implements apportioned. The chiefs and head men had the numbers of their tribes represented by a corresponding number of notches on a stick. These were all to be examined carefully, to see that their aggregate did not exceed the known aggregate of the entire population so that there should be none left without his or her free proportion, especially of the annuity money.

The chiefs and head men represented the tribes, the mothers the families. So the former was given the proportion belonging to their tribes, which by them was divided between the families, the mothers receiving for themselves and their children, husbands, and adults without family for themselves. By the observance of these rules, rarely if ever, did mistakes occur. The dry goods and implements were divided more according to the necessities of families, regard being had to the more destitute and needy. To the mothers who were here upon the ground would be divided their proportions, as also to individuals without families, those residing at a distance received theirs from the hands of their representatives, on return of the latter to their homes.

Merchants doing business in the neighborhood of the several bands of Indians, were much in the habit of trusting them, principally for dry goods, depending mainly upon these annuities for payment. Some of the mothers of families would be entitled to receive fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty dollars, as it might be, depending, of course, upon the number of their children. This would be known to the merchant and he would regulate the amount of his credits by the probable amount to be received by the mother of the family, but she, sharp woman, would not infrequently trade out the amount of her proportion of the coming annuity with different merchants, each believing himself to be the sole creditor.

These merchants or their clerks were always upon the ground when the annuities were paid, sometimes in waiting

day after day. At length when the money was divided it would be discovered by them that there were more than one, and sometimes several claimants for the entire amount of the annuity money of a family. Then there would be lively times among them and probably not one of them would get a dime. There was no way of enforcing payment of claims against Indians, as they were not amenable to the laws, and unless they were honest and well disposed their debts remained unpaid. Some of the Indians and squaws were honest and paid their just debts, but many of them were far otherwise.

The councilings, annotations, overhauling of accounts, auditing claims, and other preparations for the final distribution of the annuities, would occupy many days. Indians are proverbially slow in all their deliberations, much talk and more smoking, before any definite conclusions are arrived at. During these days the young men would spend some of their time in their favorite game of ball, sometimes nation against nation, bets running high and one side or the other, both men and women, getting stripped of all their finery, their bets consisting of articles of clothing or silver trinkets. Often, however, their games were for mere sport.* . . .

The great sport of the occasion was a foot race, gotten up for the close of the proceedings as a winding up. The merchants in town would make up a purse, consisting of various articles of dry goods, such as coat patterns, blankets, shawls, calico, etc., having as many prizes as contestants, each differing in value, say from one to five dollars, distance to be run twelve miles, i. e., from where the liberty pole stands on Main Street, up Main Street one mile, up and down six times. Into this race would enter all who felt disposed and competent to contend, and these would generally consist of from fifteen to twenty-five of the best runners of the Six Nations. The runners were divested of all clothing except a shirt and breech-cloth and a belt around the loins. If wearing long hair a band around the head confined it closely, this band

* Mr. Allen here described the game of lacrosse.

not unfrequently consisting of some gay-colored handkerchief or ribbon.

To the best of my recollection the time consumed in running the twelve miles was about one hour; but I cannot state accurately. They would generally run in groups of three or four, strung along over a distance of one to two miles, the foremost ones being that distance ahead of the hindermost ones, towards the close of the race.

There were some six or eight runners that for several years came out very near together, seeming to be closely matched, both as to speed and bottom. There was, however, an Onondaga by the name of Sam George, who took the first prize for several years in succession. He is now an old man, head chief of the Onondaga Nation, and calls himself Colonel Sam George. He then lived on the Buffalo Creek Reservation, but for many years past has lived with his people at Onondaga.

The second in the race usually was a Seneca from Allegheny, named John Titus. He was a much smaller man than George, who was not obliged to put forth all of his powers to distance his competitors, and this seemed to be well understood.

On one occasion Titus achieved by strategy, what he could not by speed, and that was by keeping close up to George until within a few steps of the goal, and then just before crossing the line, putting forth all of his powers, slipped by, leaving George no time to recover the lost race, as he probably could have done in ten strides. George was exceedingly mortified at the result and was careful not to be thus outwitted again. I think he was on no other occasion beaten in these races.

During the time the Indians remained here the store of Hart & Lay, afterwards Hart & Cunningham, and then Hart & Hickox, was the headquarters of the agent and interpreter, and there a considerable part of their business was transacted. This naturally brought the Indians there in large numbers. The ground between Swan and North Division streets on the east side of Main Street was then entirely vacant, with here and there a large oak tree still stand-

ing. On this ground the Indians were almost always to be seen in considerable numbers during their stay here. Capt. Jones spent much of his time at this store, being very sociable and fond of chatting with his Indian friends, talking of the scenes of their boyhood days.

The store in which I was employed was next door below Hart & Cunningham's and at such times, particularly nights, I would sit and listen to their conversation, and if any portion was not distinctly understood by the listeners as expressed in the original, Capt. Jones would explain in English.

On one of these occasions there was a very aged Indian present, and taking part in the conversation, whom Captain Jones informed us was in some way connected with his capture, but precisely how I cannot now state, though I recollect distinctly his connecting him with that event. One of these stories was the brief account that Capt. Jones gave of his capture and some of the incidents connected with his residence among the Indians. This was on a summer night, whites and Indians indiscriminately mixed, sitting around on chairs, stools, floor and counters. I made notes of these some years ago with the aid of which and a pretty retentive memory, I give the story as I heard it.* . . .

Unlike Captain Jones, who spent much of his time while here in Buffalo during these annuity-paying visits, conversing with the Indians, and who seemed never happier than when so engaged, Captain Parrish did not appear to hold much, if any, communication with them, apart from the business connected with his agency; therefore, there was no opportunity afforded of gaining any information from him concerning his captivity. I have been told by one of his sons, the late Edward Parrish of Canandaigua, that when at home he would spend hours at a time in conversation with the Indians who called to see him, as they did very often, socially and on business. I have been told also that his Indian mother, who resided in Canada after the Revolutionary

* The story that Orlando Allen thus preserved has been utilized in the life of Horatio Jones by George H. Harris. A copy of Mr. Allen's original version is preserved by the Buffalo Historical Society.

War, sometimes visited him at his home in Canandaigua, and seemed to look upon him with as much pride and affection as though he had been of her own blood. When she became too old to visit him, he occasionally visited her at her home.

APPENDIX A.

CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS A
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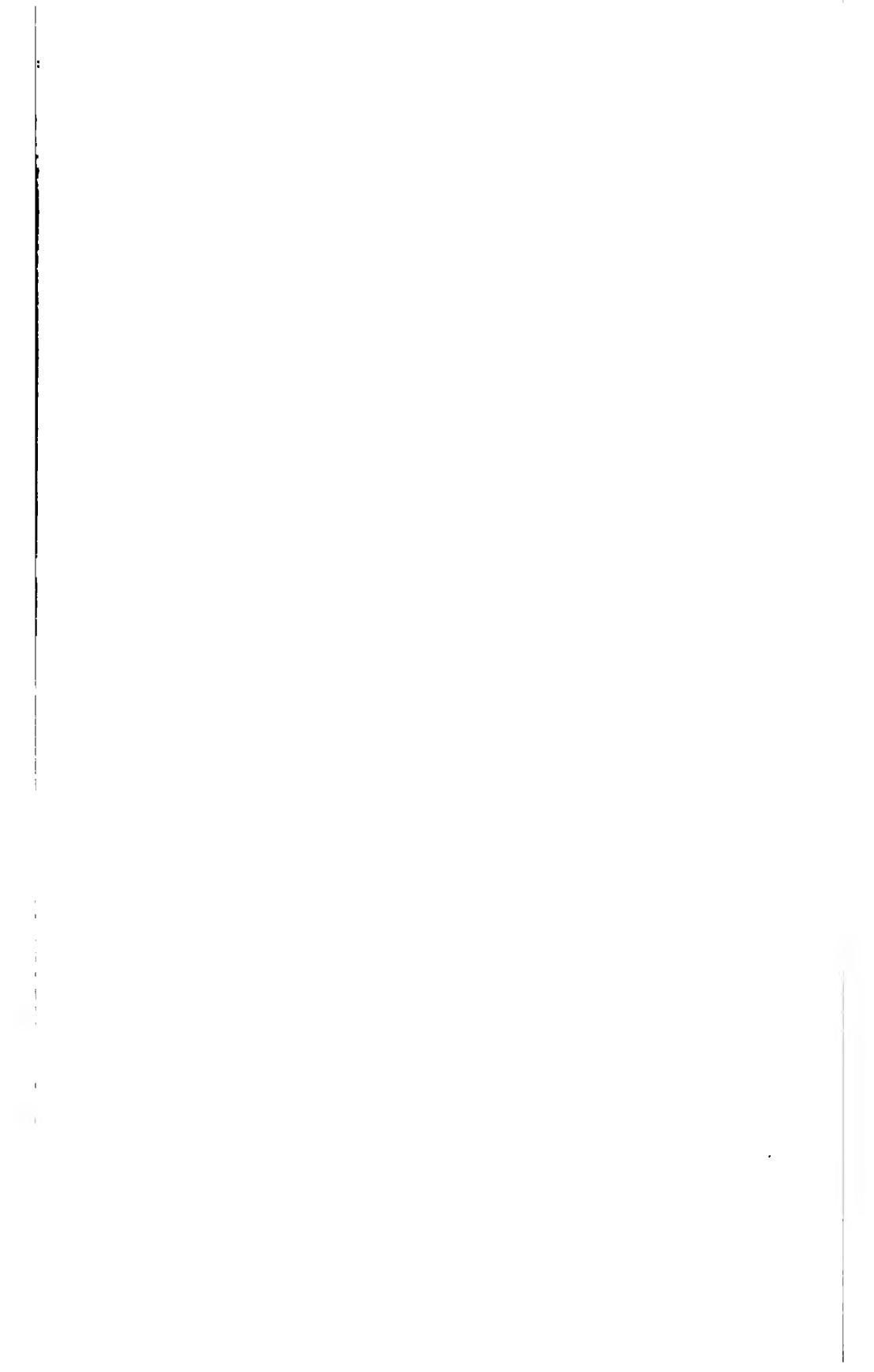
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Being an Appendix to Volume Six, Buffalo
Historical Society Publications.

BUFFALO, N. Y.

1903



INTRODUCTION.

The following list is submitted in continuation of the project entered upon in Vol. V. of the Buffalo Historical Society *Publications*, namely, to publish a bibliography of the Niagara Region, including Buffalo. The list printed in 1902 was on the Upper Canadian Rebellion of 1837-38. The compiler is now enabled to add to that list only the following titles:

[HEAD (*Sir*) FRANCIS BOND.] Three Letters to Lord Brougham, on the execution in Upper Canada of the traitors Lount and Matthews. By a British subject. . . London. J. Murray [1838]. 8vo. pp. 18.

These letters first appeared in the London (Eng.) *Times* June 6, 13 and 28, 1838.

LEAVITT, THAD. W. H. History of Leeds and Grenville, Ontario, from 1749 to 1879. . . . Toronto: Historical Publishing Co. 1879. 4to., ill., pp. 208.

Treats at length of the Upper Canadian Rebellion on the St. Lawrence.

MACKENZIE, WILLIAM LYON. An Almanack of Independence and Freedom for the Year 1860, containing a plea for relief of Canada from a state of Colonial Vassalage, or irresponsible rule, . . . Toronto, 1860. 8vo. pp. 61.

Indirectly related to our subject, but perhaps should be included.

Mackenzie, William Lyon. A Rebellion Reminiscence. How Wm. Lyon Mackenzie escaped.

Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal, Vol. viii., No. 3. Montreal, Jan., 1879.

[McLeod, Alexander.] Review of the opinion of Judge Cowan, of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, in the case of Alexander McLeod. By a citizen of New York. Washington: Printed by Thomas Allen. 1841. 8vo. pp. 28.

Dedicated to Daniel Webster.

[Sutherland, (*Gen.*) Th. J.] The Trial of General Th. J. Sutherland, late of the Patriot Army, before a court martial convened at Toronto on the 13th day of March, A. D. 1838. By order of Sir Francis Bond Head, Lieutenant Governor of said Province. K. C. B., &c., &c. On a charge of having, as a citizen of the United States, levied war in the Province of Upper Canada against Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, &c. With his defence and other documents. Buffalo: Press of Oliver G. Steele. 1838. 8vo. pp. 87.

The list of 1902 was a subject-list, and such no doubt will be those to follow, except that herewith presented. For it, the chronological arrangement has seemed the natural one in view of the object aimed at, which is, to make a record of books and pamphlets published or printed in Buffalo during the earlier years of its existence. The following list stops with and includes the year, 1849; a seemingly arbitrary date, but for the selection of which there were numerous reasons. Not only is the middle of a century a natural halting-place; but from about 1850 the use of the steam press, the development of the municipal government and of corporate or other societies, and the general growth of the city resulted in a rapid increase of annual reports of organizations and other publications of a periodic type, while the development of public libraries made their collection and preservation fairly certain. Probably much that was printed in the pioneer years of the local press has been lost. The following list has been compiled from books preserved in the Buffalo, Grosvenor and Historical Society libraries, with a few items from private sources. Many of them are contained in the Millard Fillmore and Dr. John C. Lord collections, both now in the keeping of the Historical Society. But for the scholarly tastes and habit of preserving books and pamphlets which characterized these two eminent Buffalonians, many an entry in the following list would undoubtedly have been lost. It is the first list of this class of Buffalo publications that has been made; the compiler will be pleased to learn of any additions to it which his readers may be able to make.

Newspapers and periodicals are not included, with the exception of the *Mental Elevator*, the unique paper issued from the Seneca Mission Press, which is recorded under 1841, the year of its first issue. There is little need to review the history of the early periodic press of Buffalo, that work having already been well done; notably in the "Early History of the Press of Erie County," by Guy H. Salisbury, printed in Volume II., *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society*. The inquirer on this subject may also consult George J. Bryan's "Biographies, . . . also, Lecture on Journalism" (Buffalo, 1886), the lecture on journalism having been prepared for the Buffalo Historical Society in 1876; "The Authors of Buffalo," by Frank H. Severance, *Buffalo Historical Society Publications*, Vol. IV.; and the chapters on the press of Erie and Niagara counties in the various local histories.

Incidentally, the following list contains data for a chronology of the principal printers of Buffalo from the pioneer Salisburys (S. H. and H. A.), who set up the first press here in 1811, down to

Faxon & Stevens, Andrew F. Lee, T. J. Dudley, Jas. S. Leavitt, G. Reese & Co., A. M. Clapp & Co., F. W. Breed, Parmelee & Hadley, and—most notable of all—Jewett, Thomas & Co. All of these firms were printers and on occasion publishers, in the late '40's; and the last-mentioned house, with its much-vaunted "steam power press," may perhaps stand as typifying the more modern era of printing in Buffalo, into which the present survey does not carry us.

The Salisburys, with numerous business changes, continued prominent in the printing business of Buffalo well into the '40's. Buffalo's first book was published in 1812 by S. H. & H. A. Salisbury. No other book or pamphlet is known to the present compiler, bearing a Buffalo imprint, until we come to 1818, when we find the imprint of Carpenter & Salisbury. Again nothing is found until 1820, when the imprint is that of H. A. Salisbury. In 1821 David M. Day (father of the late David F. Day) and H. A. Salisbury are associated, but for some years thereafter each continues in the printing business, by himself. Smith H. Salisbury early pinned his faith to Black Rock, and in 1827 we find a pamphlet published there by him. Lewis G. Hoffman (1822) and D. P. Adams (1836), are the only other Black Rock publishers shown by our list. Mr. Adams was the father of Mr. William H. Adams, now a well-known resident of Buffalo. Smith H. Salisbury returned to Buffalo, and in the '30's both he and H. A. Salisbury were continuing the family craft in Buffalo. Later on we find the firms of Salisbury, Manchester & Co., and Salisbury & Clapp.

In the decade of the '20's, besides those named, the publishing business was ambitiously carried on in Buffalo by Lazell & Francis, and R. W. Haskins & Co., this firm later changing to Day, Follett & Haskins. In 1832, the year of Buffalo's municipal birth, we first find the imprint of Steele & Faxon. From that date down to the close of our review no names are more prominent in the local publishing business than those of Charles Faxon and Oliver G. Steele. Many new names appear in the '30's; they are recorded in the following list and need not be restated here. Buffalo's pioneer German printer, George Zahm, printed pamphlets in English as early as 1840, but nothing has been found printed here in German, newspapers excepted, prior to 1843. Oliver G. Steele printed one book in Dutch for a teacher of languages, in 1848.

It is not the purpose of these notes to present a history of the publishing business in Buffalo, even during the earlier years, but merely to direct attention to the representative names in the following list, many of them designating men honorably prominent in

the community during the years when Buffalo's industrial foundations were being laid.

In the early decades of the last century many books, well printed and bound, came from presses in small towns where now book-publishing has practically ceased. This is especially true of school-books. Before the days of the publishers' trusts, concentration of capital, and monopoly in educational text-books, school-books were manufactured practically where needed. Often they were printed in New York, with title-page imprints for many localities and dealers. For example, Cobb's series of Juvenile Readers were published, in the '30's and '40's, at Rochester, N. Y., Pulaski, N. Y., Erie, Pa., Cleveland, O., etc. The imprint of O. Spofford, Erie, Pa., appears on many books of this class, as early as 1841, but they were either printed, or the stereotype plates made, in New York. Similarly, Peter Parley's Arithmetic, "Buffalo, Oliver G. Steele, 1833," is really a Boston publication, with a special title for the Buffalo trade; Coppock's "Pianist's Companion," published by J. D. Sheppard, Buffalo, N. Y., Steele's Press, 1835, is really a New York made book. David Hoyt in Rochester put out many books of the same character. More genuinely local were such books as those printed in Utica by Grosh & Walker, and published by O. Hutchinson. The "Treatise on Algebra," by George R. Perkins—the famous compiler of almanacs—published by Hutchinson in 1842 is an excellent example of the good work done by country presses in this State more than sixty years ago. In Western New York, Canandaigua, Batavia, Lockport, Warsaw, even in such ultra-rural communities as Boston in Erie County, prior to 1840, were the homes of well-trained printers, who could and did, manufacture very substantial volumes of various degrees of typographical pretension and literary worth. No doubt they took their time to it; but the result in many cases is better than could be expected from the presses in those towns today. The causes of this decadence of the village press are too well known to need recital. The growth of the large cities and the expansion of the field of circulation for their newspapers; the extension of railway connections and the development of express and postal facilities so that well-nigh every hamlet in the State may have the New York City papers, even if only an unsatisfactory early edition, on the day of issue; the evolution of news service, through the various stages of the "patent inside" sheet, which came to the country editor ready printed on one side, leaving him only to print his local items and advertisements on the other side; and of the more modern plate service; have all conspired to bring about the decline of the country press and to rob the work of the

country editor of its individuality. The hopelessness of competing with well-equipped city offices on work which is there done by improved machinery, displacing the ancient spectacled artist of the stick and rule; to say nothing of the thousand and one other forces which operate against the economical prosecution of the craft remote from centers of supply and distribution, have made the old-time master-printer of the country office well nigh extinct, and have driven the ambitious country editor into the city where he sinks his individuality in anonymous toil in "journalism." Rarely now does a country printing office attempt anything more ambitious than the most commonplace poster and pamphlet. Here and there, it is true, in small towns exist establishments which assume to prosecute the art preservative with the mannerisms if not the sincerity and simplicity of its discoverers; but their product is chiefly designed for the delectation of the dilettante in typographic esthetics, real or pretended, and sustains no real relation to the community where produced.

Perhaps the most striking instance in our immediate lower-lake region of the ambitious but good work of the early rural press is afforded by Niagara, Ont.—now popularly known as Niagara-on-the-Lake—where "The Life and Actions of Alexander the Great," 8vo. 200 pages, by the Rev. J. Williams; "The Life of Mahomed," 8vo. 112 pages, by the Rev. Geo. Bush; Southey's "Life of Lord Nelson," 1st Canada edition, 8vo. 140 pages; and "The Life of Lord Byron," 8vo. 200 pages, by John Galt, were all published in 1831. Even as early as 1819, at Niagara, U. C. Andrew Heron had printed "Magna Charta" and "The Bill of Rights," in a neat pamphlet, "with elucidatory notes," by B. Curwen, Esq. These were reprints, but in 1832 this Niagara corner of the then Canadian wilderness became a true publishing center by the original issuance of Thompson's "History of the Late War between Great Britain and the United States of America," a duodecimo of 300 pages. But for that war bookmaking in Buffalo would no doubt have had an earlier and worthier development. M. Smith states in the preface of his "Geographical View of the British Possessions in North America," New York, 1813, that he had arranged to have the work published in Buffalo, but the war upset his plans. In 1812, residing in Canada, he had obtained permission from Lt. Gov. Gore to publish; but when war was declared, Smith, being a citizen of the Republic, refused to take the oath of allegiance to Great Britain. He obtained passports, but his manuscripts were taken away from him before he left Canada, and he had afterward to rely on his rough notes.

Perhaps the most important feature of the following list is the record of imprints of the Seneca Mission press, noted under the

years 1841 to 1846. Several other publications, excluded from the list because not printed in Buffalo, but of interest in this connection to the bibliographer and student of Seneca linguistics, should be noted. Some of them are mentioned in Mr. Howland's history of the Seneca Mission. (*Ante*, pp. 158-160.) As matter of record we give the following, necessarily omitting numerous accents:

Christ's Sermon on the Mountain. Translated into the Seneca Tongue, by T. S. Harris and J. Young. New York. Printed for the American Tract Society. By D. Fanshaw. 1829. 16mo. pp. 32 [16 duplicate numbering], 74. At p. 1 the following sub-title: "Gainoh ne nenodowohga neuwahnuhdah. By James Young. New York. Printed for the American Tract Society by D. Fanshaw. 1829."

Dinhsa'wahgwah gaya'doshah go'waha's goya'doh. Sgaoyadih dwanadenyo. Neh Nadigehjihshohoh dodisoagoh; Wasto'k tadinageh. 1836. 12mo. pp. 42.

Translation: "Beginning book, Mrs. Wright she wrote, Mr. Jimerson he translated, the old men they printed, Boston [Mass.] they reside at." A spelling-book.

The First Book for Indians Schools. Printed at the Mission Press, Cattaraugus Reservation, 1847. 16mo. pp. 72.

Easy word lessons, "The child's hymn about Jesus," etc.

Gaa nah shoh neh de o waah' sao' nyoh gwah Na' wen ni yuh. Ho nont gah deh ho di' yado'nyoh. New York: American Tract Society. 1852. 12mo. pp. 232.

The third edition of the Seneca hymn-book. There is more separation of syllables than in most of the earlier imprints.

Neh noya' nes ha'wahdenyoh Oi'wah geh odoh oh Nisah' 28, 1854. n. p. 12mo. pp. 24.

"Laws of the Seneca Nation, passed January 28, 1854." Printed by order of the Seneca Government, and translated by Nicholson H. Parker. Originally drawn up in English by a committee appointed for that purpose by the Council. There are also numerous tracts composed by N. H. Parker, printed in 1854.

He ni ya wah syoh no'nah jih, tga wa na gwa oh neh ne ga yados hiyu neh. 12mo. pp. 64. H. M. Morgan, printer, Gowanda, N. Y.

The American Bible Society in 1874 published the four Gospels in the Seneca (Asher Wright's translation), an edition still much used on the Reservations; but our review is designed only to cover Western New York and other related imprints of the early years.

The enumeration of some of the annuals or periodic pamphlets in the following list is known to be incomplete. Probably also some editions of the early Niagara Falls guide-books are not noted; the most complete collection of this kind of Niagara literature, that of the Hon. Peter A. Porter, being boxed up and in storage when the list was compiled and thus inaccessible alike to owner and compiler. It is believed, however, that no works are omitted, though certain editions of some of them may be.

F. H. S.

PAMPHLETS AND
BOOKS PRINTED IN BUFFALO
PRIOR TO 1850.

1812.

GRANGER, ERASTUS, and RED JACKET. Public speeches, delivered at the Village of Buffalo, on the 6th and 8th days of July, 1812, by Hon. Erastus Granger, Indian Agent, and Red Jacket, one of the principal chiefs and speakers of the Seneca Nation, respecting the part the Six Nations would take in the present war against Great Britain. Buffalo: Printed and sold by S. H. & H. A. Salisbury—sold also at the Canandaigua and Geneva Bookstores. 1812. 16mo. pp. 31.

The first book printed in Buffalo, and the only book or pamphlet known to the present compiler with a Buffalo imprint of earlier date than 1818. It is reproduced entire, in facsimile, in Vol. IV., Buffalo Historical Society *Publications*. That society owns one of the two known copies.

Fac-simile of title-page on p. 557.

1818.

Claws and the Clauses. . . . Buffalo, 1818.

Known only through a sale-catalogue entry, as above.

[THACHER (*Rev.*) SAMUEL COOPER.] The Unity of God: a Sermon, delivered in America, September, 1815. Third American edition. Buffalo: Printed by Carpenter & Salisbury. 1818. 16mo. pp. 24.

By Rev. Samuel Cooper Thacher of Boston. The first edition was printed in Boston, 1817; the preface to the second edition, (reprinted in the 3d) is dated Worcester, Mass., May, 1817. Why it was reprinted in Buffalo is not apparent.

1820.

Report in the Senate, of the Committee appointed to enquire and make report relative to the accounts of Daniel D. Tompkins with this State. March 9, 1820. Buffalo: Printed by H. A. Salisbury. 1820. 8vo. pp. 24.

Memorial. [Without title-page: a petition to the New York Legislature, signed by residents of the County of Niagara, asking that the terminus of the Erie Canal be fixed at the mouth of Buffalo Creek. Dated at end:] Niagara County, December, 1820. 8vo. pp. 8.

Presumably printed in Buffalo, which is referred to as "this place." The memorialists, whose names are not printed, review the legislative action regarding the canal to date, and make a strong argument in favor of building the canal to Buffalo, and not stopping it, as they feared might be done, at Tonawanda.

1821.

Moulton, Joseph W. An Address delivered at St. Paul's Church, Buffalo, on the anniversary celebration of the Niagara and Erie Society for promoting Agriculture and Domestic Manufactures, the 30th day of October, 1821. By Joseph W. Moulton, Esq., corresponding secretary. Buffalo: Printed by D. M. Day, and H. A. Salisbury, 1821. 8vo. pp. 36.

1822.

PATCHING, TALLCUT. A Religious Convincement and Plea, for the Baptism and Communion of the Spirit, and that which is of Material Bread, Wine and Water rejected as Jewish Rites; both unprofitable, and the cause of great division among Christians. Also, some remarks on the abuse, use and misapplication of the Scriptures; and the Ecclesiastical Succession refuted; whereby the rite to ordain by the laying on of hands is lost; besides not necessary to qualify a Gospel Minister. By Tallcut Patching. [Quot. 71.] Buffalo: Printed for the author, by H. A. Salisbury. 1822. 12mo. pp. ix-457.

Advertisement at end: "A copy of this book may be had, by applying to the author, in Boston, Erie County, N. Y. Communications by letter must be postpaid. Applicants shall be supplied as soon as possible. Remittance will be expected when the book is delivered.—Price \$1."

[PORTER, (Gen.) PETER B.] Documents, relating to the Western Termination of the Erie Canal; with Explanations and Remarks. Published by direction of "the Black Rock Harbor Company." Black Rock: Printed by Lewis G. Hoffman. 1822. 8vo. pp. 60.

Fac-simile of title-page on p. 559.

1823.

Documents and brief remarks, in reply to the pamphlet written by General Porter, and published by direction of the Black Rock Harbor Company, at Albany, in December, 1822, and at Buffalo in January, 1823. By the Buffalo Harbor Committee. Buffalo: Printed by David M. Day. 1823. 8vo. pp. 47.

Fac-simile of title-page on p. 561.

P U B L I C
S P E E C H E S ,

DELIVERED

*At the Village of Buffalo, on the 6th and 8th days
of July, 1812,*

BY

Hon. ERASTUS GRANGER,
INDIAN AGENT,

AND

RED JACKET,

One of the Principal CHIEFS and SPEAKERS
of the SENACA NATION,

*RESPECTING THE PART THE SIX NATIONS WOULD
TAKE IN THE PRESENT*

W^AR

AGAINST GREAT BRITAIN.

~~~~~

BUFFALO :

Printed and sold by S H & H A. SALISBURY  
—sold also at the Canandaigua and Geneva  
Bookstores.

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1812.

HARRIS, (*Rev.*) T. S. and YOUNG, J. O en ad o geh teeh' soah Koy a noh' soah, na na Nonoandowoh'gan Neuenooh'dea. Hymns, in the Seneca Language. By T. S. Harris and J. Young. Buffalo: Printed by David M. Day. 1823. 16mo. pp. 32.

Seneca and English on alternate pages. The representation of Seneca sounds by English syllables is only approximate, and not so true to the spoken speech as in the books printed by the Rev. Asher Wright, whose study of the language was much more thorough and scientific than that made by Messrs. Harris and Young.

Fac-simile of title-page on p. 563.

TODD, LEWIS C. Compendium of Universalism, or the Articles of Union, Faith and Practice, of the Universalian Church in Chautauque, explained and confirmed with notes. By Lewis C. Todd. [*Texts, 5 lines.*] Buffalo: Printed by H. A. Salisbury. 1823. 12mo. pp. 71.

Fac-simile of title-page on p. 563.

1824.

The Apocryphal New Testament, being all the Gospels, Epistles, and other pieces now extant, attributed in the first four centuries to Jesus Christ, His Apostles and their Companions, and not included in the New Testament, by its compilers. Translated from the Original Tongues and now first collected into one volume. From the London Edition. Buffalo: Printed by H. A. Salisbury. 1824. 12mo. pp. xi-346.

Astronomical Calendar, or Western Almanac, for the Year of Our Lord 1824: . . . Calculated for the Meridian and Horizon of Buffalo. . . . Astronomical calculations by Loud & Wilmarth. . . . Buffalo: Published by Oliver Spofford. . . . H. A. Salisbury, printer. [1824.] 12mo. pp. 36.

In this year was also published at Lewiston, where it was "printed and sold, wholesale and retail, by Oliver Grace": "The Niagara Almanac for 1824: (No. 1.) The Astronomical calculations are made for the Horizon of Niagara Falls. . . . By Edward Giddins." 12mo. pp. 36. At the *Sentinel* office in Lewiston in this year was published "A faithful and correct report of Several Trials, held at Lockport, before the Honourable William B. Rochester, Circuit Judge for the Eighth District, State of New York, for the alleged murder of John Jennings, in the memorable riot of Christmas Eve, 1822, from stenographic notes, by Francis Collins." 8vo. pp. 52; the fullest history, no doubt, of the most famous murder trials in Western New York prior to that of the three Thayers.

Holland Purchase. Minutes of the Holland Purchase Association, convened in Sheldon, upon 6th and 7th October, 1824, together with their circular and corresponding letter; and the revised constitution of the Baptist Domestic Missionary and Indian

DOCUMENTS,

RELATING TO THE

Western Termination

OF THE

ERIE CANAL;

WITH

Explanations and Remarks

PUBLISHED BY DIRECTION OF "THE
BLACK ROCK HARBOR
COMPANY."

BLACK ROCK.

PRINTED BY LEWIS G. HOFFMAN.

1822.

FAC-SIMILE OF TITLE OF FIRST KNOWN BLACK ROCK BOOK.

School Society, in the Holland Purchase Association. Buffalo, N. Y. Printed by Lazell and Francis. 1824. 8vo. pp. 16.

The address of Lazell & Francis is given on the last page as "No. 5 Cheapside," Buffalo, at which place they published the Buffalo *Emporium*, "designed to be the repository of various knowledge—Political—Agricultural—Moral and Religious—together with the earliest intelligence, Foreign and Domestick." The *Emporium* was printed weekly at \$2 per year.

1825.

[BALL, S.] Buffalo in 1825: containing historical and statistical sketches, illustrated with a map of the village and view of the harbor. Buffalo: Published by S. Ball. H. A. Salisbury, printer. 1825. 8vo. pp. 13, [1]; full page copper-plate: "View of Buffalo harbor," and folding map, "Ball's plan of the Village of Buffalo. Compiled, surveyed, drawn and engraved by and for the author, 1825."

The first "history" of Buffalo, issued in dark blue paper covers. One of the most-to-be-prized Buffalo books.

Fac-simile of title-page on p. 567.

[Columbian Spelling-Book. . . . Buffalo. 1825.]

No copy seen. Lazell & Francis advertised it in this year: "Now in Press an edition of the Columbian Spelling-Book . . . arranged after the pronunciation of Walker and is calculated to supersede the use of Webster's. Parents, guardians and instructors of youth, are respectfully invited to call and examine the work."

[Daboll's Arithmetic. . . . Buffalo. 1825.]

No copy seen. Lazell & Francis in an advertisement of this year, announce that they have just completed the work.

PICKERING, DAVID. A Discourse, delivered at the Universalist Church, in the City of Hudson, N. Y. December 27, 1823. By David Pickering. Published by request. From the second Hudson edition. Buffalo. Printed by H. A. Salisbury. 1825. 8vo. pp. 55.

[Three Thayers.] An Interesting Narrative of the Murder of John Love, comprising an account of the detection, and trial, of the murderers, (three brothers,) hanged at Buffalo, June 17, 1825. Buffalo: Printed and published by Lazell and Francis. 1825. 16mo. pp. 16.

Grotesque cut of gallows with three bodies, three coffins underneath.

[Three Thayers.] Trial of Isaac, Israel, Jr., and Nelson Thayer, for the murder of John Love, before the Court of Oyer and Terminer, held at Buffalo, N. Y., on the 21st, 22d and 23d of April, 1825; with their Sentence and Confession. Reported by a member of the Bar. Printed, published, and sold by, Lazell & Francis, No. 5 Cheapside, Buffalo,—at \$5 a hundred, 75 cts. a

DOCUMENTS

AND

BRIEF REMARKS,

IN REPLY

TO THE

Pamphlet written by General Porter,

AND PUBLISHED

BY DIRECTION OF THE BLACK ROCK HARBOR COMPANY,

AT ALBANY IN DEC. 1822, AND AT BUFFALO IN JAN. 1823.

BY THE BUFFALO HARBOR COMMITTEE

BUFFALO—PRINTED BY DAVID M. DAY.

1823.

PAC-SIMILE OF THE FAMOUS BUFFALO HARBOR PAMPHLET, 1823.

dozen, and 12 1-2 cents single. [Buffalo.] 1825. 12mo. pp. 34. [2, ads].

On the last page of this pamphlet is an advertisement in part as follows: "Lazell & Francis have just completed a good edition of Daboll's Arithmetic; and they have now in press an edition of the Columbian Spelling-Book." No copy of either work has been seen by the compiler.

[Three Thayers.] Trial of Israel Thayer, Jr., Isaac Thayer, and Nelson Thayer, for the murder of John Love, at the Court of Oyer and Terminer of Erie County, at the Court House in Buffalo, on the 21st, 22d and 23d days of April, 1825; before his Honor, Reuben H. Walworth, Circuit Judge for the Fourth Circuit. Including the testimony, arguments of counsel, with the substance of the charge to the jury, the sentence of the culprits, and their subsequent confession of the crime. Reported for the publisher, by James Sheldon, counsellor. [Copy right secured.] Buffalo: Printed and published by H. A. Salisbury. 1825. 8vo. pp. 43 [1].

Same, "second edition, enlarged," Buffalo: Published by Simeon Newbury. H. A. Salisbury, printer. 1825. 8vo. pp. 48.

[Three Thayers.] The Life, Condemnation, Dying Address and Trial of the Three Thayers, who were executed for the murder of John Love, at Buffalo, N. Y., June 17th, 1825. Buffalo: Printed for the publisher. 1825. 8vo. pp. 15.

Another pamphlet, to be regarded as a second edition of the above, is entitled "The Life, Condemnation, Dying Address and Trial of the three Thayers. [Crude cuts of three coffins.] Who were executed for the murder of John Love, at Buffalo, N. Y., June 17th, 1825. Second edition. Boston: Printed by John G. Scobie, for the publisher." 8vo. pp. 16. This was Boston, Erie Co., N. Y., where several books were printed in the '20's. Still another contemporary publication on this cheerful subject was: "The Dying Address of the Three Thayers, Who were executed for the Murder of John Love, at Buffalo, N. Y., June 17th, 1825," a folio, the second page headed: "A Sketch of the Life, Condemnation, and Death of the Three Thayers, who were hanged at Buffalo, on the 17th of June, 1825, for the Murder of John Love." The first page bears a rude cut of a gallows with three suspended figures, the second page has three coffins. The narrative is the same as that contained in "The Life, Condemnation," etc., and the sheet was presumably printed either in Buffalo or the town of Boston, Erie Co.

In this year at Tuscarora village, was issued the first edition of David Cusick's "Sketches of Ancient History of the Six Nations," etc., one of the rarest imprints of the Niagara district. Though dated at Tuscarora, it was probably printed at Lewiston.

1826.

Acts of Incorporation and Ordinances, of the Village of Buffalo. Buffalo: Printed by Day & Follett. 1826. 8vo. pp. 25.

O EN AD O GEH TEEH SOAH

KOY A NOH SOAH,

NA NA

Nonoandowoh'gau Neuenooh'dea.

HYMNS,

IN THE

SENECA LANGUAGE.

BY T. S. HARRIS AND J. YOUNG.

BUFFALO—PRINTED BY DAVID M. DAY.

1823.

BUTLER, FREDERICK, A. M. A History of the United States of America, with a Geographical Appendix, and a chronological table of contents. For the use of families and schools. By Frederick Butler, A. M. Printed by Lazell & Francis, Buffalo, N. Y. 1826. 12mo. pp. 420.

The book was manufactured in Buffalo, but the title was registered in "the District of Connecticut," which fact finds explanation in the following note: "The editors offer as an apology for the long list of Errata, in this work, that the Author resides at Wethersfield, Conn.; a distance of more than 400 miles from Buffalo; which rendered it impossible for him to examine and correct the proof sheets; and the Printers were not accustomed to read his writing." There are many and strange errors in the book; but, place and date considered, it was an ambitious and creditable piece of work.

CASEY, JOHN. Letters, addressed to several philanthropic statesmen, and clergymen; vindicating Civilized and Christian Government, in contradistinction to the civilized and Anti-Christian Institutions; to which is subjoined an appendix. By John Casey, agent for promoting the establishment of Peace Societies. [Quot. 51.] Buffalo: Printed by Lazell & Francis. 1826. 12mo. pp. iv-144.

"This Book (agreeably to the Author's proposals) is not to be sold, but gratuitously circulated by the Publisher and his generous Subscribers, as a free-will offering among all people."
—Prefatory note.

Farmer's Calendar or Western Almanac, for the Year of Our Lord 1826. . . . Calculated for the meridian of Buffalo, Erie County, New York. . . . Astronomical calculations by Oliver Loud. . . . Buffalo. Published by R. W. Haskins & Co. [1826.] 12mo. pp. 36.

Loud's calculations were the basis of various almanacs, e. g., the Western Almanac published at Rochester in 1826, 1827; in other years and elsewhere.

ROBINSON, JOHN (*D. D.*) History of England abridged, by John Robinson, D. D. Buffalo, N. Y. Published by Lazell & Francis. 1826. [Engraved title followed by title-page in type.]

Robinson, John (*D. D.*). Hume and Smollett abridged, and continued to the accession of George IV. By John Robinson, D. D. Buffalo, N. Y. Re-published by Lazell and Francis. 1826. 8vo. pp. 352.

Fac-simile of title-page on p. 571.

Rules of the Court of Common Pleas for Erie County. Adopted February Term, 1825. Buffalo: Printed by H. A. Salisbury. 1826. 8vo. pp. 16.

1827.

CASEY, JOHN. Universal Peace; being a rational and scriptural vindication, of the establishment of permanent and universal Peace; upon the immovable basis of Christian Principles. In

**COMPENDIUM
OF
UNIVERSALISM.
OR THE ARTICLES OF
UNION, FAITH AND PRACTICE,
OF THE UNIVERSALIAN CHURCH IN
CHAUTAUQUE.
EXPLAINED AND CONFIRMED WITH NOTES.
*BY LEWIS C. TODD.***

"But we desire to hear of thee what thou thinkest : for as concerning this sect, we know that every where it is spoken against."—Acts xxviii.22

"But this I confess unto thee, that after the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers, believing all things which are written in the law and the prophets."—Acts xxiv.14.

BUFFALO :

Printed by H. A. Salisbury,
1823.

FAC-SIMILE OF TITLE OF TODD'S "UNIVERSALISM."

two volumes. Vol. I. Compiled and published, by John Casey; Author of Letters, vindicating civilized and Christian Government, etc. [Quot. 41.] Black Rock: Printed by Smith H. Salisbury. 1827. Vol. I, 12mo. pp. 216.

Apparently completed in one volume, by using smaller type than at first contemplated.

Eddy, (Rev.) A. D. A discourse, delivered at the dedication of the Brick Church, in Buffalo, N. Y., March 28, 1827. By A. D. Eddy, pastor of the First Congregational Church, in Canandaigua. Buffalo: Printed by Day, Follett & Haskins. 1827. 8vo. pp. 25.

Fac-simile of title-page on p. 573.

EVERETT, (Rev.) L. S. A Review, of a pamphlet, entitled, Universalism, or, the Rich Man and Lazarus; a sermon, by Thomas Lounsbury, A. B., pastor of the First Presbyterian congregation in Ovid. By L. S. Everett, pastor of the First Universalist Society in Buffalo, N. Y. In two parts. . . . Third Edition. Black Rock: Printed by S. H. Salisbury. 1827. 8vo. pp. 24.

[Holland Purchase.] Proceedings of the Meeting held at Lockport, on the 2d and 3d of January, 1827; and of the Convention of Delegates from the several counties on the Holland Purchase, held at Buffalo, on the 7th and 8th of February, 1827, to consider the relations subsisting between the Holland Company and the Settlers on said Purchase, and to propose some remedy by which the condition of the Settlers may be alleviated. Buffalo: Printed by Day & Follett. 1827. 8vo. pp. 23.

Hyde, (Rev.) JABEZ B. A Review of the Minutes and Proceedings of the Presbytery of Buffalo, at their special session in that village, October 16, 17 and 18, 1827; for the trial of the Rev. Jabez B. Hyde, on charges preferred against him by Rev. T. S. Harris, Missionary among the Seneca Indians. To which is added an appendix, containing documents referred to in the trial, and additional notes. [Quot. 21] Buffalo: H. A. Salisbury, Printer. 1827. 8vo. pp. 73.

For note on this work see *ante*, this volume, p. 273.

1828.

A Directory for the Village of Buffalo, containing the names and residence of the heads of families and householders, in said village, on the first of January, 1828. To which is added a sketch of the history of the village, from 1801 to 1828. Buffalo: Published by L. P. Crary. Day, Follett & Haskins, Printers. 1828. 16mo. pp. 55 [advs., 5]. Folding map of Buffalo, dated January 1, 1828.

Buffalo's first directory. The second did not appear until 1832. No Buffalo Directories were issued in the years 1829, '30, '31, '33, '34, '43, '45 or '46.

Fac-simile of title-page on p. 575.

BUFFALO,

IN

1825:

CONTAINING

HISTORICAL AND STATISTICAL SKETCHES,

ILLUSTRATED

WITH A MAP OF THE VILLAGE

AND

VIEW OF THE HARBOR.

BUFFALO :

PUBLISHED BY S. BALL.
H. A. SALISBURY, PRINTER.

1825.

FAC-SIMILE OF TITLE-PAGE OF FIRST HISTORY OF BUFFALO.

1829.

Prospectus and internal regulations of the Western Literary and Scientifick Academy, at Buffalo, N. Y. Buffalo: Printed by Day, Follett & Haskins. 1829. 8vo. pp. 21, [2].

1830.

[Holland Purchase.] An Address to the Landholders and Inhabitants of the Holland Purchase, on the subject of the Holland Land Company's title, and remonstrating against the proceedings of a County Convention, held at Buffalo, 11th Feb., 1830. Buffalo: Printed by Day, Follett & Haskins. 1830. 8vo. pp. 16.

[Holland Purchase.] Report of a County Convention of Delegates, from the several towns in the County of Erie, held at the Court House, in Buffalo, on the eleventh of February, Eighteen Hundred and Thirty, for the purpose of inquiring into the title of the Holland Land Company to the lands claimed by them in this State. Buffalo: Republican Press: S. H. Salisbury. 1830. 8vo. pp. 22.

1832.

An Act to incorporate the City of Buffalo, passed April 20, 1832. [*Cut: N. Y. coat of arms.*] Buffalo: Printed by David M. Day. 1832. 8vo. pp. 41.

[Almanac.] The Farmer's Almanack, for the Year of Our Lord 1832; . . . Adapted to the Meridian of Buffalo, Erie Co., N. Y. . . . Astronomical calculations by the successor of Oliver Loud. . . . Buffalo: R. W. Haskins. [1832.] 12mo. pp. 24.

The "Buffalo Bookstore" of R. W. Haskins at this date was at No. 204 Main Street (old numbering).

[Almanac.] Steele & Faxon's Buffalo Almanac for the Year of Our Lord 1832: being bissextile or leap year; and (till July 4th) the fifty-sixth of American Independence. Calculated for the Horizon and Meridian of Buffalo, Erie Co. (N. Y.), but will serve for any of the adjoining counties of this State, the Province of Upper Canada, or eastern part of Ohio. Containing, besides the usual Astronomical Observations, a variety of useful and entertaining matter. Buffalo: Printed and sold by Steele & Faxon, 214 Main Street. Great allowance made to those who purchase by the quantity. 12mo. pp. [24].

A Directory for the City of Buffalo; containing the names and residence of the heads of families and householders, in said city, on the first of July, 1832. To which is added a sketch of the history of the village, from 1801 to 1832. Buffalo: Published by L. P. Crary. Steele & Faxon, printers. 1832. 12mo. pp. 122. [*Advis., 8 pp.*]

The second Buffalo Directory, published in the year of incorporation as a city.

[FILMORE, MILLARD.] An Examination of the Question, "Is it right to require any Religious Test as a Qualification to be a

witness in a Court of Justice?" By Juridicus. Buffalo: Printed by Charles Faxon. 1832. 8vo. pp. 16.

"Juridicus" was Millard Fillmore, and the contents of this pamphlet first appeared as a series of papers in the Buffalo Patriot, during the winter of '31-'32.

REMINGTON (Rev.) DAVID. A sermon, preached at the funeral of Deacon Asa Field; who died at Cayuga Creek, Erie County, N. Y. December 6, 1831. Aged 74. By Rev. James Remington. Buffalo: Printed by Steele & Faxon. 1832. 8vo. pp. 14.

WHITE, SENECA. Ki noh shuh, nr wen ne un, na da wi sem nyo qurh. nas hr ne a nent ho yot dub, gr non, no noh ka. do shoo wl, da ku, skr a, noh da wen nyer a, seh ne use has he na, tik ne, skr a. By Seneca White. Printed at the Republican Press. 1832. 24mo. pp. 45.

A book of hymns in the Seneca, but without accents. An approximate translation of the title is: "Songs to praise God in the language of the Senecas. Buffalo, the year 1832."

Fac-simile herewith.

Ki noh shuh, nr wen ne un,
 na da wi sem nyo qurh.
 nas hr ne a nent ho yot dub,
 gr non, no noh ka. do shoo wl,
 da ku, skr a, noh da wen nyer a,
 seh ne use has he na, tik ne, skr a.

BY SENECA WHITE.

PRINTED AT THE REPUBLICAN PRESS

1832.

WILLIAMS, ARA. The Inquirer's Guide to Gospel Truth; or Doctrinal Methodism defended against the assaults of its enemies, by Scriptural proofs and rational arguments. By Ara Williams, Minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church. [Quot. 2L.] Buffalo: Printed by Steele & Faxon, for Rev. J. Marsh. 1832. 12mo. pp. 324.

1833.

APPLEBEE, MARY. A Narrative of the Wreck of the Schooner New Connecticut, on Lake Erie, Sept. 4th, 1833. Together with an account of the miraculous preservation of Mrs. Mary Applebee, [who was] confined in the cabin five days! the schooner being for the greater part of the time immersed in water. Buffalo: [. . . 1833?] 8vo. pp. 14. Cut of vessel in middle of title-page.

Bracketed portions of title as given above, conjectured, the only copy seen being torn. Mrs. Applebee dates her narrative "Aurora, Oct. 1, 1833," and the pamphlet was no doubt printed soon after. Her adventure is one of the most remarkable in the annals of the lakes.

Laws and ordinances of the Common Council of the City of Buffalo, re-enacted July 19, 1833. Published by order of the Common Council. Buffalo: Printed by David M. Day. 1833. 8vo. pp. 32.

TAYLOR, C. B. A Universal History of the United States of America, embracing the whole period, from the earliest discoveries, down to the present time. Giving a description of the Western Country, its soil, settlements, increase of population, &c. In three parts. By C. B. Taylor. Buffalo, N. Y. Published by Ezra Strong. Stereotyped by James Conner. 1833. 12mo. pp. 534, vi. Twenty-three woodcuts, all preceding the title-page.

It is probable that the plates were made in New York, but the work was issued in Buffalo in the year named, substantially bound in sheep. The woodcuts, among them "Buffalo, N. Y., burned by the British, Dec. 30th, 1813," are curios.

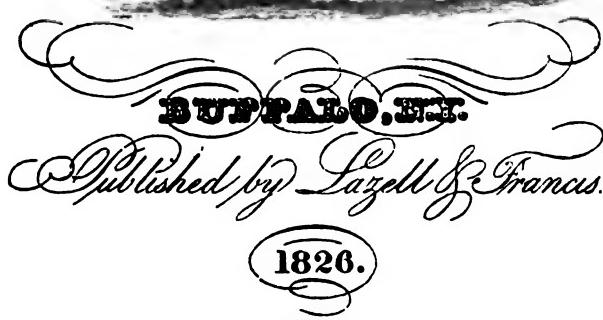
1834.

[Almanac.] Steele's Buffalo Almanac for the Year of Our Lord 1834 . . . 12mo. pp. 24.

Only copy seen with incomplete title-page.

By-Laws of the Medical Society of the County of Erie: together with the Laws of the State of New York, relative to the Medical Profession, and System of Medical Ethics. Published for the Society. Buffalo: Charles Faxon, printer. M. DCCC XXXIV. 8vo. pp. 41.

[Holland Purchase.] An Appeal to the People of the State of New York; being a Report of the Executive Committee of a Convention of Delegates from the several counties within the Holland Purchase, held at Buffalo the 19th-20th February, 1834. Buffalo: Charles Faxon, printer. 1834. 8vo. pp. 72.



FAC-SIMILE OF TITLE-PAGE OF EARLY BUFFALO EDITION OF HUME & SMOLETT'S
ENGLAND.

MARTYN, (Rev.) J. H. A Narrative of the origin and progress of the First Free Congregational Church, in Buffalo, New York: with an account of their late protracted meeting. By J. H. Martyn, pastor of said church. Buffalo: Printed by H. A. Salisbury. 1834. 8vo. pp. 16.

INGRAHAM, JOSEPH WENTWORTH. A Manual for the use of visitors [sic] to the Falls of Niagara: intended as an epitome of, and temporary substitute for, a larger and more extended work, relative to this most stupendous Wonder of the World. By Joseph Wentworth Ingraham. [Quot. 41.] Buffalo: Printed for the author, by Charles Faxon. Sold by O. G. Steele, T. Butler, and A. W. Wilgus. 1834. 16mo. pp. 72.

The first guide-book to Niagara Falls was published in 1834, though for many years the travelers' hand-books and tour-books had contained a good deal relative to the Niagara region, both historical and descriptive. Horatio A. Parsons published a Niagara guide in this year, and claimed it was the first book of the kind. Ingraham's book appeared in July, and was the outcome of studies he had begun in 1833. It was a thoroughly original work, not the least useful feature being a list of 135 works which he had consulted, ranging in date from 1660 to 1833—the first bibliography of the Niagara region. He contemplated a larger work, which it does not appear was ever published. On the paper covers of his Manual he gave additional data and corrected many errors in the work due to haste. Some copies contain an inserted leaf facing the title-page, bearing a "Postscript—Eureka!" dated Niagara Falls, July 17, 1834, in which Mr. Ingraham reports the first exploration of the Cave of the Winds—to which he gave that name—on July 15th, by Geo. W. Sims and B. H. White. "Yesterday Mr. Sims again entered it, with Messrs. J. R. Snyder and C. R. Howe; and today (reader, do you not congratulate me?) I had myself the great gratification of gaining access to this '*locus foetus furentibus austris*' accompanied and assisted (for no one could do it alone) by Messrs. Sims and Snyder, and S. Whitney, son of Gen. W. . . . The possibility of entering this cavern with safety, having now been satisfactorily settled, Judge Porter is having a path cut down to it." Ingraham is best known as a lecturer and writer on Palestine, illustrator of the geography of the Bible, etc. In the "advertisement" of the Niagara "Manual," dated "Niagara Falls, July 1, 1834," Mr. Ingraham says: "I would have had this little tract printed on better paper, if it could have been procured in this vicinity; but it may add some interest to the book, in the eyes of visitors, to be informed, that the paper on which it is printed, was manufactured at the Falls; and the waters of the Niagara, therefore, are intimately blended with its every fibre."

SEAVIER, JAMES E. and WRIGHT, (Rev.) ASHER. The Interesting Narrative of Mary Jemison, who lived nearly seventy-eight years among the Indians. [Buffalo, 1834.] 12mo. pp. 36.

Only copy known (library of present compiler) lacks title-page, but has display heading as above on p. 1. The narrative is

A

DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED AT THE DEDICATION

OF THE

BRICK CHURCH,

IN

BUFFALO, N. Y.

MARCH 28, 1827.

BY A. D. EDDY,

Pastor of the First Congregational Church, in Canandaigua.

BUFFALO :

PRINTED BY DAY, FOLLETT & HASKINS.

1827.

AN EARLY PAMPHLET ON THE HISTORY OF THE "FIRST" CHURCH.

Seaver's, much abbreviated from the original edition (Canandaigua, 1824). Mr. Wright adds about half a page, on Mary Jemison's removal from Gardeau to the Buffalo Creek Reservation, her conversion to Christianity, death and burial, September, 1833. This abridgement by Mr. Wright, apparently the rarest of all the editions, was reprinted, with wonderful woodcuts, by Miller & Butterfield, Rochester, 1840.

1835.

An Act to Incorporate the City of Buffalo, passed Apr. 20, 1832. Buffalo, H. A. Salisbury, 1835. 8vo. pp. 34.

Laws and Ordinances of the Common Council. . . . Buffalo, H. A. Salisbury, 1835. 8vo. pp. 37.

A Directory for the City of Buffalo; containing the names and residence of the heads of families and householders, in said city, on the first of June, 1835. L. P. Crary, publisher. Buffalo: Charles Faxon, printer. 1835. 12mo. pp. 139. [Advt. 16.]

Buffalo's third Directory. As usual in old publications the advertisements are one of the most interesting and historically valuable features.

PARSONS, HORATIO A. A Guide to Travelers visiting the Falls of Niagara, containing much interesting and important information respecting the Falls and vicinity, accompanied by maps. By Horatio A. Parsons, A. M. Second edition greatly enlarged. Buffalo: Published by Oliver G. Steele. Charles Faxon, printer. 1835. 18mo. pp. 96. Two maps on one folding sheet.

No copy of the first edition of this work, if indeed there is an earlier one, known to the present compiler. In the present edition the "Advertisement" states that it was first published in 1834; if so, it may contest with Ingraham's Manual for priority in this field of literature. Parsons says: "The plan of publishing such a manual was formed eight years ago, and most of the materials were then collected and arranged; but for various reasons it was not published till the year 1834, though it was the first book of the kind that had ever been published respecting the Falls. Most of the first edition was sold in the course of three months last season." The effort to forestall any claim to priority that might be made by or for Ingraham, is obvious.

SHELTON, (Rev.) WILLIAM. The High Influence of Noble Minds and Liberal Institutions. A discourse, delivered at the first meeting of the Young Men's Association, on the 18th of March, 1835. [Quot. 11.] By William Shelton, A. M. Rector of St. Paul's Church, Buffalo. Buffalo: Charles Faxon, printer. 1835. 12mo. pp. 24.

[**SHELTON, (Rev.) WILLIAM.**] Address delivered before a large assembly of Citizens of Buffalo, convened for the purpose of promoting the Interests of Temperance. Buffalo: Printed by H. A. Salisbury. 1835. 12mo. pp. 12.

This publication, the address which it contains, by the rector of St. Paul's, and the public meeting which it records, stand for

A

DIRECTORY
FOR THE
VILLAGE OF BUFFALO,
CONTAINING THE NAMES AND RESIDENCE
OF THE
HEADS OF FAMILIES
AND
HOUSEHOLDERS,
IN SAID VILLAGE, ON THE FIRST OF JAN. 1828.
TO WHICH IS ADDED A SKETCH OF
THE HISTORY OF THE VILLAGE,
FROM 1801 TO 1828.

BUFFALO
PUBLISHED BY L. P. CRARY.
Day, Follett & Haskins, Printers.
1828.

an early—perhaps the earliest—general movement to promote the cause of temperance in Erie County and Buffalo. The address was originally given on February 10, 1835. On March 3d a committee consisting of Thos. C. Love, N. P. Sprague, Wm. Ketchum, S. G. Austin, J. C. Meeks, A. Eaton and D. Bowen was named, at a citizens' meeting. They induced Mr. (he was not then "Dr.") Shelton to repeat the address and announced their purpose "to publish and distribute a copy thereof to every family in the County of Erie."

1836.

Annual report of the Sailors' and Boatmen's Friend Society, presented June 9, 1836; with an account of the formation of the American Bethel Society, and a statement of the plan of Bethel operations upon the inland waters. Buffalo, N. Y. T. & M. Butler. 1836. 8vo. pp. 24.

The president of the Sailors' and Boatmen's Friend Society at this date was Heman B. Potter, who succeeded Hiram Pratt, Orlando Allen being treasurer and the Rev. Stephen Peet, corresponding secretary.

Articles of Agreement and Association, of the Michigan City Land Company. Buffalo: Printed for the Company. Day, Stagg & Cadwallader, Prs. 1836. 12mo. pp. 12.

Samuel Wilkeson was the only Buffalonian whose name appears as a stockholder.

[*Black Rock.*] A concise view of Black Rock, including a map and schedule of property, belonging to the Niagara City Association, with a description of and boundaries of the same, and the articles of agreement, forms and regulations of the Niagara City Association, and the Black Rock Land and Railway Company. Black Rock. 1836. 16mo. pp. 92.

Large folding map (24 by 34 in.) of "the Village of Black Rock as surveyed and drawn by Henry Lovejoy for the Black Rock Land & Rail Road Co. May 1836," etc. It locates old Fort Adams, the river batteries and other points connected with the War of 1812. Of great value in many respects. Some copies appear to have been bound up without the map. An exceedingly scarce volume.

COLMAN, (Rev.) HENRY. A sermon at the dedication of the Independent Congregational Church, in Meadville, Penn. August 20, 1836. By Henry Colman. Buffalo: Press of Oliver G. Steele. 1836. 8vo. pp. 27.

[*CHAPIN, CYRENIUS.*] Chapin's Review of Armstrong's Notices of the War of 1812. Black Rock: D. P. Adams, printer—Advocate office. 1836. 8vo. pp. v-50.

Constitution and By-Laws of the Young Men's Association of the City of Buffalo. Buffalo: Press of Oliver G. Steele, 1836. 12mo. pp. 22.

A. *Directory for the City of Buffalo;* containing the names and

residence of the heads of families and householders, in said city, on the first of May, 1836. L. P. Crary, publisher. Buffalo: Charles Faxon, printer. 1836. 12mo. pp. 162, [advs. 28].

Among other features it contains a chronological list of the principal events of the War of 1812 on the Niagara Frontier, the Constitution of the Young Men's Association, and an illustration and description of a monument to Com. Perry which it was proposed to erect in Buffalo, of white marble, 100 feet high surmounted by a statue of Perry fifteen feet in height. This project reached the stage of committees, and apparently stuck there.

[Erie Canal.] Review of the Pamphlet of "Oswego," against the intended enlargement of the Erie Canal. By Equal Rights. Buffalo: Printed by Day, Stagg & Cadwallader. 1836. 8vo. pp. 21.

Page 3, in the only copy seen (B. H. S. library), is blank, but the text is complete, reading from page 2 to 4.

EVRE, JOHN. The Beauties of America. By John Eyre [Quot. 31.] Buffalo: Printed for the author [Steele's Press]. 1836. 12mo. pp. iv-72.

The introduction dated "Shelby, Aug. 27, 1836." The body of the book is a series of letters, August, 1834, to December, 1836, including several dated at Batavia, Royalton, Newark, Manchester (Niagara Falls), Buffalo, etc. A long account of Niagara Falls is given, mainly from Father Hennepin and "The Book of Niagara Falls." The author saw strange things in Buffalo, e. g., "a young woman with an uncommon affliction in one leg. . . . It was considerably larger in circumference than my body with my clothes included and as I understood measured round a yard and a quarter." (p. 66.) Eyre was the author of a well known volume of "Travels," etc., New York, 1851.

HAWLEY, SETH C. An Address delivered before the Young Men's Association of the City of Buffalo, on the evening of March 22, 1836. By Seth C. Hawley, President of the Association. Buffalo: Press of Oliver G. Steele. 1836. 8vo. pp. 20.

PARSONS, HORATIO A. The Book of Niagara Falls. By Horatio A. Parsons, A. M. Third edition, carefully revised and enlarged. Accompanied by maps. Buffalo: Oliver G. Steele. 1836. 16mo. pp. 111 [1].

Two maps on one folding sheet: "Map of Niagara River and parts adjacent," and "Map of Niagara Falls and Vicinity," both by H. A. Parsons.

[Rathbun, Benj.] Deeds of Assignment. Benjamin Rathbun, to Hiram Pratt, Lewis F. Allen, Joseph Clary, Thomas C. Love and Millard Fillmore. Recorded in Erie County Clerk's Office, August 2d, 1836. . . . [Buffalo, 1836.] 12mo. pp. 17.

[Rathbun, Benj.] Plan of an Association of the creditors of B. Rathbun. . . . Daily Commercial Advertiser—Extra. Press of Salisbury, Manchester & Co. Buffalo, Nov. 1, 1836. 8vo. pp. 20.

Steele's Western Guide Book, and Emigrant's Directory, containing different routes through the States of New York, Ohio, Indiana,

Illinois and Michigan, with short description of the Climate, Soil, Productions, Prospects, &c. Fifth Edition. Greatly improved and enlarged. Buffalo: Published by Oliver G. Steele. 1836. 16mo. pp. 108.

No other edition of this well-made little volume has been seen by the compiler.

1837.

An Act to incorporate the City of Buffalo, passed April 20, 1832. Buffalo: Press of Day, Stagg & Cadwallader, Printers to the Corporation. 1837. 8vo. pp. 8, 34, [Laws and Ordinances:] 40, vi.

The Act of Incorporation, and By-Laws of the Mechanics' Society of Buffalo. Passed April, 1836. Buffalo: Press of Oliver G. Steele. 1837. 12mo. pp. 12.

A Catalogue of Books in the Library of the Young Men's Association of the City of Buffalo. Founded 22d February, 1836. Incorporated March 3d, 1837. Buffalo: Press of Oliver G. Steele. 1837. 8vo. pp. 42. Last two pages wrongly numbered.

CHILDS, (*Rev.*) WARD. Five Sermons on Sanctification. By Rev. Ward Childs, Pastor of the Church at Strykersville. Published by request of said church. Buffalo: Printed at the Spectator office. 1837. 8vo. pp. 32.

Constitution and By-Laws of the Apprentices' Society to which is annexed a catalogue of books comprising their library. Buffalo: Printed by David L. Wood. 1837. 16mo. pp. 17.

The library numbered 435 volumes.

DAVIS, ROBERT. The Canadian Farmer's Travels in the United States of America, in which remarks are made on the Arbitrary Colonial Policy practiced in Canada, and the free and equal rights and happy effects of the liberal institutions and astonishing enterprise of the United States. By Robert Davis. Buffalo: Printed for the Author. [Steele's Press.] 1837. 12mo. pp. 107, [1].

A Directory for the City of Buffalo; containing the names and residence of the heads of families, householders, and other inhabitants, in said city, on the 1st of May, 1837. Published by Mrs. Sarah (widow of the late L. P.) Crary. Buffalo: Printed by Charles Faxon. 1837. 12mo. pp. 143, [advts. 19].

Mrs. Crary was Buffalo's first woman publisher.

[Erie Canal.] Proceedings of the Convention, upon the subject of an immediate enlargement of the Erie Canal; held at the courthouse in Rochester, on the 18th and 19th days of January, 1837. Buffalo: Charles Faxon, printer. 1837. 8vo. pp. 28.

Irving, on Lake Erie. Buffalo: Charles Faxon, printer. 1837. 12mo. pp. 43.

A cover-title only.

[Rathbun, Benj.] In Chancery, before the Chancellor. Hiram Pratt, Joseph Clary and Lewis F. Allen, Complainants, vs. Benjamin Rathbun and his Creditors, Defendants. . . . Buffalo, 1837. Sm. 4to. pp. [99].

Contains the petition of the complainants, the deed of assignment, and schedules of property, etc.

RECTOR, (Rev.) N. D. A Short Account of the Life, Experience, Call to the Ministry, and Exclusion of N. D. Rector. To which is added, some proceedings of the benevolent associations of the day, from their own records. . . . Boston, (Erie Co.). Published by the Author. Day, Stagg & Cadwallader, Prs. Buffalo. 1837. 8vo. pp. 67.

Steele's Western Almanac for the Year of Our Lord 1837: being the first year after Leap Year; and of American Independence till July 4th, the sixty-first. Calculated for the Meridian of Western New York. . . . Astronomical calculations by William W. M'Louth. Buffalo: Published by T. & M. Butler. 1836. 12mo. pp. 24.

[Young Men's Association.] First Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Young Men's Association of the City of Buffalo. Reported and adopted Feb. 8, 1837. Buffalo: Press of Oliver G. Steele. 1837. 8vo. pp. 13.

1838.

By-Laws of Red Jacket Fire Company. [No. 6. Portrait of Red Jacket.] Buffalo: Steele's Press. 1838. 16mo. pp. 8.

CLAY, HENRY. Speech of the Hon. Henry Clay. Buffalo, March 23, 1838. 8vo. pp. 22.

Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser Extra*. The speech was on the banking system, delivered in the U. S. Senate, Feb. 19, 1838.

A Directory for the City of Buffalo; containing the names and residence of the heads of families and householders, in said city, on the first day of May, 1838. Leonard P. Crary, publisher. Buffalo: Printed by Charles Faxon. 1838. 12mo. pp. 150. [Advt. 18.]

"The publication of the Buffalo Directory is not a source of profit to its author; all works which have preceded the present volume have been an actual loss."—*Publisher's Introduction*.

The Independent Treasury: Abstract of a bill to impose additional duties, as depositaries, upon certain public officers, &c. Together with the speech of the Hon. Silas Wright, Jr., of the Senate, in support of the bill; also, the report of the Committee of Ways and Means of the House of Representatives, on the Currency. Buffalo: Printed by Charles Faxon, No. 156, Main Street. 1838. 8vo. pp. 59.

A Buffalo *Daily Star*, Extra.

LORD, (Rev.) JOHN C. Errors in Theory, Practice and Doctrine. A Sermon, delivered before the Synod of Genesee, at their an-

nual meeting at Buffalo, October 10, 1838. By John C. Lord, A. M. Pastor of the Pearl-Street Church, Buffalo. Buffalo: Press of Day & Steele. 1838. 8vo. pp. 24.

LORD, (*Rev.*) JOHN C. The Popular Objections of Infidelity, stated and answered in a series of lectures addressed to the Young Men of Buffalo. By John C. Lord, A. M., Pastor of the Pearl Street Presbyterian Church. Buffalo: Published by Steele & Peck. 1838. 16mo. pp. 223.

PIERCE, MARIS B. Address on the present condition and prospects of the aboriginal inhabitants of North America, with particular reference to the Seneca Nation. By M. B. Pierce, a Chief of the Seneca Nation, and a member of Dartmouth College. [Buffalo:] Steele's Press. 1838. 8vo. pp. 16.

REMINGTON, WILLIAM A. [The Battle of Black Rock, Jan. 12, 1838. By William A. Remington.]

A long poem, reprinted, with notes, in Cyrus K. Remington's "Souvenir and Historical Sketch," etc., *q. v.* No copy of original known.

Report of the Trustees and Managers of the Society established in the City of Buffalo, for the relief of Orphan and Destitute Children, as read in the First Presbyterian Church, Dec. 27, 1837; together with official documents illustrating the past history and present condition of the asylum founded by said society. Buffalo: Press of Oliver G. Steele. 1838. 8vo. pp. 30.

Rules for the Government of the Sunday School of Trinity Church, Buffalo. Buffalo: Stagg & Cadwallader, City Printers. 1838. 12mo. pp. 12.

Statement of the Financial Transactions of the Banking Firm of Truscott, Green & Co., of Toronto, in connection with Green, Brown & Co. of New York; and Brown, Buckland & Co. of Buffalo. Buffalo, July 1838. Buffalo: 1838. 8vo. pp. 28.

Steele's Western Almanack, for the Year of Our Lord 1838. . . [Cut of lake vessel.] Astronomical calculations by William W. M'Louth. Buffalo: Published by Steele & Peck. Steele's Press. 12mo. pp. 24.

[Upper Canada Rebellion.] The Trial of General Th. J. Sutherland, late of the Patriot Army, before a Court Martial convened at Toronto on the 13th day of March, A. D. 1838 . . . on the charge of having, as a citizen of the United States, levied war in the Province of Upper Canada against Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, &c. With his Defence, and other documents. Buffalo: Press of Oliver G. Steele. 1838. 8vo. pp. 87.

[Y. M. A.] Second Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Young Men's Association, of the City of Buffalo, with the by-laws, list of officers, and act of incorporation. Buffalo: Press of Oliver G. Steele. 1838. 8vo. pp. 23.

1839.

[Buffalo Baptist Association. . . . Report. 1839. 8vo.]
 Fragment only seen, Buffalo Public Library.

Charter of the City of Buffalo: with the several amendments: to which are added the Laws and Ordinances of the City of Buffalo. Revised, Jan. 1839. Published by order of the Common Council. Buffalo: Press of Thomas & Co. No. 165 Main St. 1839. 8vo. pp. 93.

Laws and Ordinances of the City of Buffalo. Revised, Jan. 1839. Published by order of the Common Council. Buffalo: Press of Thomas & Co. No. 165 Main Street. 1839. 8vo. pp. 103.

DE VEAUX, S. The Falls of Niagara, or Tourist's Guide to this Wonder of Nature, including notices of the Whirlpool, islands, &c. And a complete Guide thro' the Canadas. Embellished with engravings. By S. De Veaux. Buffalo: William B. Hayden. Press of Thomas & Co. 1839. 16mo. pp. 168 [1].

Front, "Map of Niagara River"; full-page views: "Niagara Falls from the American side, near the Ferry staircase"; "Burning of the Steamboat Caroline"; "Niagara Falls, from Canada near the Clifton House"; "View of Brock's Monument, Queenston Heights."

[Directory.] For 1839-40. The Buffalo City Directory; containing a list of the names, residence and occupation of the heads of families, householders, &c. on the first of May, 1839. Faxon & Graves and A. W. Wilgus, publishers. Buffalo: Printed by Faxon & Graves. 1839. 12mo. pp. 144. [Advt. 12.]

GRIMES, J. STANLEY. A New System of Phrenology. By J. Stanley Grimes, President of the Western Phrenological Society, at Buffalo. [Quot. 31.] Buffalo: Oliver G. Steele. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 1839. 12mo. pp. 320.

Front, diagram, lithographic plates, and small cuts in text.

HASKINS, ROWELL WILLSON. History and Progress of Phrenology. . . . Buffalo 1839.

Not seen by compiler; title from British Museum catalogue.

LOD, (Rev.) JOHN C. "Pride, fulness of Bread, and abundance of Idleness. The Prominent Causes of the Present Pecuniary Distress of the Country. A sermon, delivered at the Pearl Street Church, on Sabbath, October 27, 1839. By John C. Lord, A. M., pastor of said church. Buffalo: Press of Thomas & Co. No. 165 Main Street. 1839. 8vo. pp. 20.

NICHOLS, THOMAS L. Address delivered at Niagara Falls, on the evening of the twenty-ninth of December, 1838, the anniversary of the burning of the Caroline, by Thomas L. Nichols. Buffalo: Printed by Charles Faxon. 1839. 8vo. pp. 14.

A Mercury & Buffalonian Extra.

REMINGTON, (Rev.) DAVID. A Sermon occasioned by the death of Henry Snyder, who died at Lancaster, N. Y., January 6, 1839.

Aged 20 years and 10 months. By Rev. James Remington. Buffalo: Press of Thomas & Co. No. 165 Main Street. 1839. 8vo. pp. 14.

A summary declaration of the faith and practice of the Washington street Baptist Church of Christ, in Buffalo, N. Y. Buffalo: Press of Thomas & Co. 1839. 16mo. pp. 15.

[Y. M. A.] Third Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Young Men's Association of the City of Buffalo. With the by-laws, list of officers, and act of incorporation. Buffalo: Press of Thomas & Co. No. 165 Main Street. 1839. 8vo. pp. 24.

[NICHOLS, THOMAS L.] Vindication of the so-called "Clique." Published by order of the Executive Committee. Buffalo. 1839. 12mo. pp. 24.

1840.

Anecdotes of the Emperour Napoleon, and His Times. From the most approved French authorities. Edited by an American. Buffalo: A. W. Wilgus, 203 Main Street. 1840. 12mo. pp. v-252.

Probably the work of R. W. Haskins.

[Chautauqua Co. Schools.] First Annual Report of the Chautauqua County Common School Institute, held at a meeting of the Society in Fredonia, January 1, 1840. By B. J. Seward, Chairman of the Executive Committee. Buffalo: Printed at Steele's Press. 1840. 8vo. pp. 24.

[Directory.] For 1840. Buffalo City Directory; containing a list of the names, residence and occupation of the heads of families, householders, &c., on the first of May, 1840. Faxon & Graves, publishers. Horatio N. Walker, compiler. Buffalo: Faxon & Graves, printers. 1840. 12mo. pp. 178, [advt. 16].

[Harrison Glee Club.] A new collection of songs, glees and catches. Arranged and sung, by the Harrison Glee Club. Buffalo: Published by the club. Press of Thomas & Co. 1840. 16mo. pp. 36.

The members of the Harrison Glee Club were: George W. Houghton, Thomas B. Chase, James H. Kimberley, William A. Remington, William Fiske, Lambert S. Reynolds, John S. Putnam, Calvin F. S. Thomas. Some of the songs (original) are of local character, e. g. "Come Lockport Whigs," sung by the club at a Whig concert at Lockport, beginning:

Come, Lockport Whigs, give us your paws, and tell us how you do;
We hail from sister Buffalo, to sing Whig songs with you,
We'll hear you sing, or hear you speak, or shouts of triumph send
With you in cheers of victory, to Harry of North Bend;
A brave old gentleman is he,
Our future President.

HOSMER, GEORGE W. An address delivered before the Erie County Common School Education Society, at Buffalo, N. Y., February 3, 1840. By George W. Hosmer. Buffalo: Printed at Steele's Press. 1840. 8vo. pp. 23.

Hymns for the use of Sabbath Schools. Published by the Buffalo Sabbath School Teachers Association. [Quot. 21.] Buffalo: Steele's Press. 1840. 24mo. pp. 24.

The schools at that time connected with the association were the First Presbyterian, Washington Street Baptist, Methodist Episcopal, Pearl Street, Park, Protestant Methodist, Bethel, Elk Street, Erie Street, South Division Street, Union on Goodell Street, Cold Spring, Black Rock, Black Rock lower village, and Clintonville.

[I. O. O. F.] Charter, Constitution, By-Laws and Rules of Niagara Lodge, Number 25, of the I. O. O. F. Adopted the 26th of December, 1839. Buffalo: George Zahm, German and English printer. 1840. 12mo. pp. 24.

Legend of the Whirlpool. [Quot. 21.] Buffalo: Press of Thomas & Co. 1840. 16mo. pp. 24. Front, folding map of Niagara Falls, and guide table.

Contains a prose description of the Whirlpool, a poem, the "Legend," of 46 8-line stanzas, a part of which was published in the *United States Magazine*, Oct. 1839; and four pages of notes.

NICHOLS, THOMAS L. Journal in Jail, kept during a four months' imprisonment for libel, in the jail of Erie County. [Cut, prison bars.] By Thomas L. Nichols. Buffalo: A. Dinsmore. 1840. 12mo. pp. 248.

For some account of this book and its author, see Buf. Hist. Soc. Pubs. Vol. IV, p. 371. Also, "Bibliography of Upper Canada Rebellion," Buf. Hist. Soc. Pubs., Vol. V. p. 476. Nichols was the author of several books, an incomplete list of which is given in Sabin.

[Schools.] Third Annual Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools, of the City of Buffalo. For 1839. Filed February 1, 1840. Buffalo: Printed at Steele's Press. 1840. 8vo. pp. 12, [1].

Report made by O. G. Steele.

Steele's Book of Niagara Falls. Seventh edition, carefully revised and improved. Illustrated by maps of the Falls and immediate vicinity, and of the Niagara River, from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario, and six new views. Buffalo: Oliver G. Steele. 1840. 16mo. pp. 109, [1].

Lithographed illustrations and two maps on folded sheet. A note on last page tells of the blowing up of Brock's monument "by some as yet unknown miscreants on the night of the 17th April 1840."

[Y. M. A.] Fourth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Young Men's Association of the City of Buffalo. Buffalo: Press of Thomas & Co., No. 165 Main Street. 1840. 8vo. pp. 14.

1841.

ALLYN, WILLIAM G. Allyn's Exchange Tables, designed to furnish the public with an accurate set of calculations for computing Profit and Loss, Interest and Exchange. . . . By William G. Allyn. . . . Buffalo: Faxon & Read, and Robt. D. Foy. 1841. Roy. 8vo. pp. 180.

An Appeal to the Citizens of Buffalo, and of the County of Erie, in behalf of new and more efficient means of medical relief for the Sick Poor. Buffalo: Press of Thomas & Co. 165 Main Street. 1841. 8vo. pp. 24.

CLINTON, GEORGE W. Address of George W. Clinton, Esq., delivered before the Young Men's Temperance Society of Buffalo, March, 6th, 1841. Buffalo: Printed by Frechette & Scheffer, No. 9, Ellicott-Square. 1841. 8vo. pp. 10.

A "*Morning Times—Extra.*" "The meeting convened in the Eagle St. Theatre upon the occasion on which the preceding address was delivered (in pursuance of a request of the society) was one of the largest and most enthusiastic ever held in this city. The large edifice was fuller than upon any former occasion, notwithstanding a snow storm almost unprecedented here, was raging at the time, and nearly a hundred ladies were in attendance." "About a hundred names" were added to "the pledge."

Confessions of Major McKellory, and John Johnson, together with a sketch of their lives, and the letters addressed to Mrs. Otis, and the sister of McKellory. Also, the Sentence of Death, pronounced by Judge Dayton. Buffalo: Printed for the publisher. 1841. 8vo. pp. 12.

The story of a brutal murder in the town of Concord, Erie Co., N. Y. Johnson, a negro, who was hanged for killing his wife, in Buffalo, stated in his confession that he was on the Washington when she burned in Lake Erie, and also on the Caroline, when she was set afire at Schlosser's in December, '37. He escaped, and is credited with saving the life of Mr. Wells, owner of the Caroline.

Constitution and Bye-Laws of the Young Men's Temperance Society of the City of Buffalo, organized Thursday, February 18th, 1841. Buffalo: Printed by Frechette & Scheffer, No. 9, Ellicott-Square. 1841. 8vo. pp. 8.

[I. O. O. F.] Constitution and By-Laws of Tehoseroron Lodge Number 48 I. O of O. F. of the State of New York, held in the City of Buffalo, by authority of a charter from the Grand Lodge of the State of New York. Instituted Dec. 28, 1840. Buffalo: Printed at Steele's Press. 1841. 12mo. pp. 24.

DE VEAUX, SAMUEL. The Travellers' Own Book, to Saratoga Springs, Niagara Falls and Canada, containing routes, distances, conveyances, expenses, use of mineral waters, baths, description of scenery, etc. A complete guide, for the valetudinarian and for the tourist, seeking for pleasure and amusement. With

maps and engravings. By S. De Veaux. [Quot. 2*l.*] Buffalo: Faxon & Read. 1841. 16mo. pp. 258.

Folding map, "Niagara Falls and adjoining shores," opp. title-page; "Map of Saratoga," opp. p. 51; 4 full-page views, and small woodcuts in text.

[Directory.] 1841. Crary's Directory for the City of Buffalo. The 65th year of American Independence. Containing a list of banks, insurance offices, associations, societies, &c., &c. With the names, residence and occupation of the heads of families, householders, &c., on the first of June, 1841. Faxon & Read, publishers. C. W. Graham, compiler. Buffalo: Faxon & Graves, printers. 1841. 12mo. pp. 195. [1, advts. 4.]

Pp. 37-71 in the body of the book are also advertisements.

FLINT, AUSTIN (*M. D.*) An Address delivered before the Buffalo Young Men's Temperance Society, Thursday evening, April 1, 1841. By Austin Flint, M. D. To which are added the Constitution of the Society, and a list of the members. Buffalo: Press of Thomas & Co., 165 Main-Street. 1841. 8vo. pp. 40.

FROST, P., *ed.* The Western Juvenile Harp. Designed for Sabbath and other Schools. Selected and arranged by P. Frost. Buffalo: Salisbury & Clapp, Printers, Exchange Buildings. 1841. 32mo. oblong, pp. 48.

HASKINS, R[oswell] W[illson] [*Astronomy for schools*]. Buffalo, A. W. Wilgus, 1841.

Not seen by compiler; mentioned in British Museum catalogue.

Hymns for the use of Sabbath Schools. Published by the Buffalo Sabbath School Teachers Association. [Quot. 2*l.*] Second edition, improved. Buffalo: Steele's Press. 1841. 24mo. pp. 24.

[MARVIN, LE GRAND.] Expose of the 'Scene at the Court House,' in Buffalo, January 18, 1839, on the trial, at the Erie Circuit, of the cause Edward Kellogg & Co. vs. O. H. Dibble & Co. With an Appendix, touching an indictment of P. B. at the Erie Oyer and Terminer, in October, 1834. Buffalo: Press of Robt. D. Foy, 159 Main Street. 1841. 8vo. pp. 96. Folding diagrams of streets and lots, opp. p. 55.

One of Le Grand Marvin's eccentric pamphlets. The "P. B." mentioned in the title was Philander Bennett, indicted for alleged false swearing in a suit brought by Asa Marvin against Bennett and William Williams for an alleged deficiency in a block of land sold by Bennett to Asa Marvin, between Water, Le Couteulx and Fly streets, and westerly line of outer lot No. 1 in the city of Buffalo, the statement being illustrated by diagrams. The cause of Kellogg & Co. vs. Dibble & Co. was to recover the amount of a promissory note. Not the least interesting feature of the work is the list of names of the jurors, and the witnesses, 24 for the plaintiff and 17 for the defendant.

Schism the Offspring of Error, illustrated in Historical Sketches of the Presbyterian Church of Warsaw, Genesee Co., N. Y. By

a committee of the church. [Quot. 3*i*.] Buffalo: Press of Robt. D. Foy.—159 Main St. 1841. 8vo. pp. 26.

[Schools.] Fourth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools of the City of Buffalo, for 1840. Filed March, 1841. Buffalo: Press of Thomas & Co. 165 Main-Street. 1841. 8vo. pp. 8.

Made by Silas Kingsley, who had been Superintendent for but a few weeks at the date of the report, March 12, 1841.

[Seneca Mission Press.] Ne Jaguh'nigo'ages'gwathah. . . . The Mental Elevator. Buffalo Creek Reservation. . . . 1841. 8vo. Size of printed page, 6 by 3 1-2 in.; pagination continuous throughout the parts, 144 pp. in all.

The unique journal, prepared and printed chiefly in Seneca, by the Rev. Asher Wright. No. 1 was issued Nov. 30, 1841, and the succeeding numbers as follow: Nov. 30 and Dec. 28, 1841; Mch. 2, Apr. 27, July 12, Dec. 29, 1842; Apr. 22, 1843; Mch. 21, and Apr. 1, 1845, all to this date printed at the Mission House on the Buffalo Creek Reservation. The succeeding issues were published at Cattaraugus: June 3, Nov. 17, Dec. 24 and 31, 1846; Nov. 9, Dec. 14, and 22, 1848; Jan. 27, 1849 (misprinted 1848); April 15, 1850. The last number contains laws of the Senecas, passed 1847-48, and a calendar for 1850. In the earlier numbers appear chaps. 1-9 of Genesis, parts of Exodus, the epistle of James, and miscellaneous articles in Seneca and English. Beginning with the issue of Dec. 29, 1842, the paper had a headpiece, engraved by — — Van Duzee, showing a pulpit and open Bible, a church, and two small landscapes, one with an Indian hunting, the other with white men pointing to a village with spire-crowned church.

[Steele, Oliver G.] Report of the select committee of the Common Council, on the subject of the Harbour and Business of the City of Buffalo, Made to the Common Council June 1, 1841. Buffalo: Printed at Steele's Press. 1841. 8vo. pp. 16.

Report written by O. G. Steele; signed by R. Sears, O. G. Steele and E. G. Spaulding. An admirable sketch of the early years of lake commerce and the growth of Buffalo harbor business.

STRONG, NATHANIEL T. Appeal to the Christian Community on the condition and prospects of the New York Indians, in answer to a book, entitled The Case of the New York Indians, and other publications of the Society of Friends. By Nathaniel T. Strong, a chief of the Seneca tribe. Buffalo: Press of Thomas & Co. No. 165 Main-Street. 1841. 8vo. pp. 63.

[Y. M. A.] Fifth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Young Men's Association of the City of Buffalo. Steele's Press. Buffalo: 1841. 8vo. pp. 16.

1842.

[Directory.] 1842. Walker's Buffalo City Directory, containing a list of civil, naval and military officers, religious, benevolent and

philanthropic societies, local and miscellaneous statistics, &c., &c. In the County of Erie, with the names, residence and occupation of the business population, heads of families, &c. in the City of Buffalo, on the 1st of June, 1842. [Quot. 3*l.*] By Horatio N. Walker. Population—1825 . . . 2,412. 1830 . . . 6,353. 1840 . . . 18,222. Buffalo: Steele's Press. 1842. 12mo. pp. 220, [1, advts. 50, 4].

A great advance over its predecessors. No Directory was issued in the following year.

HASKINS, R[OSWELL] W[ILLSON] (A. M.). A Popular Essay upon Comets. By R. W. Haskins, A. M. Author of "Astronomy for Schools." [Quot. 3*l.*] Buffalo: A. W. Wilgus. 1842. 12mo. pp. 24.

Hymns for the use of Sabbath Schools, published by the Buffalo Sabbath School Teachers Association. [Quot. 2*l.*] Fifth edition, improved. Buffalo: Press of Salisbury & Clapp. 1842. 24mo. pp. 32.

The Old Faith and the Good Way, an Expose of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Presbyterian Church explaining the difference between the doctrines of the Old and New School. By a committee of the late Caledonia Presbytery, now constituting the Presbyteries of Steuben and Wyoming. Containing a statement —1. Of the doctrines they hold, 2. The state of their churches. 3. The more efficient supervision of them by Presbytery. Buffalo: Press of Robt. D. Foy, 159 Main-St. 1842. 8vo. pp. 24.

Pictorial Guide to the Falls of Niagara: A Manual for Visiter[sic], giving an account of this stupendous natural wonder; and all the objects of curiosity in its vicinity; with every historical incident of interest: and also full directions for visiting the cataract and its neighboring scenes. Illustrated by numerous maps, charts, and engravings, from original surveys and designs. The illustrations designed and engraved by J. W. Orr. Buffalo: Press of Salisbury and Clapp. 1842. 16mo. pp. 232.

[Schools.] Fifth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools, of the City of Buffalo. For 1841. Filed February 1, 1842. Buffalo: Printed at Steele's Press. 1842. 8vo. pp. 10, [2].

[Seneca Mission Press.] Go wana gwa' ih sat hah Yon de'yas Dah' gwah. A spelling-book in the Seneca language: with English definitions. Buffalo-Creek Reservation, Mission Press. 1842. 8vo. pp. 112.

In its way one of the most interesting and scholarly works, as it is one of the rarest, ever published in Buffalo. Following the title-page is an "explanation for English readers," eight pages, in which the system of spelling Seneca is explained. The author, the Rev. Asher Wright, says: "It is not to be supposed that with our imperfect knowledge of Seneca, we have discovered and marked accurately all the peculiarities of the language. It is sometimes also very difficult to decide on the correct usage, where there are differences of pronunciation among the Indians. In such cases we have sought for the pure Seneca in contradis-

tinction from the idioms of Mohawk, Cayuga, Onondaga, &c., and for Seneca as spoken by the old men, whose habits were formed previous to the introduction of English ideas, and modifications of ideas, among the people." It contains "the definition of several hundred Seneca words and a tolerably complete explanation of the grammatical principles of the language except the verb. In respect to verbs no complete analysis has yet been effected; nor is there much reason to expect the accomplishment of this object until some competent Seneca scholar shall become a universal grammarian." The author speaks of the difficulty occasioned through lack of type with proper accents, and lack of money to procure it. The alphabet, with the sounds of the letters explained, fills p. 9; pp. 10-112 are progressive lessons, advancing from words of one syllable to the construction of sentences, and an exposition of the grammar of the language. The Seneca title as printed above does not show all the accents of the original.

The West Vindicated. A review (in part) of the address of General James Tallmadge, before the American Institute, Oct. 26, 1841. By a Western New Yorker. Steele's Press, Buffalo. 1842. 8vo. pp. 24.

By an ardent champion of the Erie Canal, who vigorously maintains that its commerce was not declining. Valuable for its statistics.

Wilgus' Farmers' Almanack, for the year of our Lord 1842 . . . calculated for the meridian of Buffalo, New York. . . . Astronomical calculations by George R. Perkins, A. M., of Utica. Buffalo: Published by A. W. Wilgus. 1842. 12mo. pp. [24].

[Young Men's Association.] *By-Laws, &c., of the Young Men's Association of the City of Buffalo.* March, 1842. 8vo. pp. 12.

Press of Salisbury & Clapp. Only copy seen lacking title-page.

[Y. M. A.] *Sixth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Young Men's Association of the City of Buffalo.* Buffalo: Press of Salisbury & Clapp. 1842. 8vo. pp. 16.

[Young Men's Bible Society.] *Second Annual Report, of the Young Men's Bible Society of the City of Buffalo.* With the Constitution, list of officers, &c. Buffalo: Printed by Robt. D. Foy,—159 Main Street. 1842. 8vo. pp. 16.

1843.

[American Bethel Society.] *Seventh annual report of the American Bethel Society, presented at the annual meeting held in the City of Buffalo, June 7th, 1843.* Buffalo: Press of Robt. D. Foy, 159 Main-Street. 1843. 8vo. pp. 28.

[Buffalo Baptist Association.] *Minutes of the twenty-eighth anniversary of the Buffalo, formerly Holland Purchase Baptist Association, held with the Baptist Church in Hamburg, on the 13th and 14th of September, 1843.* Buffalo: Printed by A. W. Wilgus. 1843. 8vo. pp. 12+.

Incomplete copy, Buffalo Public Library. The Minutes for 1844 were printed by Edwin Hough at Springville.

By-Laws and Ordinances of the City of Buffalo. Enacted, 1843. Published by order of the Common Council. Buffalo: Press of George Zahm. 1843. 8vo. pp. 62.

Free Almanack, for the Year 1843. . . . [Buffalo:] Steele's Press. 12mo. pp. 24.

G[RABAU], J. A. A. Unterweisungs-Büchlein für die deutsche Jugend in ihrer Muttersprache, von einem wohlmeinenden Freunde der Jugend. Buffalo, Gedruckt und zu haben bei Geo. Zahm. 1843. 16mo. pp. 98+.

So far as known, the first book printed in Buffalo in German. The only copy seen, owned by Rev. John N. Grabau of Buffalo, is incomplete, but apparently lacks only one or two pages at the end.

A broadside, or poster, printed by Zahm in 1843: "Programm der Feierlichkeiten bei der Einweihung der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche zu Buffalo, den 25ten May, 1843," etc., is owned by Rev. J. A. W. Kirsch, Buffalo.

HARVEY, (Dr.) CHARLES W. Popular Directions for the management and preservation of the teeth. By Dr. Charles W. Harvey, dentist. Buffalo: Printed by A. M. Clapp. 1843. 16mo. pp. 24.

HASKINS, R[OSWELL] W[ILLSON] (A. M.). New England and the West. By R. W. Haskins, A. M. Reprinted from the Boston (Mass.) Atlas. Buffalo: A. W. Wilgus. 1843. 8vo. pp. 36.

A series of eight letters, written from Buffalo in October and November, 1842. They discuss the commerce and commercial prospects of Buffalo, give statistics of the commerce of the town, 1815-1827, others from the census of 1840, and, more fully, for 1841. The author made an intelligent study of the mutual relations of East and West, and ventured some interesting predictions as to the future of Buffalo.

HOPKINS, (Rev.) A. T. The American Patriot. A discourse delivered on the day of the Annual Thanksgiving, December 8, 1842, before the united congregations of the First and Park Churches, in the City of Buffalo. By A. T. Hopkins, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church. Buffalo: A. M. Clapp, printer. 1843. 8vo. pp. 20.

H[ULETT] T[HOMAS] G. Every Man his Own Guide to the Falls of Niagara, or the whole story in few words. By T. G. H., a resident at the Falls. Third edition, enlarged and embellished with engravings. To which is added a chronological table, containing the principal events of the late War between the United States and Great Britain. Also, a Legend of the Manitou Rock, at the Whirlpool: The Recession of Niagara Falls, by Professor Lyell. Buffalo: Printed by Faxon & Co. 1843. 16mo. pp. 58, [4], 48.

Two maps, one folding, 4 woodcuts. The "Legend of the Manitou Rock," with full title-page, was also issued separately.

LORD, (Rev.) JOHN C., (D. D.). The Doctrine and Order of the Presbyterian Church or the points of difference between the Old and New School. A sermon by Rev. John C. Lord, D. D. Published by request of the session of the First Old School Presbyterian Church in Buffalo, and the Presbytery of Wyoming. Buffalo: Press of Robt. D. Foy, 159 Main-street. 1843. 8vo. pp. 24.

Revised Charter of the City of Buffalo: Passed April 17, 1843, published by order of the Common Council. To which are added the Laws and Ordinances. Buffalo: Press of George Zahm. 1843. 8vo. pp. 80.

S[MITH], S. C. A Legend of the Manitou Rock. [Quot. 21.] By S. C. S. Containing also Professor Lyell's lecture upon the Recession of Niagara Falls. Printed by Faxon & Co. 1843. 16mo. pp. 48.

[Schools.] Sixth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools, of the City of Buffalo. For 1842. Filed February 1, 1843. Buffalo: Printed at Steele's Press. 1843. 8vo. pp. 10, [1]. Report made by S. Caldwell, Superintendent.

[Seneca Mission Press.] Gaa nah shoh ne De o waah' sao'nyoh gwah na' wen ne' yuh . . . [rest of title missing in only known copies]. [Buffalo: Seneca Mission Press: 1843.] 16mo. pp. v. [1], 136.

The above fragmentary title from a copy found in the cornerstone of the old building at the Thomas Orphan Asylum on the Cattaraugus Reservation, erected 1855, torn down 1901. The book, with other examples of the Mission Press, has been redeposited in the box of the cornerstone of the new building. The only other known copy (Buf. Hist. Soc.) lacks the title-page. "To English readers," pp. iii-v., is a key to the vowel sounds in the Seneca, with an anecdote of Old White Chief; pp. 7-124, 111 hymns in Seneca, and doxologies; pp. 123-136, index, analytical and explanatory, in English. Mrs. Asher Wright, in a note found with the Thomas Orphan Asylum copy, says this is the second edition of the Seneca Hymn Book.

S[TEPHEN] R. Historical Sketches and Incidents, illustrative of the establishment and progress of Universalism in the State of New York. By S. R. Smith. Buffalo: Steele's Press. 1843. 16mo. pp. 248, [2].

By the Rev. Stephen R. Smith, for many years pastor of the Universalist Church in Buffalo. This work was followed by another volume of similar title, designated "second series," in 1848, q. v.

WAIT, BENJAMIN. Letters from Van Dieman's (*sic*) Land, written during four years' imprisonment for political offenses in Upper Canada. By Benjamin Wait. [Quot. 21.] Embodying, also, letters descriptive of personal appeals in behalf of her husband, and his fellow prisoners . . . by Mrs. B. Wait. Buffalo: A. W. Wilgus. 1843. 16mo. pp. vi., 356. Front. post, folding map of Van Diemen's Land.

See "Bibliography of Upper Canada Rebellion," Buf. Hist. Soc. *Publs.*, Vol. V., p. 492.

WILKESON, (Hon.) SAMUEL. The subject of a Work House for the County of Erie discussed and considered. By Honorable Samuel Wilkeson. Buffalo: A. M. Clapp, printer, Exchange Buildings. 1843. 8vo. pp. 26.

Papers that originally appeared in the Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser*. Prefatory note by H. W. Rogers.

[Y. M. A.] Seventh Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Young Men's Association of the City of Buffalo. Buffalo: Press of C. F. S. Thomas, No. 146 Main-Street. 1843. 8vo. pp. 15.

1844.

BUSH, (Mrs.) MARY A. Hymns original and selected for maternal meetings. [Quot. 41.] By Mrs. Mary A. Bush. Buffalo: Press of A. M. Clapp. 1844. 16mo. pp. 128.

[Directory.] 1844. Walker's Buffalo City Directory, containing a list of civil and military officers, religious, benevolent and philanthropic societies, local and miscellaneous statistics. With the names, residence and occupation, of the business population, heads of families, &c., in the City of Buffalo. Lat. 42° 50'—Lon. 79° 22'. [Quot. 31.] By Horatio N. Walker. Population, Aug. 1st, 1844—26,503. Buffalo: Lee & Thorp's Press. 1844. 12mo. pp. 236, [1, advts 14, index 2, calendar 2].

The next Buffalo Directory issued was for 1847.

HASKINS, R[OSWELL] W[ILLSON] (A. M.). The Arts, Sciences, and Civilization, anterior to Greece and Rome. (Read before the Young Men's Association, Buffalo, Feb. 12, 1844.) By R. W. Haskins, A. M. [Quot. 21.] Buffalo: A. W. Wilgus, 1844. 8vo. pp. 32.

HAYES, GEORGE E. Organization and Diseases of the Teeth: with familiar directions for preserving their health and beauty. [Quot. 21.] By Geo. E. Hayes, dentist, corner of Main and South Division Streets. Buffalo: Steele's Press. 1844. 16mo. pp. 80.

H[ULETT], T[HOMAS] G. Every Man his Own Guide to the Falls of Niagara, or the whole story in few words. Enlarged and embellished with engravings. To which is added a chronological table, containing the principal events of the late war between the United States and Great Britain. By T. G. H., a resident at the Falls. Fourth edition. Buffalo: Printed by Faxon & Co. 1844. 16mo. pp. 128.

[I. O. O. F.] Constitution, By-Laws and Rules of Buffalo Lodge, No. 37, I. O. of O. F. Chartered, May 6, 1840. By-laws and rules as amended and adopted Jan. 2, 1844. [Motto and cut, three links and eye.] Buffalo: Printed by Lee & Thorp. 1844. 16mo. pp. 28.

Schools of Buffalo. Second semi-annual exhibition in singing at the Park Church. Saturday evening, June 22, 1844, at 7 o'clock.

Francis Hazelton, Teacher. [Buffalo, 1844. Thos. Newell, printer, 171 Main-Street.] 16mo. pp. 8.

[Schools.] Seventh Annual Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools, of the City of Buffalo, for 1843. Filed February 1, 1844. Buffalo: Printed at Zahm's Press. 1844. 8vo. pp. 16, [2].

[Seneca Mission Press.] Extracts from the Revised Statutes of the State of New York, volume I, part I, chapter xx, title viii. Of the prevention and punishment of immorality and disorderly practices. [Buffalo: Seneca Mission Press.] 1844. 16mo. pp. 16. Wholly in English.

Steele's Almanack for the year 1844 . . . [*cut, sheaf of wheat.*] Astronomical calculations by Geo. R. Perkins, Professor of Mathematics, Utica, N. Y. Sold by O. G. Steele, 206 Main Street, Buffalo. Steele's Press. 12mo. pp. 24.

Steele's Niagara Falls Port-folio, containing eight new views of Niagara Falls taken from the most striking points. Also, a facsimile of a view taken by Father Hennepin in 1678. Lithographed by Hall & Mooney. Buffalo: Steele's Press. 1844.

No text. The views are 5 by 7 inches in size.

[Trial of Rev. Asa T. Hopkins.] Introduction containing the correspondence between the Sessions of Mr. Hopkins's and Dr. Lord's Churches. Also the letter of Dr. Lord to the Committee on Investigation. . . . n. p. [1844.] 8vo. pp. 9.

Issued without title-page, as an appendix to some other publication.

Trial of the Rev. Asa T. Hopkins, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Buffalo, before a special meeting of the Buffalo Presbytery; Commencing October 22, and ending October 31, 1844 . . . [Buffalo, 1844.] 8vo. pp. 39.

"First published in the Buffalo *Daily Gazette*, for which it was specially reported."

[Y. M. A.] Eighth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Young Men's Association of the City of Buffalo. Buffalo: Press of C. F. S. Thomas. No. 146 Main-st. 1844. 8vo. pp. 16.

1845.

[American Bethel Society.] Ninth Annual Report of the American Bethel Society, presented at the annual meeting held in the City of Buffalo, Wednesday, June 4, 1845. Buffalo: Press of Charles E. Young. 1845. 8vo. pp. 28.

Bristol's Free Almanac for 1845. Astronomical calculations made expressly for this Almanac, by George R. Perkins, A. M., of Utica, which are guaranteed to be as perfect and complete as any published in the United States. Buffalo: Thomas, General Job Printer, Exchange Buildings, Main Street. [1845.] 8vo. pp. 32.

Bristol's Free Almanac for 1843 was published at Batavia by Lucas Seaver.

Claims of Reuben B. Heacock, on the Government of the United States, for property destroyed by the enemy, in the Late War. Buffalo: Printed by Manchester & Brayman. 1845. 8vo. pp. 20.

CLINTON, GEORGE W. Address, delivered by George W. Clinton, D. P. C. R., at the dedication of Erie Tent, No. 30, I. O. of R. in the City of Buffalo, Friday, October 24, 1845. Mercy and Truth are met together. [Quot. 2l.] Buffalo: Press of C. E. Young 1845. 8vo. pp. 16.

[DE VEAUX, SAMUEL.] The Travellers' Own Book, to Saratoga Springs, Niagara Falls & Canada . . . By S. De Veaux. [Quot. 2l.] Fifth edition. Buffalo: Faxon & Co. 1845. 16mo. pp. 251. Folding map of Niagara Falls, one of Saratoga, woodcuts.

Das Evangelium St. Matthai, von D. Martin Luther, in das Teutsche übersetzt. Nach dem Wittembergischen Druck von 1545 abgedruckt, als ein christlich Lesebüchlein für diejenigen kleinen Schul-kinder, welche die christliche Schul-Fibel durchgelesen haben, und genug darin geübt sind. Buffalo, Druck und Verlag von Georg Zahm, 1845. 24mo. pp. 160.

Only copy seen, in possession of Rev. John N. Grabau of Buffalo.

Inventory of Assets of the City Bank of Buffalo, to be sold at auction at the Merchants' Exchange in the City of Buffalo, on Wednesday, the 12th Day of November, 1845. . . . Buffalo. 1845. 8vo. pp. 32.

An interesting reminder of the financial reverses of an early Buffalo institution. The copy of this publication owned by the Buffalo Historical Society formerly belonged to Albert S. Merrill, and it was his hand, no doubt, that added in pencil, throughout the pamphlet, the amount realized on the various items of assets at the auction. In the list of discounted notes and bills appears the following: "Daniel Webster, acceptance of draft of D. F. Webster, payable at the Phoenix Bank, N. Y., to his own order; due and protested 4th August, 1839, \$2,000." This sold to T. M. Burt for \$200. Another Webster draft for \$1250 sold to Mr. Burt for \$100.

[MOSHER, (Rev.) E.] Awful Disclosure! Murderers exposed; Death-bed confession; Death-bed confession and renunciation of the Right Rev. Bishop McMurray, Bishop of St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church, Montreal, Canada, who died Aug. 11th, 1845. [Quot. 2l.] . . . Printed for and published by Rev. E. Mosher, Buffalo, N. Y. 1845. 8vo. pp. 32.

New York Form Book, and Interest Tables; containing complete forms for the transaction of all the routine of business between man and man, requiring the execution of papers, together with the statutory provisions relating thereto; also complete interest tables, discount tables, scantling and timber measure, cubical contents of square timber, &c., &c. Buffalo: Oliver G. Steele. 1845. 12mo. pp. 132, 53.

Peck's Tourist Companion to Niagara Falls, Saratoga Springs, the Lakes, Canada, etc. Containing, in addition to full directions for

visiting the cataract and vicinity, the springs, etc., full tables of routes and distances from Niagara Falls to the principal places in the United States and Canada. Illustrated by numerous engravings, maps and charts, from original designs and surveys. Buffalo: William B. & Charles E. Peck. 1845. 16mo. pp. 194.

Valued for its fine maps, engraved by Carson, Albany.

[Schools.] Eighth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools, of the City of Buffalo. For 1844. Filed February 1, 1845. Buffalo: Printed by Clapp & M'Credie, Exchange Buildings, 4th story. 1845. 8vo. pp. 17, [3].

Elias S. Hawley, Superintendent.

[WALKER, (Hon.) JESSE.] Fort Niagara, a tale of the Niagara Frontier. Buffalo. Steele's Press. 1845. 16mo. pp. 156.

The author, Judge Jesse Walker, speaks in a prefatory note of a "series of little books proposed to be published under the general title of 'Tales of the Niagara Frontier.'" None were issued except the "Fort Niagara" and "Queenston," *q. v.* Written for children, they combine fact and fiction in a mildly instructive and diverting fashion.

[WALKER, (Hon.) JESSE.] Queenston, a Tale of the Niagara Frontier. Buffalo: Steele's Press. 1845. 16mo. pp. 151.

Sometimes bound up with his "Fort Niagara," the "Queenston" being Part I, the "Fort Niagara" Part II.

WHEELER, CLARK. The Apiarian's Directory: or, practical remarks on the economical, advantageous, easy, and profitable management of bees: to accompany and explain the New York hive. By Clark Wheeler, Little Valley, Cattaraugus County, N. Y. [Cuts, 3 bees.] Buffalo: Press of Charles E. Young. 1845. 16mo. pp. 64. Folding sheet of diagrams.

[Y. M. A.] Ninth Annual Report of the Executive Committee, of the Young Men's Association, of the City of Buffalo. Buffalo: Printed by Clapp & M'Credie, Exchange Buildings, 4th story. 1845. 7vo. pp. 12.

1846.

Allyn's Exchange Tables, designed to furnish . . . calculations for computing Profit and Loss, Interest and Exchange. . . . By William G. Allyn. . . . Buffalo. Faxon & Co. 1846. Roy. 8vo. pp. 180.

Identical, except for imprint, with the work as issued in 1841.

Articles of Association of the Buffalo Copper Mine Company, entered into at Buffalo, April 27, 1846. Buffalo. Clapp & M'Credie, printers. 1846. 8vo. pp. 8.

BARTON, JAMES L. Lake Commerce. Letter to the Hon. Robert M'Clelland, chairman of the Committee on Commerce, in the United States' House of Representatives in relation to the value and importance of the commerce of the Great Western Lakes. By James L. Barton. Buffalo: Press of Jewett, Thomas & Co. Commercial Advertiser office. 1846. 8vo. pp. 34. Folding table.

This reached at least a third edition, "with additional notes," in 1846.

Bristol's Free Almanac for 1846. . . . Buffalo. . . . 8vo. pp. 32.
Only copy seen with torn title-page.

[Buffalo Baptist Association.] Minutes of the thirty-first annual session of the Buffalo Baptist Association, held with the Baptist Church in Aurora, on the 8th, 9th and 10th of September, 1846. Buffalo: A. W. Wilgus, printer. 1846. 8vo. pp. 16.

The Minutes for 1847 were printed by Edwin Hough at Springville.

[Buffalo Orphan Asylum.] Tenth annual report of the Board of Trustees of the Buffalo Orphan Asylum. Submitted at the annual meeting, June 9, 1846. Buffalo: Press of C. E. Young. 1846. 12mo. pp. 12.

CLINTON, (*Hon.*) GEORGE W. Constitution and By-Laws of the Buffalo Horticultural Society together with the Reports of the Exhibitions during the season of 1845. To which is appended, the address at the Annual Fair by Hon. G. W. Clinton. Published by direction of the Society. Buffalo: Press of Jewett, Thomas & Co. Commercial Advertiser Office. 1846. 8vo. pp. 16, [1], 13.

CLINTON, (*Hon.*) GEORGE W. An Address delivered before the Buffalo Horticultural Society at its first annual fair, Wednesday, September 3, 1845. By George W. Clinton. Published by direction of the Society. Buffalo: Press of Jewett, Thomas & Co. Commercial Advertiser Office. 1846. 8vo. pp. 13.

[CLINTON, (*Hon.*) GEORGE W.] Sketches of Niagara Falls and River. By Cousin George. Illustrated with numerous engravings and correct maps. Buffalo: Published by Wm. B. & Chas. E. Peck. Exchange Buildings, Main-Street. 1846. Sq. 12mo. pp. 142, [1]. Six full-page views of Niagara on tinted paper, small cuts in text.

Written by George W. Clinton. Though published by the Pecks, the book was printed by Jewett, Thomas & Co.

Correspondence relative to the necessity and importance of establishing a Workhouse in the County of Erie. Published by order of the Board of Supervisors. Buffalo: Printed by Charles E. Young. 1846. 8vo. pp. 26.

HASKINS, R[OSWELL] W[ILLSON] (*A. M.*). An Exposition of a book published by D. Appleton & Co., called Hazlitt's Translation of Guizot's History of Civilization. By R. W. Haskins, A. M. [*Quot. 21.*] Buffalo: Steele's Press. 1846. 8vo. pp. 55.

HOUGHTON, JACOB. The Mineral Region of Lake Superior: comprising its early history, those parts of Dr. Douglass Houghton's Reports of 1841 and '42, relating to the Mineralogy of the District; . . . accompanied by the corrected map of the Mineral Agency Office, and a Chart of Lake Superior. By Jacob Houghton, Jr. Buffalo: Oliver G. Steele. 1846. 16mo. pp. 191. Two maps on one large folding sheet.

LORD, (Rev.) JOHN C. (D. D.). The Progress of Civilization and Government. A lecture delivered by the Rev. J. C. Lord, D. D., before the Young Men's Association of Buffalo, Dec. 14, 1846. 8vo. pp. 8.

A "Commercial Advertiser—Extra."

MCLEOD, DONALD. History of Wiskonsan, from its first discovery to the present period. Including a geological and topographical description of the territory with a correct catalogue of all its plants. By Donald McLeod, Buffalo. Steele's Press. 1846. 12mo. pp. xii-310.

Four plates of ancient mounds and monuments, lithographed by Hall & Mooney.

Proceedings of the G. C. of M. M. P. of U. S. A. Held at the City of Buffalo, July 20, 21, 23 & 24, 1846. [Cover title only.] 8vo. pp. 11.

In this convention of the Grand Council of the Mechanics' Mutual Protection Society of the United States, we have the fore-runner of organized labor as at present known.

REYNOLDS, (Dr.) H. H. Observations on the best means of preserving the health, beauty and durability of the teeth. Also, the influence of decaying teeth upon the stomach, lungs and nervous system. By Dr. H. H. Reynolds, surgeon dentist, No. 159 Main-street, up stairs. Second edition. Buffalo—Faxon & Stevens. 1846. 16mo. pp. 48.

[Schools.] Ninth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools, of the City Buffalo. For 1845. Filed February 1, 1846. Buffalo: Printed at Steele's Press. 1846. 8vo. pp. 16, [3].

O. G. Steele, Superintendent.

Steele's Book of Niagara Falls, ninth edition, carefully revised and improved. Illustrated by a new series of maps and plates. Buffalo: Oliver G. Steele. 1846. 16mo. pp. 95.

Folding frontispiece with two Niagara maps; four page engravings and one folding view, after Hennepin. The Preface says: "The 'Book' was prepared in 1834, by a gentleman who had resided for many years at the Falls. . . . Eight editions have been printed and sold, the present one being the ninth, and has been thoroughly and carefully corrected, and many portions of it re-written." Parsons' book is evidently regarded as the first edition of this work.

TODD, (Rev.) WILLIAM. A Sermon on Foreign Missions. By Rev. Wm. Todd, formerly missionary of the A. B. C. F. M. at Madura, Southern India. Buffalo: Robt. D. Foy, printer, Merchants' Exchange. 1846. 8vo. pp. 24.

[University of Buffalo.] Annual Circular of the Medical Department of the University of Buffalo, October, 1846. Buffalo: Jewett, Thomas & Co. Printers, Office of Buffalo Medical Journal. 1846. 8vo. pp. [11].

The first publication of the University of Buffalo, which was granted its charter by the Legislature of 1846. On the cover is a

cut of the "Medical College of the University of Buffalo," as it then was.

[Y. M. A.] Tenth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Young Men's Association, of the City of Buffalo. Buffalo: Clapp & M'Credie, printers. 1846. 8vo. pp. 32.

Includes a catalogue of books added to the library, 1845-6, and list of members.

1847.

BARTON, JAMES L. Commerce of the Lakes. A brief sketch of the Commerce of the great Northern and Western Lakes for a series of years; to which is added, an account of the business done through Buffalo on the Erie Canal, for the years 1845 and 1846; also, remarks as to the True Canal Policy of the State of New York. By James L. Barton. Buffalo: Press of Jewett, Thomas & Co. Commercial Advertiser office. 1847. 8vo. pp. 80. Folding table.

BEARDSLEY, CHARLES E. The Victims of Tyranny. A Tale, by Chas. E. Beardsley, Esq. [Quot. 51.] In two volumes. Buffalo: Published by D. June, 275 Main Street. 1847. Press of C. E. Young. 16mo. pp. 250, 235.

This work, says the preface, "though assuming the character of a fiction, is founded on fact." It is a highly-wrought romance of the War of 1812, the scene being laid for the most part on the Niagara frontier.

[Buffalo Harbor.] Report of the Harbor Committee in relation to an Increase in Harbor Facilities at the City of Buffalo. Approved at a general meeting, held Aug. 21, 1847, and adopted by the Common Council, Aug. 24, 1847. Buffalo: Jewett, Thomas & Co., printers, Commercial Advertiser Buildings. 1847. 8vo. pp. 54. Map.

The map, which is usually lacking, is of great interest. It shows Buffalo and Black Rock harbors, and the proposed harbor and canal improvements which were approved at the public meeting of Aug. 21, 1847, and later by the Common Council. It shows, as proposed at that date, not only the ship canal running southerly from Buffalo River, which has since been built, but a ship canal 300 feet wide, running from the river northerly 9850 feet, intersecting the Erie Canal opposite Fort Porter; it shows the proposed extension of the Main and Hamburg Canal, the shore line of Lake Erie, along the harbor front, as it was in 1816, and in 1847; and other data seldom to be found.

[Directory.] 1847 . . 1848. The Commercial Advertiser Directory for the City of Buffalo: containing a sketch of the rise and progress of the City, a list of the civil and military officers, societies, local and miscellaneous statistics, &c. With the names, residence and occupation of the business population, heads of families, &c.; appended to which is an advertising directory, containing the business cards of many of the prominent establishments in the city. Embellished with a correct map of the city, and a view of

Buffalo Harbor in 1825. Published by Jewett, Thomas & Co. and T. S. Cutting, Commercial Advertiser Office. 1847. 8vo. pp. iv., 67, 179, [advt.] 52.

The Duty of the Present Generation to evangelize the World: an Appeal from the missionaries at the Sandwich Islands to their friends in the United States. Second edition. Buffalo: Press of Charles Faxon. 1847. 12mo. pp. 75.

[Schools.] Tenth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools of the City of Buffalo, for 1846. Filed February 1, 1847. Buffalo: Press of Jewett, Thomas & Co., Commercial Advertiser Office. 1846. [sic, 1847.] 8vo. pp. 17, [2].

Daniel Bowen, Superintendent.

SMITH, (*Rev.*) S. R. The Old Paths. A discourse delivered in the Universalist Church, in Buffalo, N. Y. Sunday morning, Dec. 6, 1846. By S. R. Smith. Published by request. Buffalo: Andrew F. Lee, printer. 1847. 8vo. pp. 23.

TOWN, SALEM (LL.D.). The Fourth Reader: or Exercises in Reading and Speaking. Designed for the higher classes, in our public and private schools. [Revised edition.] By Salem Town, LL. D. Buffalo: Phinney & Co. Portland: Sanborn & Carter. [1847.] 12mo. pp. 408.

Stereotyped at Portland, Me., but either printed in Buffalo or given a Buffalo imprint on the Portland press, for Phinney & Co.

[Y. M. A.] Eleventh Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Young Men's Association of the City of Buffalo. Buffalo: Steam press of Jewett, Thomas & Co. Office of the Commercial Advertiser. 1847. 8vo. pp. 15.

1848.

Album of the Table Rock, Niagara Falls and sketches of the Falls and Scenery Adjacent. Buffalo: Steam press of Jewett, Thomas & Co. 1848. 12mo. pp. 85, 22.

The first of these volumes, which were issued, with slight variations, for several years.

BARTON, JAMES L. Address on the Early Reminiscences of Western New York and the Lake Region of Country. Delivered before the Young Men's Association of Buffalo, February 16, 1848. By James L. Barton. Buffalo: Steam press of Jewett, Thomas & Co. Commercial Advertiser Office. 1848. 8vo. pp. 69. Slip of errata.

Breed's Western Almanac, for the Year of Our Lord 1848. . . . [*Cut of globe, shipping, etc.*] Calculated for the meridian of Buffalo. . . . By George R. Perkins, A. M., Professor of Mathematics in New York State Normal School. Buffalo: Published by F. W. Breed, 188 Main Street. 12mo. pp. 36.

Bristol's Sarsaparilla Almanac, for 1848: being bissextile or leap year:—and the 72nd-73rd year of American Independence. [*Cut.*]

Calculations by Horace Martin. Buffalo: printed for gratuitous circulation by C. C. Bristol, [1848]. 12mo. pp. 64.

Contains an illustrated "sketch of Indian warfare."

The Buffalo Almanac for the year 1848. Calculated for the meridian of Buffalo, N. Y. . . . Buffalo: Printed and published by Ansel Warren, at the Courier office, 190 Washington-st. 1848. 12mo. pp. 34.

[Buffalo Baptist Association.] Minutes of the thirty-third annual session of the Buffalo Baptist Association: held with the Baptist Church in Springville, on the thirteenth and fourteenth days of September, 1848. Buffalo: A. M. Clapp & Co.'s steam press. 1848. 8vo. pp. 12.

The Minutes for 1849 were printed by Edwin Hough at Springville.

[Buffalo Horticultural Society.] Annual Report of the Buffalo Horticultural Society for the Year 1847: to which is added the address of Lewis F. Allen, delivered before the Society September 30th, 1847: together with a list of officers, ladies' committees, list of contributors, etc. Published by direction of the society. Buffalo: Steam press of Jewett, Thomas & Co. Commercial Advertiser Buildings. 1848. 8vo. pp. 40.

BURTIS, (*Rev.*) ARTHUR. "The Death of the Righteous." A sermon, preached at Tonawanda, July 29, 1848, at the funeral of Mrs. Rebecca Vandervoort. By Arthur Burtis. Buffalo: George Reese & Co., printers, 165 Main Street. 1848. 8vo. pp. 28.

By-Laws and Ordinances of the City of Buffalo. Published by order of the Common Council. Buffalo: A. M. Clapp & Co., Printers. 1848. 8vo. pp. 62.

[Directory.] 1848 . . . 1849. Buffalo City Directory, containing a list of the civil and military officers, societies, local and miscellaneous statistics, &c., with the names, residence and occupation of the business population, heads of families, &c. Appended to which is an advertising department, containing the business cards of many of the prominent establishments in the city. Population in 1848, 40,521. By Thomas S. Cutting. Buffalo: G. Reese & Co., printers, 165 Main Street. 1848. 8vo. pp. 324, 72.

In this year Buffalo had two Directories by rival publishers. A feature of Cutting's was "Early Reminiscences of Buffalo, and the Navigation of Lake Erie," pp. 5-13.

[Directory.] 1848 . . . 1849. The Commercial Advertiser Directory for the City of Buffalo: containing, in addition to the usual matter, a sketch of the Early History of Buffalo, by Hon. George W. Clinton. Embellished with a new and correct map. Jewett, Thomas & Co., publishers, Commercial Advertiser Buildings, 1848. 8vo. pp. 266, [2], (*advt.*) 24.

Judge Clinton's "Sketch of the History of Buffalo," pp. 9-35, graphic and valuable.

Dudley's Almanac for 1848. . . . Calculations by Geo. R. Perkins, A. M., Professor of Mathematics in the New York State Normal

School. Eighth edition. Buffalo, N. Y.: Published by T. J. Dudley, 105 Main Street. 12mo. pp. 30.

FOOTE, THOMAS M. National Characteristics. An address delivered before the literary societies of Hamilton College, July 24, 1848. By Thomas M. Foote. Published by request. Buffalo: Steam press of Jewett, Thomas & Co. Commercial Advertiser Buildings. 1848. 8vo. pp. 38.

GILDERSLEEVE, (Rev.) B. The Mediatorial Probation. A review of a sermon delivered at the installation of Rev. Charles Rich, as pastor of the North Presbyterian Church, Buffalo, New York, by Rev. G. W. Heacock, pastor of La Fayette Street Church, Buffalo. . . . By the Rev. B. Gildersleeve, of Richmond, Va. Buffalo: Printed by Seaver and Foy, No. 190 Washington Street at the Courier office, 1848. 16mo. pp. 16.

[Guide.] 1848. The Niagara Falls Guide. With full instructions to direct the traveller to all the points of interest at the Falls and vicinity. With a map and engravings. Buffalo: Published by A. Burke. 1848. 16mo. pp. 100. Folding map of Niagara Falls, woodcuts.

HEACOCK, (Rev.) G. W. The Mediatorial Probation. A sermon delivered at the installation of Rev. Charles Rich, as pastor of the North Presbyterian Church, Buffalo, N. Y. By Rev. G. W. Heacock, pastor of La Fayette Street Church. Buffalo: Faxon's Press. 1848. 8vo. pp. 20.

HICKOK, (Rev.) LAURENS P. (D. D.). A Wise Self-Reliance secures Success. An Address delivered before the Young Men's Association of the City of Buffalo, December 27, 1847. By Rev. Laurens P. Hickok, D. D. Professor of Christian Theology in Auburn Seminary. Buffalo: Steam Press of Jewett, Thomas & Co., Commercial Advertiser Buildings. 1848. 8vo. pp. 24.

HOSMER, (Rev.) GEORGE W. A Discourse on the life and character of John Quincy Adams delivered in the Unitarian Church, February 27, 1848. By George W. Hosmer. Buffalo: Steam press of Jewett, Thomas & Co. Commercial Advertiser Buildings. 1848. 8vo. pp. 24.

HYDE, (Rev.) JABEZ B[ACKUS]. God in History: or the accomplishment of His purposes as declared by his servants the Prophets, exemplified in the Civil and Ecclesiastical History of the World. By Rev. Jabez B. Hyde, first received missionary among the Seneca Indians. [Quot. 21.] Buffalo: Steam press of Jewett, Thomas & Co. Commercial Advertiser Buildings. 1848. 8vo. pp. 96.

Issued in parts of 32 pp. each. Three "series" were projected: "The first commencing with the first century, and going forward to A. D. 324, the overthrow of Polytheism. The second, from A. D. 324, to the close of the 8th century, the full revelation of the man of sin. The third, from the latter, to the Reformation." On the wrappers of the first three numbers the author stated: "The two first [series] are written. This is an experiment; and on the success of the first three numbers will determine whether

the work will proceed." No continuation of it is known to the compiler except the pamphlet containing Mr. Hyde's "Review of Professor Stuart's Commentary on Revelations," issued in 1849. The Indian Reservation Sulphur Springs, near Buffalo, N. Y. With an account of its analysis, medicinal properties, and the diseases for which it is applicable. Together with directions for its use, and some remarks on mineral waters in general. Buffalo: Andrew F. Lee, printer. 1848. 32mo. pp. 30.

This was republished, with some additional matter, by Murray & Rockwell, Buffalo, 1860; 8vo. pp. 19.

LORD, (Rev.) JOHN C. (D. D.). A Funeral Discourse upon the death of George Sprague. By John C. Lord, D. D. Published by request. Buffalo: Steam press of Jewett, Thomas & Co. Commercial Advertiser Buildings, 1848. 8vo. pp. 15.

LORD, (Rev.) JOHN C. (D. D.). A Great Man fallen in Israel. A sermon on the death of Rev. Norris Bull, D. D., at Lewiston, N. Y., December 9, 1847, by John C. Lord, D. D., Pastor of the First (Old School) Presbyterian Church of Buffalo. Buffalo: Printed by R. D. Foy & Co., Courier office. 1848. 8vo. pp. 22.

LORD, (Rev.) JOHN C. (D. D.). "The Valiant Man." A discourse on the death of the Hon. Samuel Wilkeson of Buffalo. By John C. Lord, D. D. Pastor of the First Old School Presbyterian Church of the City of Buffalo. Buffalo: Steam press of Jewett, Thomas & Co. Commercial Advertiser Buildings. 1848. 8vo. pp. 46.

An appendix contains extracts on the subject of negro colonization, quoted from articles on slavery and the elevation of the blacks, written by Judge Wilkeson for the *Commercial Advertiser*.

MARSH, ROBERT. Seven Years of my Life, or a Narrative of a Patriot Exile. Who together with eighty-two American Citizens were illegally tried for rebellion in Upper Canada in 1838, and transported to Van Dieman's [sic] Land, comprising a true account of our outrageous treatment. . . . By Robert Marsh [Quot. 21.] Buffalo: Faxon & Stevens. 1848. 12mo. pp. 207. Woodcut, "Burning of the steam boat Caroline," op. p. 8.

For fac-simile of title-page and note on Robert Marsh, see "Bibliography of Upper Canada Rebellion," Buf. Hist. Soc. Pubs., Vol. V., pp. 469, 471, 472.

MORRON, A. (M. D.) An examination of the arguments against the existence of a Supreme Intelligence, founded upon the laws of Nature; the eternity of Matter; and the doctrine of Chance. In two lectures. Addressed to every Saint and Sinner into whose hands it may fall. By A. Morron, M. D. Buffalo: A. M. Clapp & Co.'s power press. 1848. 8vo. pp. 32.

[National Free Soil Convention.] Oliver Dyer's Phonographic Report of the Proceedings of the National Free Soil Convention at Buffalo, N. Y. August 9th and 10th, 1848. Copyright secured according to law. Published by G. H. Derby & Co. 164 Main

Street, Buffalo. . . . Steam press of Jewett, Thomas & Co. . . . [1848.] 8vo. pp. 32.

[National Free Soil Convention.] Buffalo Republic . . . Extra Official Proceedings of the National Free Soil Convention, assembled at Buffalo, N. Y., August 9th and 10th, 1848. 8vo. pp. 32.

Includes two pages of Free Soil Songs, "composed and sung at the Buffalo Convention . . . by Messrs. Hutchinson, Jewell, Bates and Foster, of Massachusetts." Here is a sample stanza from the "Salt River Chorus":

"We've all come on to Buffalo,
To 'tend the great Convention,
To join the friends of liberty,
And stop the slave extension."

Proceedings of the New York State Fair and of the Pomological Convention, held at Buffalo, Sept. 1848. Reported by Oliver Dyer, phonographist. Published by Jewett, Thomas & Co. [Buffalo. 1848.] 8vo. pp. 48.

QUINTUS, J. De Hollander in Amerika. Leerwijze der Engelsche Taal, door H. P.; ten dienste mijner landgenooten ter drukking overgegeven door J. Quintus, onderwijzer in de Engelsche, Hollandsche en Fransche talen. Te Buffalo, N. Y., bij O. G. Steele, 206 Main Straat. 1848. 12mo. pp. 77, [3].

A Dutch-English reading book. Quintus was a teacher of Dutch and French.

Revised Charter of the City of Buffalo, passed April 17, 1843. Published by order of the Common Council: To which are added the Laws and Ordinances. Buffalo: A. M. Clapp & Co.'s steam press. 1848. 8vo. pp. 83.

SCHOOLCRAFT, HENRY R. The Indian in his Wigwam, or Characteristics of the Red Race of America. From original notes and manuscripts. By Henry R. Schoolcraft. [1848.] Buffalo: Derby & Hewson, Publishers. Auburn—Derby, Miller & Co. 1848. 8vo. pp. 416.

[Schools.] Eleventh Annual Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools of the City of Buffalo; for 1847. Filed February 1, 1848. Buffalo: A. M. Clapp & Co. Printers, Morning Express office. 1848. 8vo. pp. 16.

Elias S. Hawley, Superintendent.

SCHUYLER, (Rev.) MONTGOMERY. An Appeal to the Congregation of St. John's Church, Buffalo, delivered Sunday Nov. 12, 1848. By Montgomery Schuyler, rector. Buffalo: Steam press of Jewett, Thomas & Co. Commercial Advertiser Buildings. 1848. 8vo. pp. 15.

The appeal was for funds to complete payment of the church.

SMITH, (Rev.) S. R. Historical Sketches and Incidents, illustrative of the establishment and progress of Universalism, in the State of New York. Second series. By S. R. Smith. Buffalo: James S. Leavitt, publisher. 1848. 16mo. pp. 246, [2].

Like its predecessor, published in 1843 (*q. v.*) this little volume is a valuable collection of facts relating to the growth of Universalism; less doctrinal or sectarian than historical, and with the earlier volume constitutes a work of decided value.

[SUNDERLAND, BYRON.] Prelacy Discussed, or a Book for Batavians. By B. Sunderland. [Quot. *i l.*] Buffalo: Press of C. Faxon. 1848. 8vo. pp. 184.

[Y. M. A.] Twelfth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Young Men's Association of the City of Buffalo. Buffalo: A. M. Clapp & Co. Printers, Morning Express office. 1848. 8vo. pp. 37.

1849.

An Act to incorporate the Buffalo Water Works Company. Passed March 15, 1849. [Buffalo, 1849.] 8vo. pp. 8.

ALCOTT, WILLIAM A. Familiar Letters to Young Men on various subjects. Designed as a companion to the Young Man's Guide. By Wm. A. Alcott. Buffalo: Geo. H. Derby & Co. 1849.

[Almanac.] The Franklin Almanac, for 1849, [*Port. Benj. Franklin*] Calculations by Samuel H. Wright. Buffalo: Publish'd [sic] by Parmelee & Hadley. No. 119 Main-Street. 12mo. pp. 23, [9].

Parmelee & Hadley kept the "Buffalo Lamp Store," where they sold solar lamps, camphene lamps, girandoles and "a variety of patterns for burning Porter's composition burning fluid"; all of which is reminiscent of the days before kerosene.

Bible against Slaveholders. Slaves bought and sold! Read and examine. The Slavery question examined. By a Friend of Freedom, and the perpetuity of the Union. Buffalo: printed and sold at the Republic office. 1849. 8vo. pp. 8.

Breed's Western Almanac, for the Year of Our Lord 1849. . . . By George R. Perkins, A. M. Professor of Mathematics in New York State Normal School. Buffalo: Published by F. W. Breed, 188 Main Street. 12mo. pp. 36.

BRYAN, GEORGE J. Life of George P. Barker, with sketches of some of his celebrated speeches; the proceedings of the Bar of Erie County on the occasion of his death: and the funeral sermon of John C. Lord, D. D. By George J. Bryan. Buffalo: Oliver G. Steele. 1849. 12mo. pp. viii-215.

The Central Presbyterian Church, of the City of Buffalo: Containing a register of its officers and members, a brief notice of its history, the confession of faith, covenant and stated meetings of the church, etc., etc., together with the Shorter Catechism. Compiled by members of the Session. Buffalo: Press of Charles Faxon. 1849. 16mo. pp. 72.

In 1852, after the Society took possession of its new church building, a page descriptive of it was printed and inserted in copies of the above work, following p. 8.

COVENTRY, C. B. (M. D.) Epidemic Cholera: Its History, Causes, Pathology and Treatment. By C. B. Coventry, M. D. Buffalo: Geo. H. Derby & Co., publishers. 1849. 12mo. pp. 119.

Dr. Coventry was professor of physiology and medical jurisprudence in the University of Buffalo. When the cholera appeared in this country in 1831 he was appointed by the Common Council of Utica, where he resided, to visit Albany and New York to investigate the disease; and in the winter of '47-'48 he visited Europe with instructions from the medical faculties of the University of Buffalo and the college at Geneva, to more fully acquaint himself with its pathology, causes and treatment. The fruits of his study are embodied in this volume.

DAVIS, A. Antiquities of America, the first inhabitants of Central America, and the Discovery of New England by the Northmen, five hundred years before Columbus. . . . By A. Davis . . . 21st edition, with important additions. Buffalo: Jewett, Thomas & Co., stereotypers and printers, 1849. 8vo. pp. 32.

It is probable that most, perhaps all of the previous editions were published elsewhere.

[Directory.] 1849 . . . 1850. The Commercial Advertiser Directory for the City of Buffalo. Embellished with a new and correct map. Buffalo: Jewett, Thomas & Co. Publishers, Commercial Advertiser Buildings. 1849. 8vo. pp. xiii-368.

HYDE, (Rev.) JABEZ B[ACKUS]. God in History: or the accomplishment of His purposes, as declared by his servants the Prophets, exemplified in the civil and ecclesiastical history of the World, preceded by a review of Professor Stuart's commentary on Revelations. By Rev. Jabez B. Hyde, First received missionary among the Seneca Indians. [Quot. 21.] Buffalo: Printed by George Reese & Co. 159 Main Street. 1849. 8vo. pp. 104.

For comment on this work, see ante p. 274.

LORD, (Rev.) JOHN C. (D. D.) A Funeral Discourse, delivered on the occasion of the death of Gen. George P. Barker, at the North Presbyterian Church, on the 31st day of January, 1848; by John C. Lord, D. D. Buffalo: Oliver G. Steele. 1849. 12mo. pp. 215, i.

MACAULEY, THOMAS BABINGTON. Essays and Reviews; or Scenes and Characters: Being a selection of the most eloquent passages from the writings of Thomas Babington Macauley. Author of "History of England." New American Edition. Buffalo: George H. Derby and Co. 1849. 16mo. pp. 214.

[Schools.] Ordinances for the regulation of the Public Schools, of the City of Buffalo. Enacted April 27, 1839. Re-enacted and amended, January 23, 1849. Buffalo: A. M. Clapp & Co., printers. 1849. 8vo. pp. 16.

[Schools.] Twelfth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Schools of the City of Buffalo, for 1848. Filed February 1, 1849. 8vo. pp. 27, [1].

Although falling just out of the scope of the present list, it

may be noted that the annual report for 1849, published in 1850, is of exceptional historical value, as it contains views of six of the Public School buildings, as they appeared at that date. The second illustrated report was issued in 1856, with lithographic views of the Central School and some twenty of the district schools.

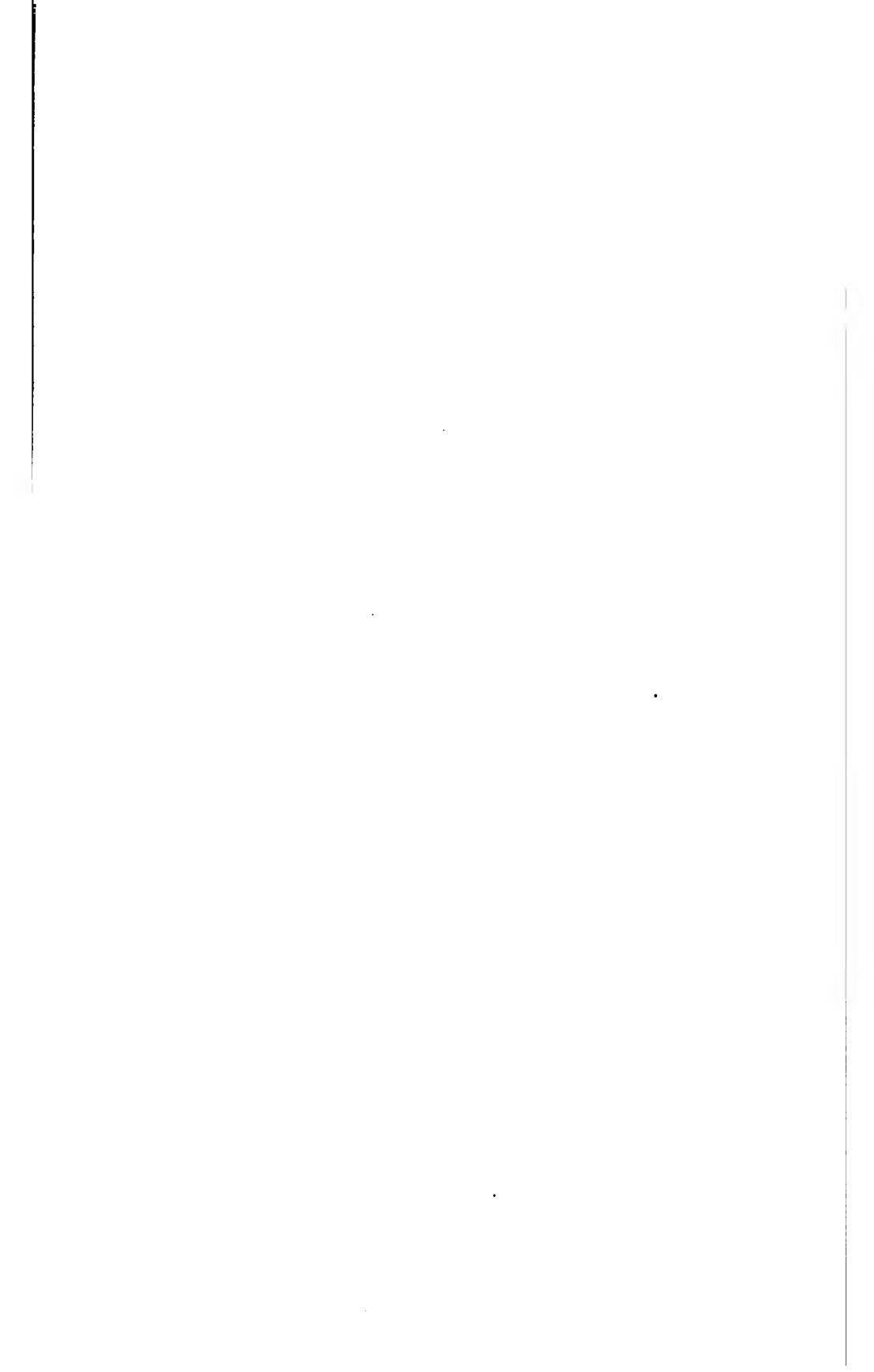
TURNER, O[RSAMUS]. Pioneer History of the Holland Purchase of Western New York: Embracing some account of the ancient remains; a brief history of our immediate predecessors, the Confederated Iroquois, their system of government, wars, etc.—A synopsis of Colonial History: Some notices of the Border Wars of the Revolution: and a history of Pioneer Settlement under the auspices of the Holland Company; including Reminiscences of the War of 1812; the origin, progress and completion of the Erie Canal, etc., etc., etc. By O. Turner. Buffalo: Published by Jewett, Thomas & Co.: Geo. H. Derby & Co. 1849. 8vo. pp. xvi, 666. Portraits, maps and views.

[University of Buffalo.] Annual Announcement of the Medical Department of the University of Buffalo, June, 1849. Buffalo: Steam press of Jewett, Thomas & Co. Office of Buffalo Medical Journal. 1849. 8vo. pp. 16. Front.

The frontispiece is a most interesting "View of the Medical College, and the Hospital of the Sisters of Charity," the college building being that which stood at the southwest corner of Main and Virginia streets, torn down in 189—. It was built 1848-49.

WHITE, JAMES P. (*M. D.*) Remarks on the construction of obstetrical forceps, with a description of an instrument employed by James P. White, M. D. . . . [Buffalo, 1849.] 8vo. pp. 7. Cuts. Reprint from Buffalo *Medical Journal*, May, 1849.

[Y. M. A.] Thirteenth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Young Men's Association of the City of Buffalo. Buffalo: Steam Press of Jewett, Thomas & Co. Commercial Advertiser Buildings. 1849. 8vo. pp. 40.



APPENDIX B.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

DEDICATION OF THE BUILDING, SEPTEMBER 30, 1902.

The new building of the Buffalo Historical Society (described in the Appendix to Vol. V. of these *Publications*) was dedicated to its present uses on Tuesday evening, September 30, 1902. Despite a heavy rain the attendance was large. President Andrew Langdon being in Europe, Vice-President George A. Stringer presided and made the following address of welcome:

Members of the Buffalo Historical Society, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is my high privilege and very agreeable duty this evening, to extend a most cordial welcome to you all on behalf of the Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society, in this new and beautiful building, and these attractive rooms.

We count your presence here as an augury of good. We read in it the strong assurance of your sympathy with us in our great work. We feel that we may depend on your cooperation in our plans for the future, which will be upon broader lines and with a wider scope than heretofore. Having thus enlisted your concurrence in our high endeavors for the common good, we regard it as a gracious earnest of the years to come.

Early in 1862—just forty years ago—in the second year of the great Civil War, this Society was founded by a few thoughtful, public-spirited, and highly-esteemed men in this community, among whom were the late Millard Fillmore, Lewis F. Allen, Orsamus H. Marshall, Rev. Dr. Hosmer, Edward S. Rich, Henry W. Rogers, Dr. Charles Winne, Dr. James P. White, George W. Clinton, William Dorsheimer, Albert L. Baker, Rev. Dr. Lord, Oliver G. Steele, Geo. A. Babcock, and some others, who believed that the records and relics of our history should be carefully preserved. The first in-

formal gathering was held at the law office of Marshall & Harvey, March 25th, and a committee appointed to report a plan of organization. On Tuesday evening, April 15, 1862, a second public meeting was held in the rooms of the Buffalo Medical Association, No. 7 South Division Street, at which time the constitution and by-laws, presented by the committee, were adopted. The first president of the Society was Mr. Fillmore, and the records show that the first meeting at which he was elected and presided as its official head was on the 20th of May in the year previously mentioned. Immediately after the organization William Dorsheimer offered the use of his office, No. 7 Court Street, as a place of meeting for the executive committee and of deposits for the books and papers of the Society.

From this small and comparatively humble beginning the Buffalo Historical Society has by slow stages reached its present proud position, with its valuable treasures housed in this magnificent building, the creation of a well-known Buffalo architect, and one of the finest of its class in the country.

We are the possessors of a library of some 12,000 volumes, which includes the Lord and Fillmore collections; also several thousand pamphlets, many of which are of rare value. In 1895 our library was registered with the University of the State of New York, thus enabling us to provide a library and publication fund, and thereby extending the sphere of our influence.

We have a gallery of portraits, as well as a large collection of photographs of uncommon interest, inasmuch as they largely represent many of the builders and makers of this fair city, through whose united efforts its foundations were laid deep and strong. To this collection additions by gift are constantly being made.

As you pass through our rooms this evening I would especially direct your attention to the beautiful Lincoln Memorial room which is in itself an object lesson; also, just outside, the collection of Civil War relics presented by the Grand Army Posts of Buffalo several years ago. They are precious mementoes of that fearful struggle which deluged the land with blood; historic objects for our youth especially to view and study, valued reminders through the years to come of the sacrifices which were made by our volunteers for the common good of our common country.

Our coin and medal collection—for the most part the gift of the late Dr. James—is of very great and increasing value, and worthy of all the study one can give to it. Our museum is rich in its countless treasures of a past time, and the entire evening would be all too short were I to particularize its features in detail, there is so much of interest on every hand.

It may not be amiss, however, for me to allude in passing to two widely diverse collections which attract much attention, one being the fine exhibit of Egyptian antiquities presented by the late Dr. Joseph C. Greene, a member of our Board of Managers at the time of his death, and an ex-president of the Society, and the other, to our extremely valuable display of Indian relics, mementoes of a once powerful people who are now fast fading away.

Another branch of our work which has been quietly carried on and which may be unknown to many of you is that of vital statistics. From the year 1811 up to 1882, covering a period of nearly three-

quarters of a century, every published record of death or of marriage has been entered in volumes specially prepared for that purpose. I need hardly remind the legal fraternity of the immense value such a record may be to them as well as to others, and we wish to make its existence widely known.

This Society will not round its first half-century for a full decade to come. Meantime we shall strive to push our work along historical, genealogical and educational lines. Our single aim is your advantage. The sufficient reward for our most zealous efforts will be your approval. In this connection it gives me pleasure to announce, that with the concurrence of a majority of the Board of Management this building will be opened on Sunday afternoon, October 5th, and every Sunday afternoon thereafter until further notice, from two until five o'clock, during which time a short, instructive talk will be given, which will be an incentive to the young, and full of suggestion to those of maturer years.

My hearers, we hold as a sacred trust to be zealously guarded the treasured memories of the Past, a trust to be handed down to those who shall come after us. The life of a city is in the past and in the future. The record of her sons and daughters is in our keeping. The vigorous minds, the skilful hands, the generous hearts; the wisdom, the integrity, the self-sacrifice, that have advanced the city's interests would be well nigh forgotten were it not for this Historical Society. We should well nigh forget, indeed, that we had a history; we should almost lose the sense of our identity. Therefore, it is that we would plead for a more lively and awakened interest in this Society; for a far larger membership; for generous gifts, for a greater civic pride. Thus it will become possible to aid the Buffalo Historical Society in attaining such an eminence that it shall stand unrivalled in the State.

My friends, if there be anywhere here below the element of perpetuity, it is here, and in such a place as this, where the memory of what past generations have said or accomplished is ever before us; where the inspiration of their lives and actions is a continual incentive to us who are in the strenuous activities of the present, but who, ere many years shall have passed, will "be numbered among the silent host, the great majority." Enshrined within these walls they will have enduring fame, a memory perpetual.

In closing, permit me again to extend to you all a hearty and most cordial welcome to this noble building and the objects to which it is devoted, and to congratulate you, as well as ourselves, upon the bright prospect of increased usefulness which lies open before this Society, so that in future days we may look back upon this night with the utmost pleasure and satisfaction.

Mr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, secretary of the Wisconsin Historical Society, addressed the audience on "The Functions of an Historical Society." It is regretted that his scholarly paper is not available for publication. The next speaker was the Hon. Daniel N. Lockwood, chairman of the New York State Board of Managers for the Pan-American Exposition, whose theme was "The Buffalo Historical Society and the State of New York." Mr. Lockwood said:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Your committee having in charge the dedication of this building to the Buffalo Historical Society, very kindly requested me, as the President of the Board of Managers of the State of New York to the Pan-American Exposition and under whose charge and supervision this beautiful building was erected, to give a brief history of its construction and its use during our occupancy.

When it became an assured fact that the citizens of Buffalo, during the summer of 1901, would give an exposition of the mechanical, industrial and educational development of this and the South and North American countries, the Empire State at once took up the work, determined to stand second to no other State or country. The Legislature of the State of New York, by the act of March 1, 1899, appropriated the sum of \$300,000, \$50,000 of which was to be used in the erection of a building for the use of the citizens of New York during the Pan-American Exposition, also authorizing the Governor to appoint a board of nine managers to build the building and conduct and manage the exhibits on behalf of the State. This act also contained a clause prohibiting the Board of Managers from contracting or expending any part of said appropriation until there had been paid into the Treasury of the Pan-American Exposition Company by its stockholders, the sum of \$800,000 in cash. I mention this last clause that it may be fully understood why this building was not fully completed upon the opening of the Exposition, May 1, 1901.

During the summer of 1899, the suggestion was made by some of our citizens that it would be a proper thing to have the building thus to be erected by the State, a permanent structure, and that after the close of the Exposition it should be transferred to a permanent ownership. The officers and members of the Buffalo Historical Society desired a permanent home and they at once went to work with energy and a fixed purpose to bring about such a result and with the aid of an enlightened public sentiment—largely created by them—secured from the Legislature the amended act of March 14, 1900, by which \$100,000 instead of \$50,000 was to be used in the erection of the building, and by the same act the City of Buffalo was directed to pay over to the State Treasurer the sum of \$25,000 to be used for such building; also the Buffalo Historical Society was authorized to take from its overflowing treasury the sum of \$25,000 and pay the same to the State Treasurer, thus giving to the New York State Board of Managers the sum of \$150,000 with which to erect a permanent building upon the park lands adjacent to the Exposition grounds, which building when erected, should be for the exclusive use of the State during the Exposition, and upon the close of the Exposition should be transferred to the Buffalo Historical Society for its exclusive use and permanent home.

The Board of Managers, as soon as the law had been complied with by the Pan-American Exposition Company, met at Albany and perfected their organization. This was on the 7th day of March, 1900. The Board of Park Commissioners thereafter promptly designated the site upon which the building should be erected. The Board of Managers at once called upon the leading architects of the State for plans. These were duly received and then what little trouble we had, commenced. The honorable gentlemen composing the Park

Board waited upon us and suggested (to put it mildly)—that as the building was to stand upon park lands, it was their right to select the plans for the building. The Board of Managers showed them all the plans and they made their selection. The Historical Society politely, but firmly, insisted that as the building would be theirs for all time as soon as the Exposition was over, that they should select the plans.* They saw them all and made their selection. The Board of Managers being required by law to select and approve of a plan for the building, made their selection, and strange to say, three different plans had been selected. Under these conditions the Board of Managers decided to select a well-known and distinguished architect of New York City, send him the three plans selected and without giving him any information of the selections that had been made or the names of any of the architects, let him decide which in fact was the best plan. This course was followed and the plan of one of Buffalo's competing architects was selected, that of Mr. George Cary. It is but just to say that to his architectural genius and skill the citizens of Buffalo in general and the Buffalo Historical Society, are indebted for this beautiful building. Grand and substantial in all its architectural lines and proportions, it will stand here for all time as a monument to his intelligence and fidelity, as well as a reminder of the wonderful, beautiful and instructive Pan-American Exposition of 1901.

As soon as the specifications could be prepared, bids were asked for for its construction and on the receipt of the bids, it was found, much to our sorrow and disappointment as well as to yours, that it could not be built of marble for the sum of \$150,000, but to be built for that sum must be constructed either of brick or limestone. This was the full amount available in the hands of the State Board of Managers for the construction of the building. This fact was reported to the Historical Society at once and to the great credit, praise and honor of its officers and members, they promptly unlocked their big safe and directed the State Board of Managers to go ahead at once and build of marble and that the difference between brick and marble they would assume and pay. The contract was thereupon and on the 2nd day of July, 1900, made with Messrs. Charles Berwick's Sons for the construction of the building. Their work was well done; the material was the best of its kind and the workmanship of the highest standard. There were no strikes and no extra charges. Such is the history of the construction of the building. The building was substantially completed and opened to the public in June.

It was formally turned over to the Pan-American Exposition Company on the 6th day of August, 1901, and from that day to the close of the Exposition, it was an open house, dispensing hospitality to all who came within its doors. Thousands came every day to examine and admire it. Societies and organizations from all over the country held their meetings in this hall daily. Distinguished men and women within these walls have been welcomed to the hospitality

* Mr. Lockwood, as his audience no doubt understood at the time, was indulging in a pleasantry. The Historical Society Board were invited to signify their preference as to the plans, and did so; but insistence was obviously beyond their prerogative.

of the State of New York. Governors, their wives and their friends, representatives from Canada, South and North America and from Europe have been within these walls as the guests of the State of New York, and here on the 5th day of September, 1901, the State of New York, through its Board of Managers, had the honor and pleasure of giving a formal luncheon to the President of the United States, foreign Ambassadors, members of the Cabinet, senators and many other distinguished men. It was the one function that made this building thereafter the objective point of every visitor to the Exposition. It was the last formal luncheon attended by the President of the United States. The pleasure of that day was forever blotted out by the awful crime of the tomorrow. It made the building historical. William McKinley, the honored and beloved President of the United States, in full vigor of his manhood, the man who had gone step by step from the ranks to the highest and proudest position in the world, whose life, always pure, honorable and patriotic, full of courage and hope, animated with the single purpose of his Country's best welfare, was marked for the bullet of the cowardly assassin. He died as he had lived, full of love, full of kindness, full of courage and without fear. He was our most honored guest. Here the name of William McKinley must ever stand first, and of him, his life and his death, you can always say in the words of the poet:

"To live with fame the gods allow to many; but to die with equal lustre is a blessing Heaven selects from all her choicest boons of fate, and with a sparing hand on few bestows."

An interesting feature of the evening's exercises was the unveiling of the statue of Abraham Lincoln, a gift to the Society from the Lincoln Birthday Association.* The audience repaired to the central court, where the statue stands. Mr. Joseph P. Dudley, president of the Lincoln Birthday Association, made a brief address of presentation. The flag which draped the statue was withdrawn by Miss Florence Francis (a relative of Julius E. Francis, founder of the Association), to the strains of "America," by the orchestra. Senator Henry W. Hill made the address of acceptance in behalf of the Historical Society. Mr. Hill said:

Vice-President Stringer, Major Dudley, President of the Lincoln Birthday Association, Ladies and Gentlemen:

In behalf of the Buffalo Historical Society, I am authorized to accept this bronze statue of Abraham Lincoln and the Memorial Collection of the late Julius E. Francis, presented by you, Major Dudley, in behalf of the Lincoln Birthday Association to this Society for its custody and preservation. In doing so, I cannot refrain from alluding to the services which Mr. Francis and your Association have rendered to perpetuate in memory the exemplary life and sublime patriotic struggle of Abraham Lincoln to preserve the Union.

Mr. Francis may not have been a disciple of Carlyle, who affirmed

* For description and illustration of the statue, see Vol. V., Buffalo Historical Society Publications.

that hero-worship is the cornerstone of all society; yet, in his devotion, he spared neither time nor treasure to exalt the life and heroic services of Abraham Lincoln. Of the forty years he was engaged in pharmacy in this city, the latter half of that time was largely occupied by him in collecting relics of the Civil War, in securing autographs of its soldiers and sailors with their military record, in arranging and holding Lincoln Birthday anniversary exercises, and building up, inspiring and equipping an association that would continue his work after him. He visited Gettysburg and other battle-fields, attended encampments of Civil War veterans and other National assemblages, and inspected public and departmental archives at Washington. In 1873, Mr. Francis and fifty other prominent citizens of Buffalo, representing all the states and territories of the Union, memorialized the 43rd Congress to make February 12th a legal holiday. This was supplemented by an alternate memorial, signed by fifty young men in the public schools of Buffalo, between the ages of fourteen and nineteen years, also representing the various states and territories. We are pleased that many of these gentlemen are present on this occasion and that they have lived to see February 12th made a legal holiday.

At the first Lincoln Birthday celebration held at St. James Hall in this city on February 12, 1874, Hon. N. K. Hall presided and our esteemed historian, J. N. Larned, delivered the address, and the exercises consisted also of readings, poems, patriotic music and the distribution of sixty thousand beautifully engraved cards to the pupils in the public schools of this city, all at the expense of Mr. Francis. Twenty thousand dollars were expended by Mr. Francis in his twenty years' service of devotion.

In 1877 he incorporated the Lincoln Birthday Association, and its first trustees were such well-known men as Pascal P. Pratt, Frederick L. Danforth, J. R. Brownell, Joseph P. Dudley, Orrin P. Ramsdell, Julius E. Francis, William C. Francis, S. Cary Adams and George Meacham. The present officers and trustees are Major Joseph P. Dudley, president; G. Barrett Rich, vice-president; Frederick W. Danforth, secretary and treasurer; Hon. James Ash, Frank L. Danforth, C. Townsend Wilson, William E. Danforth, George C. Meacham and Guilford R. Francis. These gentlemen and others, who from time to time have comprised the Lincoln Birthday Association, for a quarter of a century, have freely given their time and attention to its affairs. This involved a supervisory control of the valuable historic memorial collections, the administration of the trust funds bequeathed by Mr. Francis and the distribution of memorial literature, commemorative of the public services of President Lincoln.

Before this Society had made plans for its permanent home, President Andrew Langdon had conferred with your trustees in relation to the assumption on the part of this Society, of the custody of the Francis Memorial Collection and the execution of the trust provisions of Mr. Francis' will. When it was decided to erect this fire-proof building for the ultimate uses of the Buffalo Historical Society, your trustees, in accordance with the wishes of Mr. Francis, expressed in his will, that "a room be constructed in a fire-proof building for the preservation of his memorial collection," suggested

that this building be so planned as to provide such a room. President Andrew Langdon laid the matter before the Board of Managers of this Society, who were unanimously in favor of the suggestion. Such a room has been provided on the second floor of the building, and is to be known as the Lincoln Memorial Room. In addition to this, your trustees offered the further suggestion, that the main central hall of this building be so planned as to admit of the placing therein of a bronze statue of Mr. Lincoln, to be procured out of the trust funds left by Mr. Francis and the residue of such funds to be given to the Buffalo Historical Society in consideration of its providing such memorial room and assuming the custody of the memorial collection and such bronze statue, in perpetuity.

A committee on the part of your Association, consisting of Major Dudley, G. Barrett Rich, and Mr. Frederick W. Danforth, was appointed to confer with a committee on the part of the Buffalo Historical Society, consisting of President Langdon, whose esthetic taste and wide knowledge of the works of art especially fitted him to serve on such a committee, Mr. Frank H. Severance, secretary of the Buffalo Historical Society, and myself. It is but fair to say that Mr. Danforth and Mr. Langdon performed the largest part of the work of the joint committee. They secured the services of the well-known sculptor, Charles H. Niehaus, who had designed the statue of Mr. Lincoln, at Muskegon, Michigan, of which this statue is a replica, except in some of its details. It was cast by the Gorham Manufacturing Company of Providence, and is regarded by critics as a work of art. It represents Mr. Lincoln in a sitting posture, with legs crossed and document in hand, looking directly into the unknown future, as though he were meditating upon what grounds under the Constitution to justify the Emancipation Proclamation. It will also suggest many other trying moments in his eventful life. It is needless to say that the memory of his life work could not be more enduringly perpetuated. The present and future generations will be uplifted, as they reflect upon the noble life, symbolized in this imposing statue.

The memorial collection, which you have presented and which may be seen in the Lincoln Memorial Room, is of great historic value. The elaborately inlaid case is made of pieces of wood taken from Faneuil Hall, Independence Hall, the Charter oak, the frigate "Constitution," the Old South Church and other historic temples, dedicated to civil and religious liberty. The Soldiers' and Sailors' case contains seventy-six battlefield trophies and upwards of ten thousand autographs of soldiers and sailors who fought in the Civil War, "with their rank, regiment, date of enlistment and discharge, including the battles in which they were engaged." In addition to these are many other autographs, illustrated envelopes used during the war, and other historic papers. In presenting these to the Buffalo Historical Society, with the assurance that they will be preserved in perpetuity, we believe that the trustees of your Association have fully executed the trust provisions of Mr. Francis' will. In accepting them, the managers of the Buffalo Historical Society undervalue neither their historic worth, nor the lofty patriotism which their donor intended that they would inculcate.

This marble building, with its stately Doric columns, its spacious halls and classic outlines, overlooking an inland lake with its en-

virons of surpassing beauty, is a fitting repository for such a monument, as this memorial collection and superb statue constitute, to the greatest American of his generation. School children in scores and people of this and other states will come here to read again the thrilling story of the life of their beloved President. What a life that was! Cradled in a Kentucky cabin, inured to all the deprivations and hardships of pioneer life, without the advantages of schooling or money, this child of the prairies, this self-trained lawyer of the plains, became the matchless champion of human freedom. While Congresses disputed and Cabinets wrangled, he, in contesting the senatorship with Douglas, fully realizing the irreconcilability between the sentiments of the people at the North and at the South on the slavery question and also realizing the immanence of the conflict that might disrupt the Union, declared that "a house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free." Even though the conflict were averted by the recognition of slavery, still that would not avail, for this Government could not permanently endure on such a basis. He had a profound conception of the fundamental principles of the Declaration of Independence. "Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" were not only "inalienable rights," bestowed by the Creator upon His creatures, but living principles, which the Supreme Court, the Congress and the President of the United States might not disregard. These were eternal, while kingdoms, principalities and powers were temporal. In his application of these principles to the exigencies of the times, Mr. Lincoln not only completely refuted the doctrine of the Dred Scott decision, but also exhibited qualities of the loftiest statesmanship and became the recognized leader of the people at the North. His power of statement was unsurpassed; his logical argument was irresistible; his comprehension of the momentous questions at issue was remarkable. His great heart throbbed in sympathy with the suffering and down-trodden colored race at the South. He knew their limitations, but he felt that the Creator had bestowed upon them these inalienable rights, of which they might not lawfully be deprived. This position he maintained with unflinching steadfastness. He spoke in many eastern states and was attended with large, enthusiastic audiences and made a profound impression wherever he appeared.

In commenting on his Cooper Institute speech, the New York Tribune said: "Mr. Lincoln is one of nature's orators, using his rare powers solely to elucidate and convince, though their inevitable effect is to delight and electrify as well. We present a very full and accurate report of this speech, yet the tones, the gestures, the kindling eye, and the mirth-provoking look, defy the reporter's skill. The vast assemblage frequently rang with cheers and shouts of applause, which were prolonged and intensified at the close. No man ever before made such an impression on his first appeal to a New York audience."

People at the North were electrified. Mr. Lincoln became the logical candidate of the Republicans for the Presidency in 1860. Party and sectional strife threatened to disrupt the Union. The South knew no bounds to their demands for the extension of slavery; the North was a wall of adamant against such extension. The conflict was inevitable. Still in the presence of such civil commotion,

which shook the Nation to its foundation, Mr. Lincoln, with the vision of a seer, in closing his first inaugural address on March 4, 1861, made use of these prophetic words: "The mystic cords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature." He saw beyond the smoke of battle a reunited nation. He understood the temper of the people at the North as well as at the South. He knew the genius of our Republican institutions and had supreme faith in their fitness for government "of the people, by the people and for the people."

He spent many sleepless vigils alone in brooding over the outcome of various battles of the Civil War, still he did not lose faith in our civil institutions and in the ultimate success of our armies. He left nothing undone that would tend to restore this country to a condition of peace. He wielded the extraordinary powers vested in the Executive under the Constitution more freely than they had ever been exercised before to uphold and strengthen the sovereign powers of the Nation. He justified his Emancipation Proclamation, as a war measure that would weaken the enemy and strengthen the Union forces. His generous and sympathetic nature was proverbial and expressed itself in many ways and in such words as "with malice toward none; with charity for all," found in his second inaugural. He was the revered President. General W. T. Sherman said that "Lincoln was the purest, the most generous and the most magnanimous of men." He loved his country whose freedom was his inspiration. His Gettysburg speech, like the funeral oration of Pericles, is the embodiment of true patriotism.

It has been said that "Abraham Lincoln was the first American to reach the lonely heights of immortal fame."

"He lives in endless fame
All honor to his patriot name."

This marble building may crumble, this bronze statue may wear away, but the name and deeds of Abraham Lincoln will not perish from the earth.

FORTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING.

At the annual meeting, January 13, 1903, Mr. Ogden P. Letchworth was elected a member of the Board of Managers for the four years ending January, 1907, to succeed Mr. George S. Hazard, made honorary life member of the Board. Messrs. Andrew Langdon, Frank H. Severance, George A. Stringer and James Sweeney were reelected for the term ending January, 1907. The annual reports of the officers were presented to the Society at a meeting held on the evening of January 17th. President Langdon occupied the chair. A pleasant feature of the programme was the singing by Miss Langdon, accompanied at the piano by Mrs. F. Davidson. Moses Shongo gave

cornet selections, with accompaniment by his daughter, Miss Maud Shongo. The attendance was large. President Langdon delivered the annual address. He said:

Ladies and Gentlemen:

We come together for the forty-first annual meeting of the Buffalo Historical Society. This is its first annual meeting in a building all our own and worthy of the collections here preserved. This building is not new to most of you; already it is like an old friend, for we first knew of its beauty during the Pan-American days when it was the New York State building. Today it stands as the only permanent memorial saved from the wreck and ruins of the City of Light.

My first annual address as president of this Society was given at the thirty-third annual meeting, January 8, 1895, held in the chambers of the Society on the third floor of the Buffalo Library building, reached only by tiresome climbing of stairs. I referred then to the day when the Buffalo Historical Society would have "a substantial fire-proof home of its own." Let me quote from that address: "That such a house is needed today"—that, remember, was eight years ago—"for the proper display and safekeeping of our valuable collections is fully attested by their crowded condition and still more by the treasures that cannot be seen for want of a suitable place for their display. Such a building should be located not as the present one is, amid the smoke, dirt and noise, with constant danger of fire, in the business district; but well out in an easily accessible, quiet neighborhood, with plenty of light and air." One of the leading papers of the city referred to my idea as "Mr. Langdon's dream"; another dwelt upon the "icy desolation" of the park site suggested. Tonight much of that dream is realized in blocks of solid marble. Winter is pretty well upon us now, and we have not experienced the icy desolation except as we find it just over the fence, amid the ruins of the Exposition. We were never less isolated. Our removal has brought us new members and made many new friends.

The story of this building you already know; it is told in the volume recently issued by this Society. In the Grand Hall, open to the skylights above, we have a suggestion of the beautiful Ariana Museum at Geneva in Switzerland. Our park surroundings for such a building have many notable precedents.

Eight years ago Judge James Murdock Smith asked me to come to see him at his home. There he told me that he wished to do something for the Historical Society and asked me what use the Society would make of his proposed gift. I suggested that it be used as the nucleus of a building fund, principal and interest to be used only for that purpose. This was done; and the contribution of five thousand dollars by Judge Smith was the first step toward the realization of our building project. In special recognition of his gift a new class of membership, called "Patrons," was created and any one contributing \$2500 is eligible for such membership. The name of the Hon. James M. Smith stands as that of our first—and as yet our only—"Patron." Out of his first gift, supplemented not only with money, but with the untiring efforts of other friends of the Society, has come the building as it stands today, erected at a cost of nearly \$200,000. It would

take too long to relate in detail the whole story of our building project. But the members of this Society, and the community at large, must see in the present consummation a proof of the wisdom of our early plans. We desired a park site. A neighboring institution, the Albright Gallery for the Academy of Fine Arts, now stands on the site which was the Society's original choice; and already the community begins to realize that in this group of public institutions—for the future home of the Society of Natural Sciences will be nearby—is to be developed the city's most academic center. When our plans for a home in the Park were checked, a new opportunity was offered by the Exposition project. It developed into the proposition that it would be wiser for the State to contribute towards a permanent building than to lavish the public money on a structure that would vanish when the great fair was over. The merger of state, city and society funds in this project was stubbornly opposed; and we owe it to the persistence and tact and logic of many devoted friends, but especially to the Hon. Henry W. Hill and the Hon. Wilson S. Bissell, that this wise and economical plan was adopted. Originally the Historical Society was to contribute \$25,000, but when later it was found that the building could not be erected according to the plans decided upon so as to come within the cost limit of \$150,000; when the Board of Commissioners for the State of New York found themselves pretty well in a corner where it was hard for them to turn and they found that their plans would have to be changed entirely; that the erection of the building, for which there was little enough time as it was, would have to be still further delayed; then an appeal to the Historical Society was made and the response was immediate and cheerful: the Society contributed \$20,000 additional, thus enabling the Commissioners to carry forward the work without delay. The Society had reason to believe that this additional \$20,000 would be made good by the State: the Commissioners turned back into the State Treasury \$127,000 out of the \$300,000 appropriated. Most of the Commissioners were in favor of reimbursement; one, at least, was not. Ye never obtained the \$20,000. More than this, when we came to take possession of the building we found that certain changes in the general plan would be beneficial and suggested that such changes and several matters of repair, due wholly to the use and abuse of the building during the Exposition, be cared for out of the State money. It seemed but right that the building should be put into tenable shape for the newcomers. Even this we were not able to secure. So we had to turn again to our well-nigh depleted treasury and take from it funds needed for the carrying on of our regular work and apply them to the work of putting the building into condition for our occupancy.

On the other hand, we have a moderate income from the City of Buffalo each year for a maintenance fund. Under the act of legislation secured in 1897 it is mandatory upon the City of Buffalo each year to appropriate for the maintenance of the Society and the care of its collections at least \$5000; in addition we receive the cost of heating and lighting. Especially pleasant are the words "in perpetuity" in connection with this annual appropriation, thus providing a certain measure of the expenses incident to the proper management of the institution for the best good of the members and public gen-

erally for all years to come. This provision of the law has put the Historical Society on a substantial foundation and guarantees its permanence. The measure of its growth and increase in usefulness to the community must continue to depend upon other sources of income. But even if our resources are badly depleted, we have the comforting consciousness of being out of debt. We begin the new year owing no man a dollar, as shown by the report of the treasurer.

It is a pleasure to me personally to speak of some of the more important gifts of the year. It has been a year notable for the number and value received. This is a natural sequence of our removal to more ample and better quarters than we had before occupied. Gifts of any historical character and works of art can now suitably be exhibited and kept with guarantee of safety from fire or pillage. We can take care of them better than ever before. The building is a depository which should enlist the interest and appeal to the taste and pride of every family in Buffalo.

First in the list entitled to special acknowledgment is the bronze statue of Abraham Lincoln, the gift of the Lincoln Birthday Association. When Julius C. Francis was alive, he was unusually loyal in his devotion to the memory of our martyred President, and spent both money and effort to have Lincoln's birthday made a National holiday; when Mr. Francis died he left to the Lincoln Birthday Association, which he himself founded, certain money in trust, giving instructions in his will for the maintenance of exercises commemorative of this birthday. This money, principal and accumulating interest, lay unused for a number of years. One day, while I was looking into another matter, I came across the provisions of the Francis will and it occurred to me that a fine statue of Lincoln, dedicated by the Lincoln Birthday Association, would be entirely in keeping with the spirit of the will of Mr. Francis. Several of us, members of both the Lincoln Birthday Association and the Buffalo Historical Society, talked over the matter informally, later more in detail and to more serious intent, and still later a joint committee from the two societies took the whole matter under careful consideration. For some time there was great doubt of any accomplishment. It took a good deal of persistence to bring all parties to agreement; but as a result of continued effort on the part of the members of this joint committee the Lincoln Birthday Association, under an agreement especially drawn, has become merged with the Buffalo Historical Society. The funds accumulated have been put into the magnificent statue that forms the striking feature of our Grand Hall; this is the conception of the sculptor Niehaus and the casting in bronze was done at the foundry of the Gorham Company, a splendid combination of genius in conception and art in execution. The pedestal of black marble came as a gift from the Lautz Company, to whom the members alike of this Society and of the Lincoln Birthday Association are indebted.

Another pedestal that is of note, stands just at the left of the entrance to the Grand Hall. Upon it stands an admirable bust of George Washington, of the finest Carrara marble, done by Pugi, a celebrated artist in Florence, Italy.* But it is of the pedestal I wish to speak. It was the gift of William Crawford. Some time ago Mr. Crawford, who is a life member of this Society, secured the contract

* One of President Langdon's numerous gifts to the Society.

to erect over the grave of Mary, the mother of Washington, at Fredericksburg, Va., a new monument. The tomb standing there at the time was removed and two of its old pillars were brought to Buffalo. I suggested to Mr. Crawford the idea of using a portion of one to form a pedestal for a bust of George Washington. The idea was pleasing to him and he carried it out.

Having brought before your thought two of the greatest men of all ages, the two greatest Americans, let me suggest the propriety of setting apart in this building two rooms, one to be known as the Lincoln Room, one as the Washington Room. Already this plan has been carried out, in part. On the floor above, the northwestern room has been given over to the Lincoln collections left by Mr. Francis, with additions by other friends. The northeastern room, now used for the Lord and the Fillmore libraries, will become the Washington Room just as soon as we have enough Washington material to make a fair beginning. We have now a number of portraits, autograph letters, and other material. Within a few weeks we have received from Mr. George H. Grosvenor, through the kind offices of his mother, an old resident of Buffalo, an early and excellent oil portrait of Washington. On the platform this evening we have relics that are most appropriate for such a Washington Room. This gavel was made from a tree which grew in the ruins of the house in which Washington was born; it was burned in 1835. This table is one that once belonged to General Knox, who, you will remember, was present at the time of the surrender of General Cornwallis to General Washington. But even more closely associated with that memorable event is this chair, known as the Cornwallis chair, and which was a part of the furniture of the Moore house when the commissioners for Cornwallis signed the articles of surrender there. For this historic chair we are indebted to Mr. Jesse Peterson of Lockport, who has generously presented it to the Society. With the chair Mr. Peterson has sent us the detailed and accepted history of its descent from the household of Daniel and Mary Moore, who came to Virginia long before the Revolution and built there the famous Moore house. Other Washington material, including several very valuable articles now promised, will enable us soon to set apart the second room; and we trust that our friends will remember us generously.

Through the generosity of the Messrs. Steinway & Co. of New York City and the friendly interest in our behalf of Mr. Robert Denton,* another life member of this Society, we have received as a permanent possession the piano which you have heard already this evening. It is of the highest quality of excellence as a musical instrument, and in its construction is exceptionally artistic. The case is of mahogany, carved in classic style, with bronze mountings and bronze electric light fixtures. On the top cover are the arms of the State of New York.

Mr. William Cottier has given us his splendid collection of Indian articles of every description, the result of many years of collecting. This collection represents most of the Western tribes in their workmanship, beads, basketry, blankets, pipes, masks, weapons and utensils. The beadwork is especially choice and valuable. For the proper display of his collection, Mr. Cottier has provided a hand-

* Died July 23, 1903.

some oak case. This collection, together with the Scoville collection, gives this Society splendid facilities for assisting those who are making a study of the Indians of the West. Our Six Nations collection, also, is a good beginning.

I must pass over many recent gifts of interest and value, to speak of the large painting now temporarily placed in the Grand Hall.* The scene depicted is one of the most famous in the early history of this region—the blessing of the cross at Fort Denonville, the site of the present Fort Niagara, in 1688. It is more than a painstaking study of historical conditions. The canvas shows us the scene through the magic of an exalted imagination. The artist—and the donor—is Mrs. John Clark Glenny, to whose talent and liberality many a Buffalo institution is indebted. This picture, especially designed for mural decoration, is to be placed permanently in the large panel at the head of the grand stair. Another gift for like purpose is the painting in the central lunette of the south gallery. The subject is the "Muse of Niagara." It is the work of Tabor Sears, the gift of Mr. George Cary, the architect of the building, and is of a high order of merit. These mural panels are the beginning of a scheme of decoration which shall fill many of our wall spaces and endow our halls with new attractiveness, by a series of historical and emblematic paintings in the decorative manner. Here is an alluring opportunity for some of our generous friends. Permit me to direct attention to the fact that this great work—for such it truly will become—was begun by a woman; it was a woman, too—Mrs. Alfred G. Hauenstein—who, on June 7, 1901, made the first public address that was given in this building. It was an address before the Western Federation of Women's Clubs, on "The Lessons of the Exposition." Thus, both in art and in eloquence, we have had an auspicious inaugural.

Many opportunities are presented here for noble memorials. The central hall in the basement, as well as the Grand Hall on this floor, calls for statues. Here is a suitable place for a statue of DeWitt Clinton, of whom the Society possesses portraits, autograph letters, and minor memorials. Here, too, it is becoming to place, and that soon, a worthy statue or bust of William McKinley. It was in this building on September 5, 1901, that President McKinley was the guest of the New York State Commissioners for the Pan-American Exposition. It was the last public function in which he shared. The next day, in the Temple of Music, was enacted the great tragedy which culminated in his death, September 14th.

A pleasant incident of the year occurred at the Board meeting held on December 4, 1902, the day before Mr. George S. Hazard's ninety-third birthday. His fellow-members of the Board, desiring to express to him the love and esteem in which he is held, by special and unanimous vote made him an honorary member of the Board of Managers for life. Mr. Hazard served as president of the Society in 1890 and in 1892, and for many years has been a member of its governing board.

During the year past our Society has had the inevitable losses due to death. The enumeration of the dead of the year belongs to another report than mine, but I crave a word in memory of my long-

* Now permanently placed at the head of the grand stair.

time friend, George W. Townsend. I was intimately associated with him, both in this Society and in other affairs, and always found him all that a man should be. For twenty years he shared in the management of this institution; was twice its vice-president and twice its treasurer. He served it with fidelity, with sound judgment and with care. Much of what the Society is and what it bids fair to become, is due to the wise counsels and long-continued devotion of George W. Townsend.

My friends, with the occupancy of this building and the broader opportunities which come with the new foundation, we enter upon an enlarged career of usefulness. We seek to make this edifice highly artistic in its embellishment, a repository for noble memorials, as well as for the minor relics and souvenirs that help preserve our history. We wish to extend our portrait gallery, to increase our library, and especially to carry on the work of historical publication. We want new members, and we want renewed interest on the part of the old members; and we especially want all to share in and enjoy to the utmost whatever the Society has to offer. We are not a close corporation, but a public institution, thoroughly democratic in character and aims.

We are on historic ground. Successors of the race whose meagre records formed the first chapters in our history, we follow them in guarding the Western Gate of the ancient Long House. Other council fires were kindled here before ours. Our part is to keep the blaze bright today. We offer the pipe of peace and extend the hand of friendship. Share our lodge and the pleasantness of it shall be yours.

The annual reports of the treasurer and the secretary were presented. The secretary's report stated that the deed of the building had been delivered to the President, January 2, 1902. The building was opened to the public July 1, 1902, and had since been open daily, 10 a. m. to 5 p. m., Sundays 2 to 5 p. m., the Sunday attendance sometimes exceeding 1500. The growth of the museums and library was noted in detail. The total membership (January, 1903) was stated as 502, of which number 145 were corresponding and honorary.

The Society's losses by death during 1902 were as follows: Life and resident members: March 2d, Bronson Case Rumsey; April 26th, Henry H. Otis; June 14th, Dr. Jared Hyde Tilden; in July, at Saratoga, O. H. Whitford; July 22d, Fred B. Curtiss; October 24th, George W. Townsend; December 30th, Henry G. White. Honorary members: March 20th, Hon. Noah Davis, New York City; October 1st, Admiral J. E. Jouett, U. S. N., Port Royal, S. C. Corresponding members: March 12th, Hon. B. E. Charlton, Hamilton, Ont.; December 4th, Hon. Joseph Williamson, Belfast, Me.

The prescribed business of the meeting being finished, Senator Henry W. Hill stepped forward, and addressing the president, said:

Your associates on the Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society take this occasion to express publicly their appreciation of your long and distinguished services as president of this So

ciety, and of their personal regard for you. At the time of your first election, in January, 1894, there was very little to encourage, and much to discourage one in assuming the duties of president of the Buffalo Historical Society. Its location was not favorable to its growth, or to the maintenance of public interest in its affairs. Its limitations were recognized by all.

After the late Dr. Joseph C. Greene and the late Dr. Frederick H. James had presented their respective collections to this Society, it was apparent to all that there was not sufficient space on the third floor of the Library Building adequately to exhibit its historic properties.

Its archives were not easily accessible to the public. This was due to the fact that it was necessary to climb two long flights of stairs to reach the Historical Society rooms, and when reached, they were found to be in a congested and poorly lighted condition. Consequently the public did not use the Historical Society archives as freely as they otherwise would. As early as 1891, a committee was appointed by the Board of Managers of this Society to increase its membership, and we found that the difficulty of reaching the Society's rooms on the third floor of the Library Building was one of the principal objections advanced by Buffalonians to becoming members. However, this did not deter such well-known Buffalonians as the late Judge James Sheldon, and that ripe classic scholar, James Frazer Gluck, both now deceased, from taking a deep interest in the welfare of this Society. Soon after assuming the executive management of this organization, you made a study of its conditions and needs and presented plans for extending its sphere of usefulness in this community. These met with the approval of such well-known members as Edmund W. Granger, George H. Lewis, Dr. Frederick H. James, Judge James Murdock Smith, Dr. Joseph C. Greene, Cyrus K. Remington and George W. Townsend, all since deceased, but who, as occasion occurred, freely gave of their time and treasure to promote the welfare of the Society. They were its loyal and devoted friends. We should remember their solicitude for its success at times when it needed just such support as they were able to give to it.

After full justice is done to all others, however, we feel that this Society and the city are under lasting obligation to you for what you have accomplished. As early as 1897, after the enactment of chapter 310 of the Laws of 1897, authorizing the Society to build on Park lands, you had prepared for the uses of this Society plans of a building, resembling the Matthew Laflin Memorial, in Lincoln Park, Chicago, which you presented to your associates and to the Board of Park Commissioners of this city. You sought to raise funds for the construction of such a building, which, though far less costly than this building, had many features of excellence for historical purposes. I need not recount the arguments advanced by those who favored, and by those who then opposed the movement from a downtown site to one on Park lands. Your familiarity with the location of such buildings in the parks of other cities of this and other countries greatly aided us in reaching a wise conclusion in that matter. People now recognize the propriety of the location of this Historical Society building. Had it not been possible to locate on park lands, it were not possible to have obtained State funds toward its construction.

You will recall the conference of Judge James M. Smith, Dr. J. C. Greene, Hon. D. F. Day, Cyrus K. Remington, Dr. Albert H. Briggs, Frank H. Severance, yourself and myself, in the latter part of September, 1897, at the Delaware Park, to decide upon a site for the Buffalo Historical Society building, and that such conferees favored the mound now occupied by the Albright Gallery of Art. Much discussion ensued. The subsequent location of the Pan-American Exposition, north of Delaware Park, necessitated the abandonment of that site, if the Historical Society were to take advantage of the State Building plan, as proposed at our monthly meeting on June 1, 1899, in a resolution, which I presented on that occasion.

The present site was decided upon at a meeting of the managers of this Society, the Commissioners on the part of the State of New York at the Pan-American Exposition, members of the Park Board and President John G. Milburn and some of the directors of the Pan-American Exposition Company held in December, 1899. The State Commissioners acceded to the arguments advanced for the location of the New York State Building on this site, instead of on the site originally proposed, upon which the Temple of Music was afterwards erected. That made it possible to aggregate the three funds and secure a better building for the Pan-American Exposition and a permanent home for this Society.

I prepared and introduced on January 16, 1900, a bill in the Assembly to accomplish that purpose, which became law. As a member of the Building Committee on the part of this Society, you rendered exceedingly valuable services. Fortunate, indeed, was this Society, at the time, in having one so willing and competent to serve it in that trying capacity. Week in and week out, you labored to accomplish the result which now crowns the work. It must not be forgotten that General Wilson S. Bissell, Hon. Charles W. Goodyear, Mr. G. Barrett Rich, Secretary Frank H. Severance and other members of this Board of Managers also counselled, advised and supplemented your efforts and rendered valuable service in this important matter. The Board of Park Commissioners favored the project and since the Exposition have done much to beautify the grounds surrounding this building.

This Society contributed \$45,000, the City of Buffalo \$25,000, and the State \$100,000, towards the cost of this building. In addition to these sums, the most notable gift towards this building was the solid bronze doors, in its northerly entrance, which you presented to the Society. As works of art, it may be said, that they are not excelled by any in this country. They are embellished by female figures, which represent Ethnology and History, and are emblematic of the work of the Society. The bronze transom above the doors is adorned with two reclining figures, emblematic of Science and Art. These gates will endure long after this marble building has crumbled away. The munificence of this gift is one of the proofs of your loyalty to this Society and the quality of it evinces rare esthetic taste, that adorns and beautifies wherever it exists. These beautiful gates will refine and promote human happiness, for, as Keats says:

"A thing of beauty is a joy forever."

The Washington bust of Carrara marble, after the Stuart portraits, the work of the eminent Florentine sculptor, Pugi, recently

presented by you to this Society, is another evidence of your abiding interest in it. It was largely due to your forethought and efforts that the Society secured the Francis Memorial collection, and the bronze statue of Abraham Lincoln, but time does not permit me to enumerate all that you have done for this Society during your nine years service as its president.

During that time the Buffalo Historical Society may be said to have had a new birth. Its period of transition has passed. It has ceased to be a tenant and has become the owner of one of the finest Historical Society buildings in America. This Greek Doric temple and the Albright Ionic Gallery of Art, near at hand, with their rare collections and the replica of the gigantic statue of David by Michael Angelo, through your munificence soon to be placed in this vicinity, and other works of art and stately buildings that are likely to follow, whose "architecture," to adopt the phrase of Schelling, may be likened unto "frozen music," will constitute an acropolis of fine arts in Delaware Park.

As time goes on this Park, which

" . . . didst appear so fair
To fond imagination,"
Will "rival in the light of day
Her delicate creation."

Henceforth Buffalo, the city of commerce, with its diversified industries, will have its classic buildings and works of art to awaken "ideals of beauty," which Ruskin has well said, "are among the noblest which can be presented to the human mind invariably exalting and purifying it according to their degree." Conspicuous among these will be the superb building of the Buffalo Historical Society with its stately portico of Doric columns and beautiful gates, housing an historic collection of rare value, already widely and favorably known. This will both elevate and instruct. The *Publications* of this Society will become standard authorities and will cover periods of time not hitherto adequately treated by other historians. The work of the Society will thus become educational and you will see fulfilled the highest ideals of historic research and historic exposition. This is far in advance of the work that was possible to be done nine years ago.

We feel that you have labored zealously to advance the interests of the Society and to extend its sphere of usefulness in this community. You have contributed liberally of your time and treasure to make this a progressive institution. The impress you have left upon it is quite as notable as that of its first president, Millard Fillmore.

In testimony of your faithful services and of the appreciation of your associates on the Board of Managers and of Mr. Edward D. Strickland, who has served in the capacity of assistant secretary during most of your presidency, I am requested to perform the pleasant duty of presenting to you this key of gold, bearing the inscription, "Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society to Andrew Langdon, 1901," to open the massive bronze gates that will forever attest your devotion to the Buffalo His-



torical Society and perpetuate your name in memory as one of its most munificent benefactors.

President Langdon, much moved, made a happy response, saying that he should treasure the key, because of what it expressed, as long as he lived. He received the congratulations of many friends.

MEMORIAL ON THE DEATH OF
GEORGE STARR HAZARD.

*Adopted by a silent rising vote of the Board of Managers,
October 1, 1903.*

In the death of George Starr Hazard, which occurred August 7, 1903, in his 94th year, the Buffalo Historical Society has lost its most aged member, who for over forty years had been devoted to its welfare. But one living member of the Society has a longer membership; that is Mr. Pascal P. Pratt, who was one of the original organizers of the Society in the spring of 1862. Mr. Hazard and the Hon. William P. Letchworth both joined the Society on January 6, 1863. Mr. Hazard was chosen a councilor in 1888; was elected president in 1890; was made a life member, February 4, 1890; was vice-president in 1891; president again in 1892; member of the board of managers continuously since that date, and honorary life member of the Board—the only member ever so designated—since December 4, 1902.

Mr. Hazard's first term as president was made memorable by the receipt of Mrs. Martha M. Huyler's gift of \$10,000 for a statue of Red Jacket; and it was under Mr. Hazard's presidency that that important work was entered upon and assured. In his second term the Society had the good fortune to receive the valuable collection of Holland Land Company papers and maps which are among its choicest possessions. In many other ways the institution was strengthened while Mr. Hazard was at its head. He secured many new members, and was devoted, as for many years before and after, to promoting its welfare.

On January 14, 1890, Mr. Hazard presented to this Society his manuscript history of the One Hundredth, or Board of Trade Regiment, a collection of data bearing on the fortunes of that organization, to the gathering of which he had devoted much time and research. The result amply warranted the effort, for the great volume is a repository of a vast amount of valuable historical material relating to this distinguished Buffalo regiment, much of which would have been lost to posterity but for Mr. Hazard's zeal and forethought.

Mr. Hazard came to Buffalo in 1847, when the town had scarcely outgrown its village conditions. For many years he was active in business affairs, and as president of the Board of Trade shared prominently in making more substantial Buffalo's commercial standing.

His patriotism conspicuously showed itself in his work of organizing and equipping the One Hundredth New York Volunteers. His public spirit never flagged, and even in his old age his counsels—on the Canal Commission of 1899—were helpful to his city, his State and the Nation. Many a local institution knew him as a practical friend.

In common with the rest of the community, this Society had long cherished Mr. Hazard with that respect and affection which are the natural tribute to ripe experience and high character. He was spared to his family and friends through an exceptionally long life and serene old age; and we, his late associates, who offer to his family our assurances of sympathy, will ever cherish the memory of his long devotion to the welfare of this Society, the pleasant memory of his kindness, his good cheer, and sincerity.

MEMORIAL ON THE DEATH OF
HONORABLE WILSON SHANNON BISSELL.

Adopted by the Board of Managers, October 8, 1903.

The Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society has learned with deep sorrow of the death, October 6th, of its most distinguished member, the Honorable Wilson S. Bissell.

Mr. Bissell was a citizen of Buffalo for nearly his whole life. For many years he was a member of this Society, devoted to its interests, and the preservation of the records of the community in which he lived. He was for a long time a member of this Board, and as such rendered the Society an invaluable and special service which resulted in the erection of its beautiful building in Delaware Park.

He was a man of the highest integrity, of great ability, the keenest sense of public duty, the closest and most enduring friendship, and the tenderest and most sympathetic affection.

We sincerely mourn what seems to us his untimely taking off.

We hereby adopt this memorial as a part of the permanent records of this Society.

JAMES O. PUTNAM MEMORIAL EVENING.

A meeting of the Buffalo Historical Society was held on the evening of November 6, 1903, to pay tribute to the memory of the Hon. James O. Putnam, who died April 24, 1903. President Langdon presided, and the attendance was large. The programme included papers by Mr. J. N. Larned and Mr. L. G. Sellstedt, with a brief address by Mr. William E. Foster, in which he dwelt on the scholarly side of Mr. Putnam's character, and related numerous anecdotes, illustrating Mr. Putnam's habits and tastes in his last years. The papers of Mr. Larned and Mr. Sellstedt follow.

MR. LARNED'S TRIBUTE.

Forty-seven years ago, in the old St. James Hall, which stood at the corner of Eagle and Washington streets, I listened to a speech, the very tones of which are distinct in my memory to this day. The speaker was James O. Putnam; the occasion was a public meeting, called to express the indignation in this community excited by the dastardly assault made on Senator Sumner by Preston Brooks. There were other speakers, but I remember none of them; there were other strong words spoken, but they left no mark upon me. The one speech stamped an impression on my mind that was deeper and more lasting than any other that belongs to that period of my life. I think it realized oratory to me as I had not realized it before, and thrilled me as eloquent speech has thrilled me very seldom in my experience since. As I think of it now, the scene rises like a picture before me: the crowded, silent audience; the slender figure on the stage, all aquiver with the emotion of that impassioned hour; the mobile, expressive face, and the voice that came throbbing to my ears, with such words as these:

Sir, what principle is contended for by the justifiers of this outrage? Simply this, that Northern representatives, upon questions connected with slavery, must speak what is agreeable to certain Southern ears. . . . A South Carolina *imprimatur* must be found on the cover of every Congressional speech, or the stiletto and the bludgeon will punish the temerity of free men. By this permission we may live. Under the legs of this Carolina Colossus we may peep about to find ourselves dishonorable graves. If this is to be the price of union, it is too great. It cannot be paid. There is not forbearance enough, there is not fraternal charity enough, and there never ought to be, in the moral exchequer of the North, to pay any such price. . . . The committee of investigation report that the Senate has no power in the premise! . . . The skulking assassin may burrow under the Speaker's chair until the opportunity arrives to rush upon his defenseless victim. He may shed his heart's blood before their senatorial eyes—and that, too, for words spoken in debate—and the Senate is impotent. If this be so, the Alpine passes in the Middle Ages and the Hounslow Heath of the seventeenth century were as secure as the Senate Chamber of the United States.

In memory, I can listen now to the trumpeting of that last sentence in Mr. Putnam's vibrating voice, as I listened to it almost half a century ago, and it stirs me to my finger tips, as it stirred me then.

Almost equally marked in my memory is the second of the early great speeches of Mr. Putnam on notable public occasions in Buffalo. It was made in May, 1858, at a union mass meeting, of Americans and Republicans, held to protest against the attempt in Washington to fasten the Lecompton Constitution upon Kansas, as the fundamental law of a new State. If I could repeat, as his voice gave them, the opening words of that address, you would understand the wonderful effect with which they prepared the feeling of his audience for what he had to say: "On the gates of Busyrane was inscribed, on the first, 'Be bold,' on the second, 'Be bold, be bold, evermore be bold,' and on the third gate, 'Be not too bold.' The Democratic party has adopted all these maxims save the last."

Those two speeches, of 1856 and 1858, were the first, I think, that showed the full powers of Mr. Putnam as an orator to audiences in his own city. He had his fame as a youthful speaker in many political campaigns, and had won even national distinction already in the Senate of the State of New York; but I believe I am not mistaken

in saying that the speech on the Sumner outrage revealed him wholly to this city for the first time, and gave him an eminence in it which had not been recognized before.

Mr. Putnam was not a native of Buffalo; his birthplace and early home were Attica, where he was born on the 4th of July, 1818. His father, Harvey Putnam, migrating from the East, a young man, newly married, had taken residence in Attica the previous year, establishing himself in the practice of the law. As the son grew to manhood he saw his father rise to eminence among the lawyers of Western New York, and became conscious that he was heir to a highly honored name. It was an inheritance that he valued more than wealth. In the State Senate once, and three times in Congress, Harvey Putnam served the public, and his son, writing of him in a memorial paper that was prepared for this Society in 1868, could say with just pride: "The elements of his personal strength in the public confidence were character and adequacy. To these, all the public trusts he held were spontaneous tributes."

In 1838 Mr. Putnam entered Yale with high ambitions and hopes. Letters written by him at that time, which have been preserved, are all aglow with the ardent spirit of the young student, thirsting for pure knowledge, feasting on great thoughts, living already and joying in the life of the mind. But the doom of ill-health, destined to handicap him to the end of his days, fell upon him then and drove him from his studies at the end of his junior year. He was never able to return to them; but Yale, in later years, recognized him as a son who did honor to her, named him in the list of her graduates, and gave him his degree.

After some months spent in travel and residence at the South, in 1839, Mr. Putnam began the study of law with his father and was admitted to the bar in 1842. In that year he married and took up his residence in this city, entering into partnership with the late George R. Babcock, with whom he continued in practice for about two years; but the exacting duties of a laborious profession were beyond his strength, and once more his ambitions were put grievously in check by the inadequacy of his bodily health. In 1844 he became connected officially with the Attica & Buffalo and the Buffalo & Rochester railway companies, first as secretary and treasurer, and later as attorney and counsellor, and he held those positions until the companies in question were merged in that of the New York Central. Then he received from President Fillmore the appointment of Postmaster at Buffalo, and held the office until the close of Mr. Fillmore's term.

From his youth Mr. Putnam had been interested warmly in politics, and had attached himself with ardor to the party of the Whigs. While scarcely more than a boy he had been a favorite campaign speaker, and, in that fermenting period of our national history to which his early manhood belonged, he seemed to be at the threshold of a career that would carry him high and far in public life. With more stability of health, it is not to be doubted that he would have run such a career. As it was, he entered it, with remarkable promise, in 1853, when elected by his party to the Senate of the State. In that single term he won a reputation as wide as the nation, by the fame of a measure that drew attention everywhere, and the power of a speech that was read from end to end of the land. The measure in

question, introduced by Mr. Putnam and advocated in an argument of masterly eloquence and force, was one requiring church property to be vested in trustees. It was consequent upon an issue that had arisen between some of the Roman Catholic congregations in this country and their bishops, on a ruling by the latter that every church estate should be made the property of the bishop of the diocese,—its title vested in him. Among the resisting congregations, that of St. Louis Church in Buffalo took a foremost place, by the firmness with which it asserted and maintained its rights. The controversy excited a deep interest in every part of the country, and nowhere more than here. Mr. Putnam took up the cause of his constituents in the St. Louis Church and championed it with characteristic vigor and zeal. He saw a sacred principle of liberty at stake, and he fought a battle for it which showed once, and once only, what his prowess in the contests of the forum might be. In the splendid speech that bore down all resistance to his bill he sketched his view of the issue to be settled by it in a few pregnant words. "I cannot look as a legislator," he said, "nor would I have the State look, with indifference on a controversy like this. On the one side is priesthood, panoplied with all its power over the pockets and consciences of its people, armed with the terrible enginey of the Vatican, seeking, in open defiance of the policy and laws of the State, to wrest every inch of sacred ground from the control of the laity,—property secured by their sweat and sacrifices,—and to vest it in the solitary hands of a single bishop, that he may close the door of the sanctuary, put out the fires upon its altar, and scourge by his disciplinary lash, from its sacraments, ordinances and worship, every communicant who dares think a thought independent of his spiritual master. On the other hand, we see a band of men who have lived long enough in their adopted country to have the gristle of their liberal opinions hardened into bone; men devoted to the church of their fathers, but who love the State to which they have sworn allegiance and who respect its institutions; we see them resisting with a heroism which would honor the age of heroes, unitedly, unwaveringly, in defiance of bulls of excommunication from bishop, legate and the Pope, every attempt to override our laws."

Here is eloquence, of fine texture in the warp and the woof of ideas and words; but more than eloquence appears in the graver passages of the speech, such as that in which the attitude and the relations of the American Republic to the Roman Church are pronounced. "Being," he explains, "a government of dissent, and popular in all its theory, it cannot be moulded to meet more absolute systems of rule. It admits the transplantation to its soil of every exotic, spiritual or political, that can find it genial to its nature. Whether they are so, and can bear the transplantation, or whether they languish and die, is of no interest to the Genius of American Democracy. Its office is spent when it has taken care that the State suffer no detriment, and that there spring up in its midst no hostile element of power."

Writing of this speech more than twenty years ago, when a volume of Mr. Putnam's addresses was published, I said, and I think correctly, that the effect of it, "not alone in the State of New York, but from one end of the country to the other, was prodigious. It was

published everywhere, read everywhere, and its author woke, like Byron, to find himself famous. The Church Property Bill became law irresistibly, and the fact that it was repealed some years afterwards takes nothing from the force and effect of the speech by which it was carried at the time.

In all of the speeches of Mr. Putnam that touch in any way upon questions of public policy, movements of public opinion, or incidents of national history, the current of his thought has always started from the deep underlying principles of free government and the great primal facts which shaped this federative nationality of ours. Whether speaking as a partisan upon his party platform, or standing aside from party, on historic anniversary occasions, he has always unveiled the light of past experience to turn it upon present affairs, and to project its forecasting rays upon things consequent and future. In that meaner sense of the word which prevails in our use of it now, Mr. Putnam was never a "politician"; but throughout his life he was a political student, and there are few who study politics with equal subtlety and depth. For this reason there was a philosophy in his political speeches that gave them lasting value. Those found in the published volume of his addresses and miscellaneous writings, such as the speech made in the State Senate, in 1854, against the repealing of the Missouri Compromise by the Kansas-Nebraska Act; the speech made in this city on the Lecompton Constitution; a speech at Cooper Institute, New York, on the principles of the Republican party; an address at Paris, in 1866, on Washington's birthday; an oration, here in Buffalo, on the Fourth of July, 1870;—all have their permanent value and can be read as instructively today as when they were first made public. They are none of them thoughts of the moment on questions and excitements of the hour; they are all political studies, in which general convictions, mature and well determined, have been brought out and applied to the particular circumstances of the time.

To these qualities of depth and strength in the thought of his discourses Mr. Putnam added the special gifts of the orator, in a singular degree. He was born an orator, in the higher sense of that term, which implies something more than a man of fluent and stirring speech. It implies the gift of a sympathetic understanding of the hearts of men; the gift of an imagination that is winged and plumed for the upper ether; the gift of a temperament which kindles to glowing heat in fervent times, and flashes out its warmth on colder souls. With all these gifts Mr. Putnam was born. Naturally, for half a century, he was the one man among us whose voice the people of this city desired most and expected to hear, when deep feelings were to be expressed or matters of grave moment to be discussed. He was called upon continually for that service of expression on behalf of his fellow-citizens, when new institutions were hopefully undertaken or were happily opened to use; when important anniversaries were commemorated; when hospitable words were to be spoken to public guests; when a sorrowing tribute was to be paid to the city's nobler dead. How much of his eloquence was spent for us, willingly and beautifully, on occasions like those, and what distinction it has given to the memory of them all!

Twice, in the years of Mr. Putnam's prime, there were long

breaks in our enjoyment of the pleasure and the inspiration which his presence among us added to our lives. From 1861 to 1867 he was in public service as the U. S. Consul at Havre, under an appointment from President Lincoln; and in 1880 he was sent abroad again, by President Hayes, to represent our Government at the Belgian Court. In both instances, the best influences that work in American public affairs were expressed in his selection; for he was not, as I said before, a politician, in any common sense of the term. To describe him most truly in his political character I would say that he was of the type of the faithful citizen, whose political franchises represent political duty to his mind, and who obeys the command of that duty when he interests himself in public questions and party strife. He had acted with the Whig party until its dissolution, and after that event he had been carried by his old associations, for a short time, into the movement which formed the American party; but his convictions and his feelings were alike anti-slavery, and he soon took an influential part in bringing the bulk of the "Americans" into union with the new party of the Republicans. In this part of the country that union was accomplished at the great meeting, in May, 1858, of which I have spoken already. In 1860, he was named on the Republican ticket as one of the two presidential electors-at-large, and was active in the campaign.

Then followed his official residence for six years at Havre, which he could not enjoy as he might otherwise have done, because it took him from the country and kept him among strangers through all the heartache of the Civil War. At that distance and with alien surroundings it was far harder than here at home to bear the dreadful anxieties of the time. Among our representatives abroad he took the prominence that was natural to his eminent gifts, writing the address of American citizens in France on the death of President Lincoln, and being the chosen orator of a celebration of Washington's birthday, at Paris, in the year after the close of the war.

While residing as the American Minister at Brussels he was appointed by his Government to represent it at the International Industrial Property Congress, held at Paris in 1881, to adjust rules and agreements concerning patents, trade-marks, and the like. He experienced unusual pleasure in this episode of his public life.

I have sketched but very briefly the official services which Mr. Putnam performed. They would bear dwelling upon at more length; for the record of his public life is not only a most honorable one, but it is astonishingly full, when we think of it as the record of one who carried a heavy burden of infirmities through all his life. There are not many with that handicap who reach honors as high; not many who achieve as much; not many who put their fellows so much in their debt. For Mr. Putnam, not only in the offices he held, but always, in the private employments of his thought and his time, was continually making some or all of us debtors to him, for good service of some sort, rendered in some manner to others than himself. There was little of his life or labor spent on objects of personal gain. When he spoke, it was to advance a cause; when he wrote, it was to stir a thought or move a feeling in the public mind, or to brighten the memory of some good citizen who had passed from life; when he busied himself, it was commonly in the affairs of his church, or

of some public institution that invoked his care. He was rarely without something to do, and what he did was more rarely for himself. And this was so, nearly to the last days of his long life. Almost to the last he resisted and overcame the infirmities of health, when calls for service came to him, because he could not learn to refuse himself, even when age and weakness required that he should. The great void made in this community by the ending of such a life is one that we shall seldom have the pain of knowing.

Thus far, in what I have said of Mr. Putnam, I have looked only at the public side of his life. It presents him in his most important character, perhaps, but not in the character that endears him in our memory most. In the public arena he was impressive, inspiring, magnificent, and he made a conquest of the homage of our minds; in the private circle he captivated hearts and minds together, in one happy surrender to his infinite charm. What other personality have we known that could radiate in all companies so instant an atmosphere of social warmth? What other companion have we found among our neighbors whose influence was so expansive and so quickening as his? Who else could so brighten the talk of others by magnetic qualities in his own? Who else has seemed so typically the social man,—organized in all his being for human environments, for fellowships and friendships, for the intimate commerce of feeling and thought, for sympathies, for affections, for all the tender and beautiful ties that are woven together in the finer social life of mankind? In my memory of Mr. Putnam he is figured preëminently in that type,—the type of the social man. I think he illustrated it to us as no one else has done. His genius found expression in it, more, even, than in his oratory, and all his fine gifts were disclosed in it most finely. He found the food of his spirit in friendships and comradeship, and he languished without them. When alone, he was easily overcome by depressions incident to the infirmities of his bodily health; but the lift was instantaneous if he came into any company of congenial friends, and he rose with a strength of spirit that bore up his companions with himself.

These were marvelous and rare powers. The man who possessed them was a precious gift to the city in which he lived; his death takes a happy uplifting influence from it which can never be quite made good; for no other man can ever be to Buffalo, in public service, in social life, in private fellowship, all that James O. Putnam has been.

MR. SELLSTEDT'S OFFERING.

I need not say that I am proud to add my mite to this occasion. The privilege is, indeed, precious to me, and I esteem it a great honor.

We are here tonight to hallow the memory of one of our noblest citizens. His learning, eloquence, patriotism, and other civic virtues have been the theme of the able and discriminating address to which we have had the pleasure of listening, and I feel sure that could his spirit be cognizant of our actions he would be pleased that the friend

who he more than once told me he regarded as Buffalo's first living citizen had been chosen "speaker of his living actions."

My own meagre and imperfect tribute must needs be purely personal. It is the overflow of a heart full of love which I have reason to believe was to some degree mutual. I often wondered what in me he found to honor with his friendship. Art it certainly was not; perhaps for that he cared too little; it may have been our common devotion to the genius of Shakespeare; or it may have been that mysterious and subtle something which an old and very intelligent Shaker I used to know, called my soul-atmosphere.

Although I long had known Mr. Putnam as an able and highly-respected member of the bar, a trusted officer of Government, a cultivated gentleman, and generally distinguished citizen, it was not till my admission to the Shakespeare Club of which he was a star member, that we became acquainted. But from that time, some thirty years ago, our friendship grew apace, until it ripened into an intimacy which only Death could sever. But though the memory of our mutual relations is dear to me, I claim no preference in Mr. Putnam's choice of friends, for I am well aware that he had older and more valuable friends to whom he was closely bound, of some of whom it will be my pleasure to speak later. Besides his social nature, high ethical sense, fine tact, and, more than all, generous appreciation of all that was good in others made him the idol of refined society, and must have engendered many strong bonds of friendship of which I could have no knowledge. But while he was a favorite, while few social functions among his friends were deemed complete without his presence, I have reason to believe that his circle of intimates was choice rather than extensive.

Although deep religious sentiment, seriousness, love of truth, hatred of hypocrisy and shams were the foundation of his moral character there was nothing of bigotry in its make-up. Tolerant of the opinion of others, he was ever ready to admit and acknowledge the good in all. His natural sweetness of temper and buoyancy of spirits were ever ready to bring life and animation into the company unless oppressed with that physical suffering to which he seems to have been a frequent victim; but even then the stimulus of a witty allusion or a suggestion from a favorite author would cause them to expand into the natural florescence of their abundant elasticity.

I recall one pleasant instance of his never-failing, ready wit: A number of society people had been invited to a house-warming at the formal opening of the Falconwood Club, Mr. Putnam being one of the guests. On his way down by the steamer he lost his hat. When later we were assembled round the festal board he was called on for a speech; he began to make excuses, alleging total lack of preparation, unexpectedness, and so forth, to which the irrepressible Joseph Warren jokingly objected, declaring that this could not be true since he himself had written the speech for him and that he must have it in his pocket. Quick as thought Mr. Putnam exclaimed: "Why, I lost it; it was in my hat when it blew off." He then went on to address us, and those acquainted with his ready eloquence need not be told that his witty and entertaining speech in which he did not spare his friend Warren was greatly enjoyed by that hilarious company.

While always entertaining it was, perhaps, in our Shakespeare

Club that our friend displayed one of his brightest sides. Ah, there be few left of the choice spirits which composed that harmony of friends. If I mention only those no longer living the list will be all too long: Putnam, Sprague, Rogers, Gray, Kent, Frothingham, Hazard, Babcock, Ranney, Mrs. Rogers, Mrs. Putnam, Mrs. Hazard, Mrs. Babcock, and Miss Wilkeson.

Mr. Putnam's familiarity with Shakespeare included nearly all of his dramatic works, and his quotations were always letter-perfect. In the Shakespeare Club, though no beauty of the poet was missed or marred by his interpretation or reading, he was par excellence our Lear: the appreciating vigor with which he read that part was little short, if any, of Forrest in his best days. Unlike his friend Rogers, whose sense of humor could seldom be suppressed, he took Shakespeare seriously, loving him most in his sublime parts, or those which indicated the profundity of his insight into human nature.

In later years he was fond of reciting Ulysses' speech to Achilles, in "Troilus and Cressida." Perhaps he fancied in it an adaptation to his own life, as I confess it fits mine, and may have meaning to others of advanced years with unfulfilled ambitions and lofty aims. I quote the passage because he loved it so:

Time hath, my lord, a wallet at his back,
Wherein he puts alms for oblivion,
A great-siz'd monster of ingratitudes.
Those scraps are good deeds past, which are devour'd
As fast as they are made, forgot as soon
As done. Perseverance, dear my lord,
Keeps honour bright; to have done is to hang
Quite out of fashion, like a rusty mail
In monumental mockery. Take the instant way;
For honour travels in a strait so narrow,
Where one but goes abreast: Keep then the path,
For emulation hath a thousand sons
That one by one pursue. If you give way,
Or hedge aside from the direct forthright,
Like to an enter'd tide, they all rush by
And leave you hindmost;
Or, like a gallant horse fallen in first rank,
Lie there for pavement to the abject rear,
O'errun and trampled on. Then what they do in present,
Though less than yours in past, must o'ertop yours;
For time is like a fashionable host
That slightly shakes his parting guest by the hand,
And with his arms outstretch'd, as he would fly,
Grasps in the corner: welcome ever smiles,
And farewell goes out sighing. O, let not virtue seek
Remuneration for the thing it was;
For beauty, wit,
High birth, vigour of bone, desert in service,
Love, friendship, charity, are subjects all
To envious and calumniating time.
One touch of nature makes the whole world kin,—
That all with one consent praise new-born gawds,
Though they are made and moulded of things past,
And give to dust that is a little gilt
More laud than gilt o'er-dusted.

Among the friends of Mr. Putnam with whom I was personally acquainted were Messrs. Fillmore, Haven, Hall, Sprague and Sherman Rogers. I will not trust myself to speak of the ladies. The apparent physical delicacy of his slender figure often gave his friends solicitude. One instance I recall. I think it was at Mr. E. C. Sprague's house that some of these gentlemen met for a farewell

gathering on the eve of his departure for Havre de Grace, where he had been appointed consul, that one of his friends (? Haven) remarked after he was gone: "Dear Putnam; we shall probably never see him again." Yet the irony of fate willed that he should see them all in their graves.

He must have had a very marked affection for Mr. Haven; at least he cherished his memory greatly, and I am sure from the talks we had in my studio that he had the highest respect for his character and talents. I had an unfinished portrait of Mr. Haven in my room which he admired very much, as it was a very good likeness, though painted from the corpse. This he requested me to let him have to keep in his study while he lived. As it is no longer wanted for that purpose I shall be pleased to have it go to this Society.

As one by one of his old friends disappeared into that bourn whence there is no returning, he naturally clung closer to those that remained. The unexpected death of his friend Rogers affected him greatly. "Sellstedt," said he one day, "if you die before me I shall never forgive you." His friendship for Mr. Rogers was almost pathetic, and, indeed, I think it was about evenly returned. After the death of his wife and the subsequent scattering of his family Mr. Rogers found his home desolate and often fell back on his few remaining intimates to render the evenings at his home less void. He often invited some of them to dine and spend the evening with him. Mr. Putnam and Mr. Johnston were frequent guests and even I was sometimes of the symposia. The last of these memorable occasions was the Monday of the week he left for California never to see his friends in Buffalo again. It was a cold winter evening when he sent his carriage for Mr. Putnam and myself to come and dine with him. Mr. Johnston was there, and a more genial set of old fellows would be hard to imagine. In the whist, which little deserved its name, that followed the excellent, but unpretending, repast, I think Mr. Putnam was the boyiest boy in the party, and even our host for the nounce forgot his grief, joining his partner in joyous boasting over their easily won victory. When we left in Mr. Rogers' carriage he insisted on accompanying us to our respective homes, and this was the last time I ever saw him.

I have alluded to Mr. Putnam's lack of interest in painting. This I think rose in part from defective vision in his latest years; perhaps also his absorption in business and kindred studies had prevented his attention being called to it. I remember that while I was his guest in Brussels, where he had invited me to visit him when I was staying in Paris with my family, I proposed a visit to the art galleries. He had not been there before, and was much interested, regretting that he had neglected to visit them. Especially was he interested in the Wirtz collection, that melange of artistic vagaries so well calculated to cast their fearful weird over the sensitive beholder.

But though his interest in pictorial art was limited, his love of poetry and the higher forms of literature was boundless. No touch of the poet's fancy was too fine for his exquisite sense, no shade too elusive to escape his sympathetic nature. As he loved Shakespeare, so he revelled in Spenser and Shelley, and no beauty of diction escaped his critical acumen.

At all times a delightful companion, he always brought out the

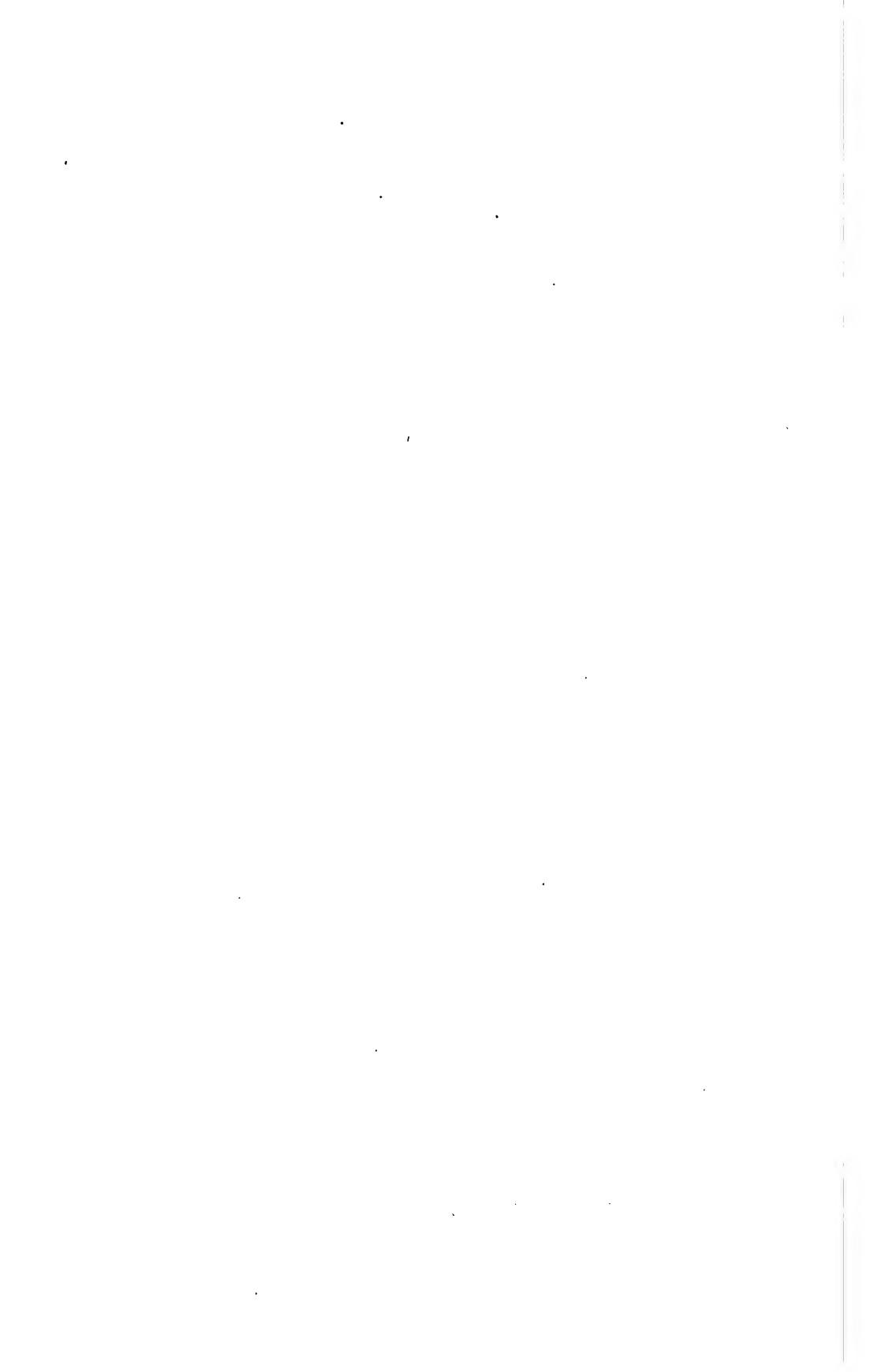
best that was in me. May not this fine trait be one of the secrets of the charming conversational powers of which he was a past master?

Mr. Putnam's last visit to my studio was on the afternoon before the Angel of Death touched him with his wing. He seemed tired and feeble, but after a slight restorative his spirits rose to their usual tone, and I had no reason to fear that I should never again hear the sound of his familiar and ever-welcome footfalls approaching my studio door.

Though I think Mr. Putnam's orthodoxy would have satisfied even John Knox himself, at least in essentials, his broad mind could not be bounded within the ironclad precincts that inclose error as well as truth. He was a liberal thinker, willing to discuss the difficulties which science has put in the way of that simplicity of faith which all regret the loss of, and which will ever trouble the intelligent believer. Immortality seemed to fill him with dread, the idea of living forever was associated with a never-ceasing activity, and what he most desired was rest. These were the promptings of a feeble frame which confined a glorious spirit. None knows anything of a future life beyond what Christ has told us; but though he has left us the assurance that in his Father's house are many mansions we are left in ignorance of their nature. Of one thing we may be reasonably sure: the influence of a good life will be felt till time shall be no more.

Whatever may be the nature of the life he now in glory lives, in the hearts of his friends his memory is immortal.

REQUIESCAT IN PACE.



APPENDIX C.

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(List revised to November, 1903.)

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Total membership, November, 1903:

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| Honorary | 8 |
| Life | 140 |
| Resident | 404 |
| Corresponding | 154 |
| Total | 706 |

ERRATUM: In list of life members, for "Eisele, Edward J." read "Eisele, Edward A."

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(Not including names in the Bibliography or list of members of the Buffalo Historical Society.)

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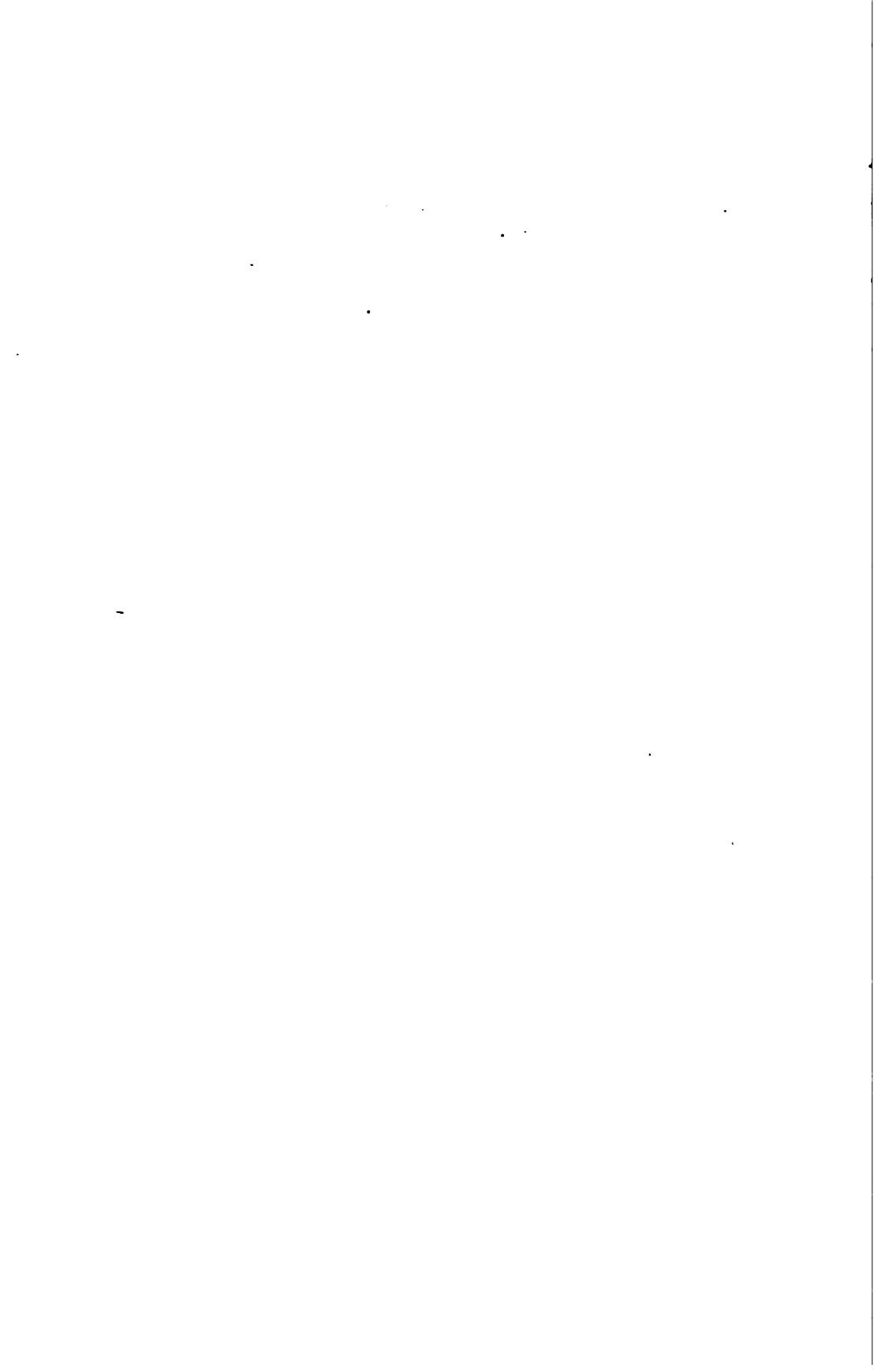
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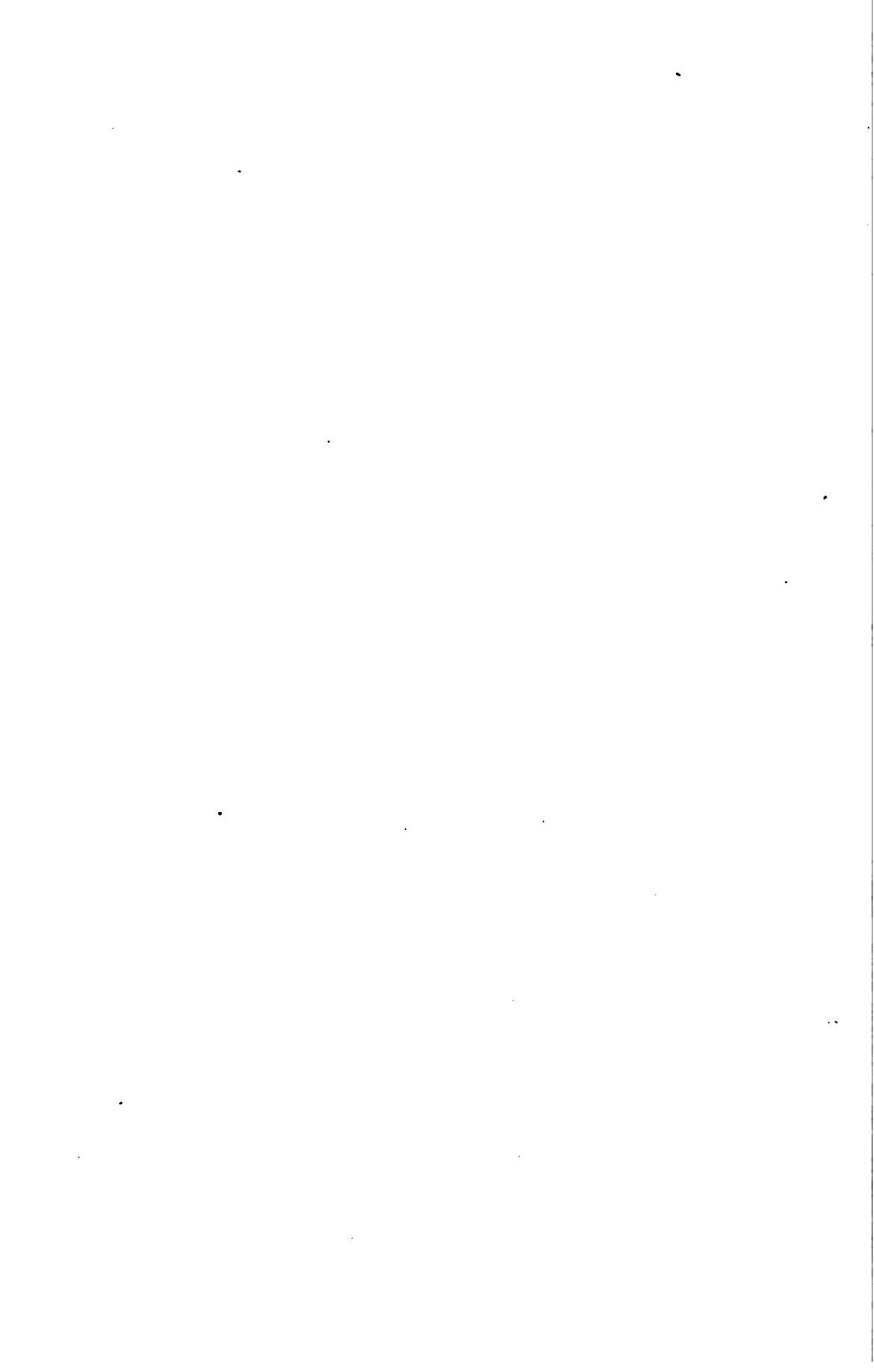
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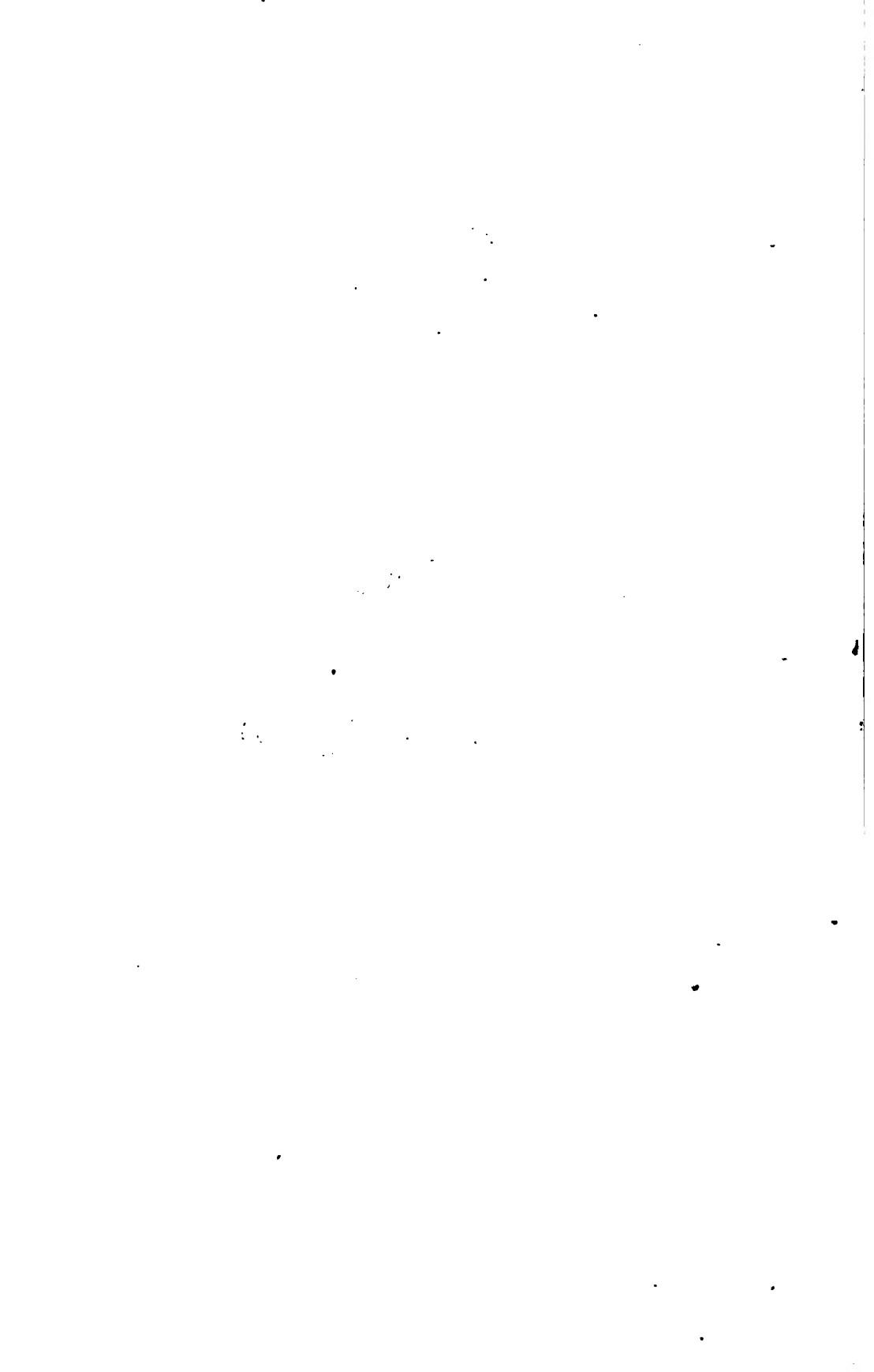
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